

EQUITY IN EDUCATION THEMATIC REVIEW

COUNTRY ANALYTICAL REPORT

NORWAY

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October 2004

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Introduction

Equity in education is a theme very much under debate these days. The term "equity" is used in an increasing number of policy documents, analytical reports and in media debates. Part of the discussions is related to the definition of equity and the indicators needed to measure equity in education. Last spring a project supported by the European Commission launched the report "Equity of the European Educational Systems. A Set of Indicators" (Socrates, 2003). The publication reports on a work over a period of two years on the issue of the equity of educational systems. We return to this report when discussing the concept of equity in chapter 1. The concept of equity has been included in a number of other reports and projects during the last decade illustrating the complexity and extensiveness of the factors included in the discussion of equity in education.

This report is the Norwegian Country Analytical Report (CAR) produced for the OECD project "Thematic Review of Equity in Education". 9 countries are contributing with similar Country Analytical Reports¹. The OECD has developed a set of "General guidelines for the country analytical reports" (OECD, 2003). According to the "General guidelines for the country analytical reports" the report is intended to provide an in-depth analysis of context, key factors and policy developments in Norway. The reports is prepared within a common framework to facilitate comparative analysis and to maximise the opportunities for countries to learn from each other's experiences. The CAR also includes a data annex containing a set of tables as described by the OECD (OECD, 2003). The tables in the data annex have been constructed by Statistics Norway². The purpose of the data requested is to provide support to the conclusions of the analytical report. The report follows the requested structure, which implies that the report contains the following sections:

Section I: National Context

Section II: Opportunities and Outcomes

Section III: Policies, Programmes, and Initiatives

Section IV: Causes and Explanations

Section V: Conclusions

The first section describes relevant aspects of the Norwegian context, including description of the educational system and a discussion of the concept of equity in education. In section II the profile of equity of education in Norway is presented. The purpose of this section is to identify key educational equity challenges that have the most important long-term implications. The section is based on statistics presented in a separate data annex. In section III policies, programmes and initiatives bearing on equity is presented. The section consist of chapter 3 and 4. Chapter 3 include a presentation of the active policies within the educational system, while chapter 4 presents some central non-educational policies that may affect outcomes in the educational sector. Section IV consist of chapter 5 and 6. In this section we discuss causes and explanations to inequity in education. In chapter 5 evidence from longitudinal studies are used to discuss how and when inequities can arise and accumulate throughout the lifecycle. In chapter 6 the causes of inequity in education is discussed along four types of obstacles or barriers: institutional; economic; motivational; social and cultural. Section V includes conclusions and final comments based on the previous discussions.

The objectives of the report are both to provide an overview of equity and inequity in all levels of the educational system. It also includes to describe the policy on equity in the educational system, and to discuss the effects of these policies. In a broad sense this implies analysing the relationship between policy and practice. To do so describing the present system is necessary. However, the size limit of the report does not allow for complete information of all parts of the educational system including all

¹ At present there are ten countries participating in the project, including Norway. The other countries are Belgium (Flemish part), Finland, France, Hungary, the Russian Federation, Slovenia, Switzerland, Spain and Sweden.

² Mr. Geir Nygård has had the main responsibility for constructing the tables.

policy and regulation connected to various branches of the system. Thus, inequities may be found even in this report. In depth information of some of the different aspects of the Norwegian educational system may be found in reports and evaluations from the OECD. Recent OECD reviews include:

- Thematic Review of the First Years of Tertiary Education (OECD, 1997a)
- Early Childhood and Care (BFD, 1998)
- The Transition from Initial Education to Working Life (OECD, 1998)
- Thematic review on adult learning. (OECD, 2000; OECD, 2001b)
- Lifelong learning (KUF, 2001).
- Review of career guidance policies (OECD, 2002).
- Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers (Lyng & Blichfeldt, 2003)

The distinctive feature of this OECD activity lies in its lifecycle systemic methodology and the importance to look at the education system as whole. However, it is generally recognized that equity is most important in the first phase of educational participation (OECD, 2002a). Studying data and previous studies on participation in pre-primary education, as well as performance and outcome in compulsory education and upper secondary education, have therefore received the most attention in this report. However, the inequities that may arise in the early part of the educational system are seen in relation to policy regarding opportunity and outcome in later phases of educational participation, including tertiary education and adult learning.

Currently there are ongoing activities of research, evaluations and policy developments that may contribute to the discussions and issues raised in this report. This spring the Ministry of Education and Research presented a new policy regarding both compulsory education and upper secondary education (UFD, 2004). And previous year a strategic plan on language minorities was launched (UFD, 2003b). The plan contains policy in order to improve learning and participation by minority language children, youth and adults in all levels of the educational system; from pre-primary to tertiary education. The future will show the effect of the recent policy changes and new measures. In the present report some of the ongoing evaluation and research as well as recent policy changes will be mentioned.

A reference group has been appointed in the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD) consisting of representatives from several of the six departments in the Ministry; Department of Education and Training, Department of Higher Education, Department of Learning and Workforce Development, Department of Research, Department for Policy Analysis and International Affairs, and Department of Administrative Affairs. There has also been a reference group at the Norwegian Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education (NIFU)³.

Comments from the reference groups both at the Ministry of Education and Research and at NIFU have been very helpful in preparing the report. The conclusions and opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and of NIFU, and may not reflect those of the Ministry of Education and Research.

³ The reference group at NIFU consisted of Mrs. Liv Anne Støren, Dr. Jens B. Grøgaard, Mr Per Olaf Aamodt and Dr. Petter Aasen. They have commented on several earlier drafts of the report.

List of Acronyms

BHU: Register of the Population's Highest Level of Education
FAFO: Institute for Applied Social Science
GSI: Comprehensive school information system
IALS: International Adult Literacy Survey
ICT: Information and Computer Technology
KOSTRA: Municipality-State-Reporting (kommune-stat-rapportering)
KRD: The Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development
LS: Norwegian Board of Education (læringscenteret)
NIFU: Norwegian Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education
NOKUT: The Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education
NOU: Official Norwegian Report
NOVA: Norwegian Social Research
NUDB: National Education Database
PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment
SES: Socio Economic Status
SIALS: Second International Adult Literacy Survey
SIU: The Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education
SNF: Institute for Research in Economics and Business Administration (Samfunns- og næringslivsforskning)
SOFF: Norwegian Executive Board for Distance Education at University and College Level (Sentralorganet for fleksibel læring i høgre utdanning) (from 01.01.04: Norgesuniversitetet)
SSB: Statistics Norway
TIMSS: The Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UD: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
UDI: Norwegian Directorate of Immigration
UFD: The Ministry of Education and Research
VOX: The Norwegian Institute for Adult Education

SECTION I: CONTEXT

Chapter 1: Country's Context and Current Equity Situation

The topic of this report is equity in education. Equity is a broad term which may be interpreted in different ways. In order to set out the goals of this report we start the chapter by defining and discussing the concept of equity. This includes a presentation of some central questions and hypothesis the report will seek to answer.

Definition and discussion of equity in education

The goal of this report is to analyse equity in education in Norway. In this project there has been an agreement between the participating countries to use the following definition: "Educational equity refers to an educational *and learning* environment in which individuals can consider options and make choices *throughout their lives* based on their abilities and talents, not on the basis of stereotypes, biased expectations or discrimination. The achievement of educational equity enables females and males of all races and ethnic backgrounds to develop skills needed to be productive, empowered citizens. It opens economic and social opportunities regardless of gender, ethnicity, race or social status." In summary, the activity will explore "equity of opportunities" in a broad sense. It will acknowledge existing inequities in access, participation, achievement and educational outcomes and creation of fair learning environment for all regardless of socio-economic background, place of residence, ethnic background, and gender.

The definition of equity is broad and emphasizes both equity in opportunities and equity in educational outcome. Equity in education is thus not only a question of opportunities provided in the educational system, but it is also concerning the actual results of the various educational choices and performances of different groups of pupils and students through the educational system. In the definition of equity in education lies a concern that pupils and students are different along several dimensions which have an impact on their need for learning and follow-up in the educational system. If all were alike, equity in education would simply be a question of providing equal distribution of educational resources to all pupils and students. But because pupils and students are different both individually, and in the type and amount of resources they have obtained from their family and environment which they bring with them into the classroom, their individual need for training will vary. What these differences are and how they may be reduced by educational policy is questions that researchers and policymakers still try to answer. Differences in personal or family resources may affect the pupil's or student's perception of the educational system, and the need for information. These differences open for a range of dilemmas and discussions when analysing equity in education. To what extent is the educational system constructed in order to provide a fair learning environment for all groups of pupils and students? Is the system equally accessible for pupils and students with a Norwegian mother tongue and for those with a different mother tongue?

In the definition of equity in education used in this report the demographic characteristics of socio-economic background, place of residence, ethnic background, and gender is used as indicators of how groups of pupils and students are different. Thus, analysing equity in education involves studying access, participation, achievement and educational outcomes among pupils and students with different demographic characteristics in the educational system.

Analysing equity in education should also include a discussion of *why* different demographical groups perform and achieve differently in the educational system. Why do socio-economic background, place of residence, ethnic background, and gender have an effect on educational performance? Such a discussion is complicated and needs to include both characteristics of the individual pupil and student, as well as characteristics of the environment and of the educational system. Individual differences between pupils and students include differences in motivation, interests, and intelligence.

Characteristics of the environment include the impact of differences in the economic, cultural and social resources in the environment in which the pupils and students live (i.e. among the parents, family and neighbourhood), and characteristics of the educational system includes a discussion of how school culture and economic resources allocated to the different parts of the educational system have an impact on equity in education. Thus, inequity in education may be caused by structural and economic differences within the educational system, and it may be caused by differences between pupils and students.

The educational performance of each individual pupil or student is naturally more or less affected by stimuli from the parents and the environment. Thus, analysing equity in education includes studying how the educational system deals with these differences. Are all pupils and students met with equal opportunities when they enter the educational system? Is the educational system constructed to ensure education that is sufficiently adapted to the needs of groups of pupils and students with different needs for information and training? Analysing the measures used in order to increase integration and motivation among groups of pupils with special needs of any kind is an important part of the policy development. What does adapted education imply for different groups of pupils? Which kind of teaching methods should be used to acquire equity in education? These are questions we will return to in chapter 6.

Another related discussion involves the choice of indicators of equity in education⁴. When analysing equity in education, what are we looking for? Are there some characteristics of the educational system that has proven to enhance equity in education? What knowledge do we have about educational policy with a positive impact on equity in education? A simple answer to this question could be to look at the statistical difference between the demographical groups in the different levels of the educational system and to assume that low differences are indicators of equity in education. But is large statistical differences always indicators of inequity in education, or should we separate between demographic inequality and inequity in education? What kind of differences may we allow and what differences should the educational system try to reduce?

These are questions which may lead to a discussion of values and possible value conflicts. To what extent is the value of equity in conflict with other values in society and in the educational system? In Norway the value of equality is strong and the traditional educational policy may be regarded as to emphasize equal opportunity to education and establishing universal arrangements in the educational system. Treating all pupils and students equally and not developing targeted policy only aiming at particular groups of pupils or students, has been the dominant policy. Still, one discussion related to this policy may be if the value of equality has overshadowed the existence of inequalities among different groups of pupils in school and perhaps the need for introducing unequal treatment between different groups of pupils and students in order to reduce such inequalities. Is the value of equality in conflict with the measures needed in order to achieve equity in education?

Another question is of a more philosophical character: Is equity in education possible? Is it possible for the school system to make up for all the inequities outside the school; inequities in resources, learning strategies, and parental follow-up which the pupils bring with them into the classroom? The Norwegian educational system is constructed as an inclusive school based on the principle of one comprehensive school for all. Instead of segregating and streaming pupils and students all are integrated in the comprehensive school. With a low number of private schools and a high transition rate from compulsory to upper secondary education, almost the total population of Norwegian pupils participate in the comprehensive school for thirteen years. One question related to such a policy may be to what extent having an all inclusive school at the same time implies differences between the pupils. Instead of segregating the pupils and for instance placing low achievement pupils in special schools, all pupils are placed together in the Norwegian school system. Could it be that some of the

⁴ A thorough discussion of the choice of indicators to measure equity in education is provided in the report "Equity of the European Educational Systems. A Set of Indicators" (Socrates, 2003).

differences in achievement between the pupils may be seen in relation to the overall structure of an inclusive comprehensive school?

Other dilemmas and conflicts may be connected to the issues of efficiency, quality and freedom of choice versus equity: The emphasis on equity does not replace any other concerns. On the contrary, today citizens are demanding both efficiency and equity, as well as freedom to choose schools (Socrates, 2003). But is it possible to maintain equity in education together with a high quality education for all? We will return to these discussions during the report.

Limitations and analytical scope

When discussing the definition of equity and the factors that may be drawn into a discussion of equity in education, the complexity of the subject becomes obvious. In the following chapters several of the discussions and dilemmas briefly mentioned above will be elaborated. Still, analysing all relevant discussions and perspective related to equity in education is a way too large task. To limit the analytical scope of the report it has been necessary to focus on some perspectives while leaving other perspectives less covered. The topics that have received most attention are related to policy on reducing inequity in education among the groups of pupils and students that are overrepresented among the weak learners; i.e. groups at risk. This includes policy on integration of pupils and students with immigrant and language minority backgrounds, policy on integration of students with special needs, and policy on reducing the social differences among pupils and students in the school system. The goal of this report is thus to describe and discuss the policy on equity in education and to what extent different forms of policy on inclusion and integration have been successful and what barriers the different groups of learners may face in the Norwegian educational system.

The Norwegian context

Norway is a kingdom in northern Europe. With a population of about 4.6 million people (2004) and a mainland size of 323 759 km², the population density is only 14 per km², one of the lowest among OECD countries (OECD, 2000). Many people live in areas of scattered population, while 74 per cent of the population live in towns or built-up areas. The fact that many people live in remote rural areas underlines the importance of extensive public involvement in the provision of health, education and administrative services.

Norway has a state church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, to which approximately 90% of the population belongs. The principle of freedom of choice in religion and the existence of the Lutheran State Church are two factors that have had a major influence on legislation and curriculum development (OECD, 2000).

The Storting is Norway's Parliament and consists of 165 representatives from the 19 counties. Politically Norway may be labelled as a social democracy recognized by a concern for social justice and universal social rights, the well-being of all citizens, a high level of public welfare and a large, institutionalised public sector. The present government however, is a coalition of Christian democrats, liberals and conservatives, headed by Christian Democrat Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik (since 2001). In general, Norway is considered to be a country of small social differences and where values like equality and justice stands strong. Compared to other countries Norway is also recognized by relatively low levels of economic inequity due to a rather flat wage distribution and a low return to schooling (Asplund & Pereira (eds.), 1999).

The Norwegian Parliament and the Government are responsible for specifying the objectives and establishing the budgetary frameworks for the education sector. The Ministry of Education and Research is the administrative agency in charge of educational matters, and is responsible for implementing national educational policy. Administratively, Norway is divided into 19 counties and 435 municipalities. The municipalities (local administration) are responsible for primary and lower

secondary schools (10 years of compulsory education). The municipality is responsible for the fulfilment of each pupil's legal right to education, for the administrative running of schools, for the building and maintenance of school buildings, and for appointing teachers. The responsibilities of the municipalities for providing compulsory education also apply to adult learners. The municipalities receive block grants from the state. In addition, the municipality may apply for grants to cover competence development in compulsory education as well as other costs. The county authorities are responsible for providing upper secondary education for all residents of the county, both youth and adults. The Ministry may also order the county authority to provide upper secondary education to applicants from other counties (KUF, 2000b). The state is responsible for most institutions of higher education.

Norway has, in general, a highly educated population. Few countries spend more money on education than Norway does. The Norwegian education budget is equal to 6.8 per cent of the gross domestic product. The average for OECD countries is 4.9 per cent (OECD). In 1999, expenditure per pupil in Norwegian primary schools was 43 per cent above the OECD average (measured according to spending power), 42 per cent above average in lower secondary schools and 32 percent above average in upper secondary schools (OECD, 2002). The principal reason for the high costs is that there are more teachers per pupils in Norway than in other OECD countries (UFD, 2003).

Indigenous people, national and language minorities

Norway is generally regarded as a homogeneous country with a small, scattered population who speak the same language and belong to the same culture. Nevertheless, like almost every other country it has always consisted of an ethnic and cultural mix of peoples. In addition to the majority population, the Norwegian population includes groups of indigenous people, national and language minorities, and the immigrant population.

The Sámi is an indigenous people living in Finland, Sweden and Russia in addition to Norway. They form an ethnic and cultural minority in Norway, with a population of about 75 000, or 1, 7% of the total population. The majority of the Sámi live in the northern part of the country or in the capital (Oslo). The Sámi Parliament (The Sámediggi plenary) was established in 1989. The Sámediggi is independent, elected by the Sámi people and consists of 39 representatives. The Sámediggi is consultative for the authorities in all questions concerning the Sámi population.

The groups of persons considered to be national minorities in Norway are Jews, Kven (people of Finnish descent living in northern Norway), Roma/Gypsies, the Romani people/Travellers and Skogfínn (people of Finnish descent living in southern Norway) (KRD, 2001b; KRD, 2004a). Since ethnic origin is not included in the national statistics the knowledge and statistical comparison between national minorities and majorities are scarce.

Language minorities include groups who have lived in Norway for a long time as well as groups of more recent immigrants, including refugees and asylum seekers. There are different ways of defining language minorities. The demarcation between a person from a language minority and an immigrant will depend on the purpose of the definition. In primary and lower secondary education the term "pupils from language minorities" is used. This definition is based on pupils who do not have Norwegian or Sámi as their mother tongue (their first language) and who for a short or long period need specially adapted tuition in the Norwegian language (UFD, 2003b). It does not include the entire immigrant population as Statistics Norway's definition does. Statistics Norway defines the immigrant population as first-generation immigrants and children born in Norway to parents born abroad (Statistics Norway, 2004e). Language minorities also include adults who do not have Danish, Norwegian, Sámi or Swedish as their mother tongue and who need extra language training. Language minorities do not include national minorities. Policy on indigenous people and language minorities is described in more detail in chapter 3.

The immigrant population

Norway's immigrant population has increased during the past 50 years. Today (2004) the immigrant population in Norway accounts for 7.6 per cent of the total population or 349 000 persons, which is three times as many than in 1980. Looking at the origin of the immigrant population, the majority are from Asia (40 per cent), followed by people from Eastern Europe (16 per cent), the Nordic countries (15 per cent), Africa (12 per cent) and Western Europe (10 per cent). People from Pakistan make up the majority of the immigrant population, followed by those with background from Sweden, Denmark, Vietnam and Iraq. The majority (83 per cent) of the immigrant population consist of first generation immigrants without Norwegian background. First-generation immigrants are people who have immigrated to Norway and were born abroad to parents who were also born abroad. The remaining 17 per cent consist of people born in Norway to two foreign-born parents. Out of all first generation immigrants one out of two (48 per cent) have a refugee background⁵.

After the second world war refugees immigrated from Eastern Europe. Later the labour immigrants arrived from Europe and from other parts of the world. After labour immigration was prohibited in 1975, the numbers of refugees from the third world has increased. At the beginning of January 2004, Norway's refugee population counted almost 100 000 people, which comprises 29 per cent of the immigrant population. Around 75 per cent of the refugee population come from third world countries, while the rest come from Eastern Europe (SSB, 2004f). Almost one third of the immigrant population in Norway live in Oslo, which accounts for 22 per cent of the population in Oslo (SSB, 2004e).

In the autumn of 2000, around 40,000 (6.8 per cent) of the 590,000 pupils in Norwegian compulsory education had a language minority background. Half of the pupils were given education in their mother tongue/first language, while more than 70 per cent were given additional training in Norwegian language. Among the 164,000 pupils in upper secondary education, around 6,800 (4.2 per cent) had an ethnic minority background.

Cultural and political context around equity in education⁶

History at a glance

Education for all has been an ambition and a slogan in Norwegian educational policy for a long period of time. A historic view of the development of the educational system and changes in the educational policy in Norway may go all the way back to when compulsory education for all children in Norway was introduced in the General Education Act of 1739. The Act required that equality should be realised whereby all children, irrespective of their parents' social position and class, should be accorded a certain basic useful and necessary education. However, education should not signal elevation into another class in society other than that to which the child had its rightful place. The individual was to be taught those skills appropriate to the lot of his class. The school was to teach the student to be satisfied with those circumstances which life offered (Dokka, 1967; Solstad, 1994).

Commencing in the 1850s a new understanding of the nature of mankind was formed under the umbrella of enlightenment philosophy in alliance with a romantic idealism – and gradually, also in alliance with the labour movement. Attention was now directed towards that which, in the language of the time, was variously referred to as “The class cleavage”, “this disconsolate Division between High and Low”, and “this artificial distinction” (Telhaug & Mediås, 2003). Against this background the concept of school and education as social reproduction was replaced by a philosophy of equality. This implied that all children and youths, irrespective of social and economic background, should have the opportunity to climb to the very top of the education system. The only differences, which could be accepted, were those which were the responsibility of "The Creator". The philosophy of equality was

⁵ The definition 'refugee' refers to persons resident in Norway, who have come to Norway because of flight. Children born in Norway of refugees are not included.

⁶ This section is written together with Dr. Petter Aasen.

implemented first and foremost through the dissolution of the old parallel school system to the advantage of a public *unified* school system. This concept of *comprehensive unified schooling* implied that all students would enrol in public schools with a minimum of streaming (later extended to mean a school that also accommodates students with special needs), and a conviction that it was the proper work of schools to pass on to its students a national cultural canon (Telhaug, Mediås & Aasen, 2004).

During what has been called the Social Democratic Order (Furre, 1991) from 1935 until 1981⁷ the pursuit of educational equality through equality of opportunity was combined with the idea of equality of results. This idea included not only the responsibility of the state to provide opportunities to participate, but also whether people actually took advantage of that access and were successful in doing so. From this perspective providing the same opportunity was not enough because different people would need different kind of opportunities and some people would need more support in order to be successful. If children from different backgrounds were to have similar chances in life, they would have to be treated differently (Hernes 1974). In the policy approaches to improve equality the state played a crucial role. Equality of results necessitated inequality of provisions and resources (Slagstad, 1998; Telhaug, 1994; Aasen, 2003). The ideal was that the educational career of the individual would be determined by ability and interests, and not, for example, by social status and place of residence.

During this period the obligatory schooling was increased from 7 to 9 years, and the availability of upper secondary education was extended in the rural districts. A national curriculum with minimum requirements was introduced in all subjects in the compulsory school along with a common, national grades system. The State Educational Loan Fund was established in 1947 with the intention of improving the social recruitment to education. The integration of pupils with disabilities in normal classes was formalised in the 1970-ties (Haug, 2003). The goal was to have an inclusive educational system with an emphasis on adapted learning⁸. In order to ensure that salaries and working conditions for teachers were uniform throughout the country, responsibility for negotiations with the teachers' organisations was taken over by the state in 1948.

Reducing the social and geographical disparities in access to higher education also had an impact on the expansion of higher education in Norway in the 1960s and 1970s. A genuine political concern for local and regional development had a decisive impact on the localisation of new institutions, and before the reorganisation and merging processes of the mid-1990s, there were at the most 127 regional and vocational colleges, in addition to the 4 universities, 6 specialised universities, 7 art colleges and academies, and around 20 private colleges, spread out on all 19 counties. The mergers have lead to larger and fewer institutions, but as the locations of the former institutions are being used to run the activities of the new ones, very little have happened in terms of the pure geographical access to higher education. It should be noted that the political concern for a strong local and regional development of higher education has a double basis: one concerns the geographical access for young students; the other, and more important, is related to long-term habitation patterns, in that many choose to settle down in the area or region of the higher education institution from which they graduate (Eurydice, 2003).

Commencing in the 1980s and up to the present time, the Social Democratic Order has been replaced by several minority and coalition governments consisting of either left-wing, right-wing or centre parties. With more power to the liberal and conservative parties, the political climate has turned to the right; the trend popularly known as "*Høyrebølgen*" (the right-wing tidal wave). During the 1980-ties there was a renaissance for the economic liberalism, which set about an increased personal freedom of

⁷ Until the 1981 election, Norway had been governed by majority Labour Party governments since 1935, except for three periods (1963, 1965-71, and 1972-73). The Labour Party lost its majority in the Parliament in the 1981 elections. Since that time, minority and coalition governments have been the rule.

⁸ The concept of adapted learning has a central place in the Norwegian educational policy. It comprises that learning should be adjusted to suit the needs of each single pupil.

choice, increased private spending, and growing social disparities. However, in this period these trends seemed to reach acceptance in an increasing part of the political landscape, and not only among the liberal and conservative parties (Eriksen, Hompland & Tjønneland, 2003). From the beginning of the 1980-ties and to the beginning of the new millennium there has been a shift in the political rhetoric from a focus on traditional values of equality maintained by a strong state, towards an emphasis on freedom of choice, local differences and individual justice (Eriksen et al, 2003).

The emphasis on freedom of choice and local differences may be illustrated by the reforms in the public sector taken place during the same period. The trend is to reduce the detailed steering from the state and thus increase in the autonomy of the municipalities⁹. The reforms are proposed to provide more flexible and individually tailored services for users and a more efficient use of resources in the public sector, including both the educational system as well as other public services. Decentralisation may strengthen democracy by transferring power from central to local bodies and by bringing the decision-making process closer to the people living in the municipalities. Another argument is that decentralization increase the possibilities for the local school to design programs and activities better adapted to the needs of the local community. However, the reforms may also lead to an increase in the local variations, both regarding the schools' economy and funding as well as educational quality. Could the trend towards increasing local autonomy affect equity in education? We will return to analysing and discussing the impact of public reforms and policy in several parts of this report.

During the same period, and particularly during the last decade, the educational system of Norway has undergone several major reforms. These reforms is presented and discussed in chapter 3. The reforms may say to represent a shift in the educational policy from equality to efficiency. While the previous focus had been on reducing disparities in access to education and to increase equal opportunities, now the focus turned to efficiency. This shift was not limited to the Norwegian system; both economic circumstances, such as the recession periods of the late 1980s and early 1990s experienced in several European countries, as well as a growing share of the population attending upper secondary and higher education, contributed to a need for cost-effectiveness.

Current political context

In Norway the traditional policy may be regarded as to emphasize equality in opportunities before equality in results. The main policy includes increasing the access to education; establishing universal arrangements; creating a comprehensive school system where all pupils are included, and where learning is adjusted to the individual's needs. In recent years the question has arisen, though, to what extent learning actually is adjusted to the individual's needs. Is this a policy more in theory than in practice? Is the comprehensive school capable of both recognizing the diversity of the pupils and to ensure adapted learning for all? Or have the universal system of the comprehensive school only benefited some groups of "average" pupils while other have not been provided with the learning they need?

Such questions have been supported by comparative studies indicating several weaknesses in the Norwegian educational system¹⁰. The learning achievements among the pupils are placed in a mediocre position compared to other OECD countries, even though the resources spent on education are high. In addition there is a wide discrepancy in learning achievements in the Norwegian educational system both with respect to social differences and gender differences. Naturally these studies have caused both a political concern as well as a major public debate about efficiency and equity in the Norwegian school system. Taking into account the resources allocated to education in Norway, the results indicate low efficiency in the educational system; i.e. low capacity to pass on useful skills to the pupils and students.

⁹ The trend may be illustrated by the introduction of a new funding system (1986) which increased local autonomy by introducing the lump-sum system, and the Local Government Act (1992) which provided more local freedom and authority to the municipalities and schools.

¹⁰ This is mainly the PISA-study, see chapter 2 for a detailed presentation.

In the latest White Paper from the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD, 2004) the present policy for the compulsory and upper secondary education is expressed (see also chapter 3). The results from the PISA-study as well as other national research have had a considerable impact on the new policy. The White paper introduces a school for knowledge, diversity and equity. It is stressed that all students are equally worth, but none of them are alike; "Students who are fed up with theory as well as those thirsting for knowledge must be met with respect" (UFD, 2004). It proposes broad efforts to ensure that all students have an education and training that is differentiated, adapted and customised to meet their individual needs. The argument of equality in actual recruitment and choice of educational careers between social and cultural groups is no longer as prominent as previously.

Among the proposals is a strengthening of the basic skills by increasing the number of school hours and by reinforcement of the teacher's competence. The White paper expresses a shift in policy from a focus on input to output; by introducing outcome indicators such as national tests in the basic school subjects. National tests among pupils at 4th and 10th level in compulsory education were carried out for the first time in the spring semester of 2004 (see chapter 3 for a discussion of the national tests).

The White paper also proposes an increase in the local flexibility; 25 per cent of the timetable allocation may be decided locally in each school. The current trend in policy towards increasing local autonomy may also be illustrated in the recently changing responsibilities for teacher salaries. In January 2003 the responsibility to negotiate the salaries and working conditions for teachers was transferred from the state level to the employers (municipalities and counties). The new rules entered into force in May 2004.

Other current policy trends include a strengthening in the individual's freedom of choice, a belief in competition as a mean to increase quality. Through a new Independent Schools Act¹¹ from 2003, the opportunity for parents to establish alternative schools has significantly been simplified. This trend is paralleled in some of the larger municipalities where students/parents have the right to a free choice of school. Parental choice implies competition between schools and the application of market theory to education. The assumption is that once the market context has been established with appropriate incentives and market disciplines, competition between educational institutions will serve to raise standards. Raising educational standards for all is thus seen as a question of school management and quality of teaching. On the other hand there is an awareness of the problems connected with parental and individual choice. Is competition between schools a reliable measure for increasing school quality or could the consequences of freedom of choice be an increase in the quality differences between schools? The present government has recognized the notion of marketing of education as a problematic viewpoint with respect to overall academic achievement, equality of opportunity and equality of results. The rules and restrictions formulated in the Education Act and the Independent Schools Act as well as the National curriculum is intended to prevent such negative consequences of freedom of choice and the marketing of education.

The present educational system

The Norwegian educational system has been described as a "soft" system (Teichler, 1988). Compulsory school is comprehensive and with no streaming or tracking; the selection between vocational and general tracks takes place at a relatively late stage in the system; there are few "dead ends" in the system; and the possibilities for transfer between different types of education in higher education are flexible (Aamodt, 1996). In the following the Norwegian educational system is presented (see also figure 1.1). This includes pre-primary education, compulsory school (primary and lower secondary education), upper secondary education, and higher education. In addition the Folk high schools and adult learning institutions are presented.

¹¹ Act on Private Schools was replaced by Independent Schools Act in 2003.

Pre-primary education

Early childhood education and day care institutions, in Norwegian named "*barnehager*", have both an educational and caring role, and provide children from 1 to 5 years with opportunities for learning basic skills and development. Statistics show that 69 per cent of children aged 1-5 had a place in a day care institution by the end of 2003. While 48 per cent had a full time place the remaining 21 per cent had a part time place (Statistics Norway, 2004j). About 42 per cent were in a private day care institution.

The municipal authorities are responsible for the administration and activities of both private and municipal institutions and for ensuring that institutions are run according to goals set by the national Government. While all public education in Norway is free of cost, there is a fee for having children in early childhood education and care institutions. This fee is according to the Day Care Institution Act regulated by the state (BFD, 1995)¹². As of 1 May 2004 the maximum monthly fee for a full time place is NOK 2.750. The new regulation is part of "The pre-primary education agreement" which was carried through Parliament in June 2003. This reform will be presented in more detail in chapter 3.

Compulsory school

Compulsory schooling in Norway is of ten years' duration, and children start school at the age of six¹³ (see figure 1.1). All children living in Norway has a right and an obligation to participate and complete compulsory education. In the autumn of 2003 more than 617 000 pupils were registered in 3 209 primary and lower secondary schools in Norway. Since 1997, the total number of pupils has increased by almost 60 000 (Statistics Norway, 2004c). The responsible administrative unit is the local municipality. Compulsory education is divided into three main stages; Lower primary (grades 1–4), Upper primary (grades 5–7) and Lower secondary¹⁴. Each class is kept together as one unit from the 1st to the 7th grade and in many cases even to the 10th grade. Primary and lower secondary levels are often combined in the same school.

Norway has a scattered population, and the relatively large number of quite small school units in remote and sparsely populated areas is a typical feature. About 40 per cent of primary and lower secondary schools are so small that children of different ages are taught in the same classroom. Around 25 per cent of these schools are totally ungraded, i.e. all the pupils are brought together in one and the same classroom (but taught individually). At the lower secondary stage, most of the schools are larger, with 2 or 3 parallel classes at each level.

The large majority of children attend public compulsory school. In the school year 2000-01 1.7 per cent or 10 000 of the 590 000 pupils attended private primary and lower secondary schools in Norway. The number of private primary and lower secondary schools has doubled since the enactment of the new private school law in 1985. In the school year 2000/01, 88 or 2.7 per cent of the country's primary and lower secondary schools were private. In 1985/86 the number was 39. Out of the 88 private schools in the school year 2000/01, 25 were Steiner schools and 8 Montessori. Most of the other private primary and lower secondary schools were operated on a Christian pedagogic basis (Statistics Norway, 2001).

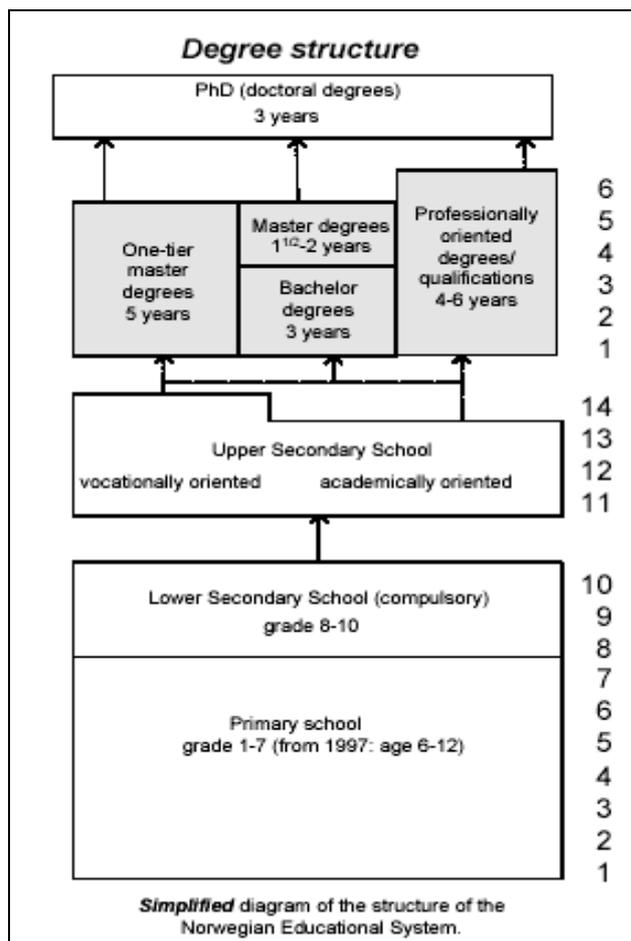
Education in public primary and lower secondary schools/institutions is provided free of charge. In these schools, textbooks are also free of charge.

¹² In 2003 a law amendment to the Day Care Institution Act allowed the government to give national guidelines for parental fees.

¹³ Compulsory education was increased from 9 to 10 years in 1997.

¹⁴ There is currently a suggestion from the Ministry of reducing the stages from three to two: Primary (grades 1–7) and Lower secondary (grades 8–10) education.

Figure 1.1 Diagram of the educational system in Norway¹⁵.



Source: NOKUT

Norway has a low share of students/pupils in special schools. The Norwegian policy is to offer education for pupils with special needs within the general school system instead of placing pupils with special needs in separate schools. See chapter 3 for a discussion of policy aimed at pupils with special needs.

Day-care facilities (*Skolefritidsordningen, SFO*) is a service accessible for children in primary school. Since 1 January 1999, all municipalities in Norway have been legally obliged to provide day-care facilities before and after school hours for children attending the first four grades (UFD, 2004). Day-care facilities for school children must provide facilities for play and for participation in cultural and recreational activities appropriate for the age, level of physical ability and interests of the children. Such day-care facilities must also provide satisfactory development conditions for children with physical disabilities. The services are subsidized by the municipalities. Parents who wish their children to attend are, however, required to pay a fee which varies from one municipality to another and often according to parents' income.

¹⁵ Exceptions not included in the diagram: Master's degree in architecture from Oslo School of Architecture, Oslo: 5.5 years; Bachelor degrees of 4 years duration; Master degrees of 1 year duration; Degrees of 2 years duration at university college (*høgskolekandidat*).

Upper secondary education

Upper secondary education embraces all courses leading to educational qualifications above the lower secondary level and below the level of higher education. Since autumn 1994 (Reform 94), everyone between the ages of 16 and 19 has had a statutory right to three years' upper secondary education leading either to higher education or to vocational qualifications or partial qualifications. The statutory right is valid within five years after finishing compulsory education (i.e. transition to upper secondary education may be postponed for up to two years). Pupils with disabilities are entitled to more than three years of upper secondary education (UFD, 2004). The main changes introduced by Reform 94 are presented in chapter 3.

The number of students in upper secondary education in autumn 2003 was 178 000. While the number of students in general education used to exceed the number of students in vocational education, the trend for the latest years indicates a more balanced enrolment rate between general and vocational education.

Upper secondary education is provided throughout the country and is designed to make equivalent educational courses available to everyone. General theoretical education and vocational training are offered side by side, often in the same school building. During the first year, students take one of 15 foundation courses¹⁶. Specialized courses are offered in the second and third year (advanced courses I and II) and in apprenticeships. Apprenticeship schemes are part of the upper secondary school system. The first two years of training are provided at school, whereas the final specialized part (up to two years) is given at a workplace in the form of on-the-job training. If not enough apprenticeships are available, the county authority must offer training at school in the form of a third year course (advanced course II). The final examination (trade or journeyman's examination) is the same regardless of whether training has taken place at school or at a workplace. The system offers high flexibility and few dead ends, as those who have opted for vocational training may acquire the necessary additional qualifications for entrance to higher education.

Completed upper secondary education qualifies students and apprentices for an upper secondary leaving certificate. There exist several types of certificates depending on what qualifications the student has obtained during upper secondary education. The main types include:

- A) A craft or journeyman's certificate (indicate competence in apprenticeship trades).
- B) Other vocational qualifications (vocational training in school).
- C) Higher education qualification (those who have completed three years of upper secondary education and have a minimum level of achievement in six basic subjects).
- D) Advanced supplemental course qualification (a combination of two years of vocational studies followed by one year with general subjects in order to receive qualifications to enter higher education in addition to vocational qualifications).
- E) Documented partial qualifications (for students who only complete parts of upper secondary education and training. Although they do not meet the requirements to for the other certificates, they still have their qualifications documented at the end of the education. Based on this documentation, the students can continue their education at a later date, with the objective of obtaining one of the previous certificates (A-D). This type of certificate was introduced as a part of Reform 94 and can be seen as an incentive for more learning (Egge, 1999).

Students in upper secondary education are offered a counselling service¹⁷. The counselling service consist of two parts; one part that provides counselling for students who have problems with learning, social or psychical difficulties, and another part mainly consisting of career guidance that supplies information of choice of education and possibilities on the labour market. A project has been

¹⁶ The number of foundation courses was increased to 15 in the year 2000. It is currently a proposal from the Ministry to reduce the number from 15 to 11 (UFD, 2004).

¹⁷ The counselling services are also offered to adults.

conducted where the two parts of the counselling service have been split. The counselling service and this project are discussed in chapter 6.

Students aged 16-19 who do not apply for a place in the upper secondary education and training system, who drop out, or are about to drop out from the education and training system, or have been expelled, is contacted by the follow-up service (*oppfølgingstjenesten*). The follow-up service was established in 1994 and is presented in chapter 3, as a part of the upper secondary education reform of 1994.

Tertiary education

Four universities, six specialised university institutions, 26 university colleges, two university colleges of the arts, and 30 private higher education institutions provide tertiary education. The majority of students enter public higher education (see chapter 2). Public higher education institutions in Norway are free. The institutions may, however, ask a small term fee for the running of student welfare activities. Private higher education institutions ask tuition fees from their students depending on the amount of state funding.

Between twenty and thirty private colleges provide recognized higher education. Most of the institutions are small and provide courses within specific academic fields, mainly lower degrees. A small number provide course programmes for higher degrees and also have considerable research activities. The largest fields within private higher education are economics and business administration, ICT studies, theology, health care and teacher training. The Norwegian School of Management is by far the largest in the private sector and has almost half of all students in Norwegian private colleges (NOKUT, 2003).

Geographical accessibility in higher education has been a political concern since the expansion of higher education in Norway in the 1960s and 1970s. The higher education institutions are spread out on all 19 counties. The decentralisation of higher education has contributed to establishing a large university colleges sector, providing an alternative to the university sector. In 2003 34 per cent of the students enrolled in higher education were enrolled in one of the four universities while 47 per cent were enrolled in one of the public university colleges (Statistics Norway, 2004h).

Entry to state tertiary education is regulated quantitatively and determined by the capacity of the individual institution. Access can be obtained through successful completion of three years of upper secondary school, or five years of work experience, or a combination of education and work experience, education and training. After the implementation of the Competence Reform (see chapter 3), admission can be granted on the basis of a combination of formal, in-formal and non-formal qualifications.

As of autumn 2003, a new degree structure along the lines of the Bologna Process, with a 3-year bachelor's degree followed by a two-year master's degree was implemented. In a transition period, there are exemptions from the new degree structure for students already part of a study programme before autumn 2003. The old university college degree of two years is kept (*høgskolekandidat*). There are also a few exceptions to the new 3+2 model; five-year consecutive master's degree in odontology, pharmacy, landscape architecture, architecture, and industrial design, a few six-year professional programmes (psychology, medicine, theology, and veterinary medicine), four-year bachelor's degree in performing music and performing arts, and four-year programmes in teacher education (Eurydice 2004).

Compared to other countries, Norway has a relatively large share of students studying abroad. In 2002 6.3 per cent of all Norwegian students studied abroad (Statistics Norway, 2004d).

Folk high schools

The folk high schools comprise small learning communities where all the students live together on campus, normally for one academic year. Teaching programmes view students in a holistic perspective, and are designed to encourage them to develop individually, socially and academically. All schools are small, with typical enrolment ranging between 28-153 students (per 1.oct. 2003). Major subjects include music, performing arts, outdoor life, mass media, computer education, crafts, international solidarity, and sports.

Norway's first folk high school opened in 1864, and today there are 77 folk high schools located throughout the country. Approximately 6 000 students attend folk high schools each year, mostly young adults between the ages of 18 and 25 who have completed their upper secondary education. Normally a folk high school programme is of one year duration, but a number of folk high schools also offer short-term courses for seniors and four institutions provide special programmes for persons with disabilities. Approximately ten per cent of the students attending folk high schools are international students. Students completing a folk high school programme receive a diploma, but the school confers no formal qualifications vis-à-vis the public education system. As of 1997, students receive three academic credits toward higher education through successful completion of a folk high school program¹⁸. Most of the folk high schools are owned and run by private organizations and foundations, but ten are under the ownership of county or municipal authorities. There are no tuition costs, but students are required to cover their own living expenses and to pay for excursions, student activities and personal materials. Student loans and stipends are available through the State Educational Loan Fund.

Adult learning

Adult education programmes are offered within the formal educational system as well as by a number of voluntary organizations, both within and outside the workplace, including distance education¹⁹. Courses are offered in a wide variety of subjects, ranging from recreational activities to higher education exams²⁰.

The large variety and number of institutions offering adult learning and workplace learning programmes makes it more complicated to grasp and describe this part than the previous parts of the educational system. Separating between education and leisure activities may be difficult. In addition, adult learners comprise of at least two quite different groups of students. On the one hand, there is a group of adults who lack compulsory education or upper secondary education where adult education consists of "filling in the gaps" of their previously lacking basic education. The other group consist of adults taking further education, often on top of the education they already got. The two groups differ on several accounts. There are mostly women and mostly people in vocational rehabilitation (*attføring*) who participate in primary education for adults. Different from other groups of adults participating in further education, this group has low levels of education and very often low social background and low socio-economic background (Svensen, 2000). See chapter 4 for more on the system of vocational rehabilitation.

¹⁸ Young men and women can receive three credits for folk high school completion or for military service but not both. The credits are used for entry to higher education.

¹⁹ In 2003 approximately 20 000 students completed courses offered by 12 authorized distance education institutions.

²⁰ There are currently 22 study associations (*studieforbund*) consisting of more than 400 member organizations representing political partisan circles, the workforce and various religious denominations. The most popular organization, *Folkeuniversitetet* accounted for 29 per cent of all courses, and 44 per cent of all participants in study associations. The study associations arranged 50 000 courses with 735 000 participants during 2003 (Statistics Norway, 2004i). The courses are mainly without exams and fixed curriculum. In 2003 only 8 per cent of all participants were offered examination. Of those who were given the option of a public examination, 9 000 were at a higher level, while 7 500 were on upper secondary level.

Considerable efforts have been made in recent years to improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged groups through adult education. This particularly applies to adults with especially weak schooling, various groups of persons with disabilities, adults with reading and writing difficulties and adult immigrants.

The Norwegian Parliament has decided that adults shall have a statutory right to primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education. The right to upper secondary education has been put in force from autumn 2000, while the right to primary and lower secondary education was implemented in August 2002 (UFD, 2004). The municipalities and county authorities have the duty to provide such education. By 1 October 2002, almost 3 700 persons received this kind of education (Statistics Norway, 2003f). Adults, who are unable to benefit from ordinary educational provisions, or have special needs, have the right to special education. By autumn 2002, more than 7 000 adults received special education (Statistics Norway, 2003f).

SECTION II: OPPORTUNITIES AND OUTCOMES

Chapter 2: Profile of Equity in Education

In this chapter the profile of equity of education in Norway is presented. This includes participation, completion and drop-out rates in the different parts of the educational system, as well as earnings and participation in the labour market. Here the tables presented in the separate data annex are commented and discussed. The chapter also includes a presentation of the main findings from international tests of cognitive skills (PISA, TIMSS, IALS), thus comparing Norway to other countries.

Participation rates

Pre-primary education

Table 1 show participation rates in pre-primary education for children aged 1-5 (6) in the years 1980, 1992, 1997 and 2002 (see the data annex)²¹. During the time period from 1980 to 2002 table 1 indicate an increase in the participation rate in pre-primary education. In 1980 the oldest age group (6 year olds) had a participation rate of 44 per cent while the average participation rate among children aged 0-6 was only 20 per cent. In 2002 the participation rate among the oldest age group (5 year olds)²² was 87 per cent while the average participation rate among children aged 0-5 was 55 per cent. By the end of 2003 the participation rate for the age group 1-5 was 69 per cent (Statistics Norway, 2004j).

Additional statistics show that among children with language and cultural minority backgrounds²³ the participation rate is lower than in the total population. While 66 per cent of children aged 1-5 had a place in a day care institution by the end of 2002, the proportion was only 33 per cent among language minority children (UFD, 2003b). By the end of 2002 almost 11 000 children with a language and cultural minority background attended a day care institution. Of these 38 per cent received training in their mother language or dual-language assistance (Dzamarija & Kalve, 2004). Policy on access to pre-primary education will be discussed in chapter 6.

Primary and Lower Secondary Education

All children living in Norway has a right and an obligation to participate and complete compulsory education. However, some of the newly arrived immigrants have not completed compulsory education. Among first generation immigrants aged 16-24 in 2001 0.2 per cent had no completed education, while 30 per cent had unknown educational attainment (Statistics Norway, 2003e). Having unknown educational attainment implies that they are neither participating in upper secondary education nor are they registered with completed compulsory education (Støren, 2002b). Some of them may have completed education from their home country, without continuing their education in Norway (which then would have been registered), but a high proportion has probably not completed a full compulsory education. Migration during school age may cause an interruption in the educational progression among a number of young immigrants. This may lead to delays and difficulties in continuing their education. To improve the follow-up of recently arrived immigrant youths with weak educational background is currently a political priority (UFD, 2003b).

²¹ Data covering children in pre-primary education are collected annually by Statistics Norway on an aggregated level. The only background characteristic included in the data is age.

²² In 1997 compulsory education was expanded from 9 to 10 years of schooling with school start at the age of six instead of seven.

²³ Language minority children are defined as children having a mother tongue other than Norwegian, Swedish, Danish or English (Dzamarija & Kalve 2004).

Upper Secondary Education

Table 2 in the data annex shows participation rates in upper secondary education of 16-19 year olds by sub-population groups. When comparing participation rates in 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002, the table illustrates a general increase in the participation rate among most groups of students and apprentices. The main increase took place between 1982 and 1992 when the average participation rate in the age group 16-19 years increased from approximately 56 to 71 per cent. The increase continued between 1992 and 1997. The data indicates a decrease in the participation rate among first-generation immigrants from non-western countries between 1997 and 2002. This may be related to a large increase in the total population of first generation immigrant in the age group 16-19. As previously mentioned some of the newly arrived immigrants have not completed compulsory education (Statistics Norway, 2003e). Other statistical studies also show that participation in upper secondary education increases with years of living in Norway, and that immigrants from non-Western countries who recently have arrived are particularly at risk when it comes to participation and completion rate in upper secondary education (Støren, 2002b). However, the relatively low participation rate in 2002 could be accidental and should not be interpreted as a trend, since most statistics is pointing towards a general increase in the participation rates among youth with immigrant backgrounds during this period. The low participation rate among Western immigrants is probably due to a high proportion taking education in other countries outside Norway.

Differences in participation rates between students living in rural and urban parts of the country have changed during 1992 and 2002. While students living in rural parts of the country had a lower participation rate in 1992 (65 versus 76 per cent), students living in urban districts had a slightly lower participation rate in 2002 (80 versus 77 per cent). Looking at participation rates of boys and girls, girls had a slightly higher participation rate in 1982 (58 against 53). In 2002 the differences had been balanced and the participation rate was 78 per cent both among girls and boys. However, the gender differences become more evident when turning to table 3a and 3b. In these tables participation rates in general/academic programmes (ISCED 3A) and in vocational/technical programmes (ISCED 3C) is presented separately. While girls have a higher participation rate in the general/academic programmes, boys dominate in the vocational/technical programmes.

More detailed statistics indicate a high level of stability in the influence of gender on fields of study. In 2002 boys were predominant in some areas of study in vocational education – such as building and construction trades, technical building trades as well as electrical trades. Girls more often choose health and social care studies, arts, crafts and design studies, hotel and food-processing trades and also sales and service, and dominate equally in these areas of study (Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). In the general tracks there is more gender balance.

Table 3a and 3b illustrate several differences in participation rates between the general/academic and vocational/technical programmes. While the participation rates in the general/academic programmes are highest among students who have parents with higher education and lower among those who have parents with compulsory education as highest level of education, the trend is opposite in the vocational/technical programmes. Separating between the general and vocational tracks also reveals geographical differences. While students living in urban districts have the highest participation rates in the general tracks, students living in rural districts dominate in the vocational tracks. Among students with immigrant backgrounds the participation rates are generally higher in the general tracks. The differences are most noticeable among the descendants of immigrants; persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents. In the majority population the participation rate was 44 per cent in both the general and the vocational tracks in 2002 (see table 3a and 3b). Among the descendants of immigrants from non-Western countries the participation rate was 63 per cent in the general tracks and only 27 per cent in the vocational tracks.

Tertiary education

Table 4 in the data annex presents participation rates in tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6) by population sub-groups. In 2002, 24 per cent of those aged 19-28 were enrolled in tertiary education. In the age group 19-24 the participation rate was 28 per cent. In comparison, the participation rate of those aged 19-28 in 1982 was 10 per cent. From 1982 and to 2002 the participation rate has increased in all age groups.

Table 4 show that the participation rate differs according to the student's socio-economic background. Students with parents with higher education have a higher participation rate than students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school. However, whether or not the differences have increased, decreased or stayed stable during the time we are studying, may be a matter of discussion. In 2002 the participation rate among students with parents with higher education was 40 per cent, and 8 per cent among students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school. In 1982 the participation rates in the two groups were 26 and 3 per cent. Measured in percentage increase students with parents with higher education has had an increased participation rate of 54 per cent, while students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school has had a 167 per cent increase. However, measured in percentage points increase students with parents with higher education has had an increase of 14 per cent, while students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school has had an increase of only 5 per cent. The difference in percentage points between the two groups was 23 percentage points in 1982 and 32 percentage points in 2002. Thus, the statistics show little indication that students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school are "catching up" on the students with parents with higher education.

Turning to the student's geographical background, the statistics indicate an equalising trend between students from urban and rural districts during the past decade. In 1992 the participation rate among students living in urban districts was 20 per cent; twice as high as among students living in rural areas. In 2002 the differences was almost evened out; the participation rate among students living in urban districts was 24 per cent, and 22 per cent among students living in rural areas. The increased participation rate among students from rural districts should be seen in relation to the geographical distribution of the higher education institutions (see chapter 1). Reducing geographical inequities in access to education has been a central policy in Norway and the statistics may indicate that the decentralisation policy has been successful in reducing the geographical differences in participation in higher education.

The gender differences, on the other hand, have increased during the last 20 years. In 1982 the participation rates was approximately 10 per cent both among men and women. In 2002 men had a participation rate of 20 per cent while it was 27 per cent for women.

More detailed statistics of those who completed a general track in upper secondary education in spring 2002 show that 35 per cent were enrolled in higher education the following autumn (Dzamarija & Kalve, 2004). The transition was higher among the women than among the men; 39 against 30 per cent. Some of the gender difference in transition rates may be explained by men entering the military service shortly after completing upper secondary education.

Since 1985 more women than men have undertaken short tertiary education, with a duration of four years or less. In 2002 less than 16 per cent of the male population had undertaken short tertiary education, and about 20 per cent of the women. As for portions of men and women who have completed a tertiary education lasting more than four years the picture is slightly different. In 2002 7 per cent of the men and approximately 3 per cent of the women had completed a long tertiary education (Statistics Norway, 2003c).

Compared to the majority population the immigrant population has a lower participation rate in higher education. This is particularly apparent among the first generation immigrants. In 2002 the

participation rate among the non-immigrant population was 25 per cent; among first generation immigrant the rate was 11 per cent and among the descendants of immigrants (persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents) the rate was 23 per cent.

Other statistics show that in 2002 the transition rate among non-western immigrants who had completed a general track in upper secondary education to higher education was about the same as for the population as a whole, 36 per cent (Dzamarija & Kalve, 2004). However, because non-western immigrants have lower transition rates from compulsory education to upper secondary education, along with a higher drop-out rate in upper secondary education, the share of non-western immigrants in higher education is still low compared to the total population.

Table 5a and 5b in the data annex show participation rates in higher education by type of higher education institution²⁴. Comparing participation rates in table 5a and 5b the tables show that most students enters a public higher education institution. In 2002 20 per cent of the age group 19-28 participated in a public higher education institution while 3 per cent participated in a private higher education institution. In 1982 the participation rates in public and private higher education institution were 8 and 1 per cent. This equals a share of students in private higher education institution of 13 per cent. In 2002 the share had increased slightly to 15 per cent. The participation rates by sub-population groups in public and private higher education institutions seem to follow much the same pattern, thus the patterns expressed in table 4.

Adult learning and workplace learning

Table 6 in the data annex show percentages of adults aged 35-59 enrolled in all levels of education (ISCED 3-6), by population sub-groups. The table show that the participation rates among adults have increased during the time period between 1982 and 2002. For instance, only about 2 per cent of the age group 35-39 was enrolled in education in 1982; in 2002 the rate had increased to 6 per cent. The participation rates are higher among the younger parts of the adult population. Still, in the age group 50-54 about 2 per cent was enrolled in education. The participation rates include all participating at different levels in the educational system and does not separate between those enrolled in upper secondary education and those enrolled in higher levels of education. However, the table does not cover all forms of adult learning, for instance workplace learning that are not part of the educational system will not be included in table 6.

Looking at differences in participation rates between different sub-population groups table 6 indicate many of the similar trends expressed in table 4. Higher socio-economic groups have a higher participation rates compared to those from lower socio-economic groups and women have a higher participation rates than men. However, the participation rate among the adult immigrant population is not lower than among the majority population. In 2002 the participation rate among first generation immigrants from non-Western countries was about 5 per cent, slightly higher than among the non-immigrant population (4 per cent).

Considerable efforts have been made in recent years to improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged groups through adult education. This particularly applies to adults with especially weak schooling, various groups of persons with disabilities, adults with reading and writing difficulties and adult immigrants. Policy towards including these groups in society and through the education system will be discussed in chapter 3 and 6.

²⁴ The tables do not separate between students enrolled in independent private and government-dependent private higher education institutions. Most private institutions are receiving government funding. In Norway the majority of students are enrolled in tertiary education type A (OECD 2003). The low share of the students enrolled in tertiary-type B education makes it less meaningful to divide this group in population sub-groups.

Completion rates

Completion rates in compulsory education

The completion rate in compulsory education in the non-immigrant part of the population is 100 per cent. However, some of the first generation immigrants have not completed compulsory education. In 1999 24 per cent of the 18 year olds first generation immigrants from non-Western countries were neither registered in upper secondary education nor were they registered with completed compulsory education (Støren, 2002). This group consist mainly of children who have immigrated to Norway during compulsory education.

Completion rates in upper secondary education

Table 8 shows percentages of the age group 25-29 who have completed at least upper secondary education, by population sub-groups. The table show an increase in the share with completed upper secondary education, corresponding to the increasing participation rate in upper secondary education displayed in table 2. In 1982 the average completion rate was about 77 per cent and in 2002 it had increased to 90 per cent.

While table 8 shows only minor effects of age, gender or geographical location on completion rates, significant differences are found among different socio-economic groups and among groups with different immigration status. While about 82 per cent of those with parent with no education beyond compulsory school had completed upper secondary education in 2002, the completion rate was 95 per cent among those with parents with higher education.

Upper secondary completion rates among the age group 50-54

Table 9 shows percentages of the age group 50-54 who have completed at least upper secondary education, by population sub-groups. Similar to table 8, table 9 shows an increase in the share with completed upper secondary education. In 1982 the average completion rate was about 53 per cent and in 2002 it had increased to 81 per cent.

Completion rates among the age group 50-54 shows similar tendencies as among the 25-29 year-olds when it comes to socio-economic background. While about 76 per cent of those with parent with no education beyond compulsory school had completed upper secondary education in 2002, the completion rate was 98 per cent among those with parents with higher education.

Upper secondary graduation rates

The tables 10 and 11 show graduation rates in upper secondary education at typical age of graduation, by population sub-groups. While table 10 show the graduation rates in the general/academic programmes, table 11 show the graduation rates in the vocational/technical programmes. The general/academic programmes are usually 3 years of duration and the typical age of graduation in table 11 is 18 years. The vocational/technical programmes normally follow a 2+2 structure (2 years in school and 2 years in training) and therefore the typical age of graduation is slightly higher, in table 11 it is set to 19 years. The graduation rates presented in the tables refer to the total number of graduates (the graduates themselves may be of any age) at the specified level of education divided by the population at the typical graduation age from the specified level²⁵. This implies that changes in the graduation rates depends both on changes in the total number of graduates and on changes in the size of the population at the typical graduation age.

Table 10 display an increase in the gross graduation rates in the general/academic programmes from 38 per cent in 1982 to 64 per cent in 2002. The increase is both caused by an increase in the total number of graduates in the general/academic programmes during the period covered and on a decrease in the size of the population at the typical graduation age. The graduation rates in the

²⁵ The construction of the tables corresponds to table A1.1 in Education at a Glance (OECD, 2003).

vocational/technical programmes displayed in table 11 follows a slightly different pattern. Here the graduation rates increases from 24 to 55 per cent between 1982 and 1997, followed by a decline to 46 per cent in 2002. This decline is caused by a reduction in the total number of graduates in the vocational/technical programmes. However, table 11 show a strong increase in the total number of graduates in the vocational/technical programmes between 1982 and 1997.

Completion rates in tertiary education

Table 12 shows percentages of the age group 30-34 who have completed tertiary education, by population sub-groups. The table shows an increase in the share with completed tertiary education from 1982 to 2002. In 1982 the average completion rate was about 22 per cent and in 2002 it was 35 per cent. It is particularly between 1997 and 2002 that the main increase has taken place. During this period the general completion rates in tertiary education increased with more than 7 percentage points among the 30-34 year olds.

Table 12 displays an obvious relation between the completion rates and the student's socio-economic backgrounds. Students with parents with higher education have a higher completion rate than students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school. Taken into account the social differences in participation rates displayed in table 4, the statistics are not surprising. In 2002 the completion rate among students with parents with higher education was 66 per cent, and 13 per cent among students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school. Although the rates vary slightly during the period, the table indicates relatively stable social differences in completion rates.

The table display a clear difference in completion rate in tertiary education by location. In 2002 the completion rate among 30-34 year olds living in urban areas was 38 per cent while it was only 22 per cent among those living in rural areas. The differences must be related to differences in the labour market between urban and rural districts; urban districts containing more jobs where higher education is required and thus, attracting a higher proportion of the higher educated labour force.

The gender difference in completion rate in tertiary education however, has changed significantly during the period covered by the statistics. In 1982 men had a higher completion rate than women; 24 against 20 per cent. Ten years later this had changed, now women had the highest completion rates; 25 against 22 per cent. In 2002 this gap had increased from 3 to 9 percentage points; men now had a completion rate of 30 per cent while women had a rate of 39.

Significant differences in completion rates in tertiary education are also found between groups with and without immigrant backgrounds. Looking at the completion rates during the four points in time, a slightly unclear pattern is found. The lack of a clear increasing or decreasing trend is partly due to differences in the composition of the immigrant population during the time span. In 1980 the majority of immigrants had their background from Western countries. Ten years later, this had changed and the immigrant population had increased substantially. Now the majority of both first generation immigrants and among persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents originate from non-Western countries. In addition, an increasing part of the immigrant population has arrived as refugees during this period while previously a larger proportion was labour immigrants (see also chapter 1 for a description of the immigrant population in Norway). This should be taken into consideration when interpreting the completion rates among the immigrant population. Due to the low numbers of persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents in 1980, the statistics for this group should be interpreted with caution. As a general trend, the immigrant population originating from Western countries often have higher completion rates than the immigrant population from non-Western backgrounds. This must be seen in relation both to the reason for immigration (labour, asylum seekers, etc), and with differences in the educational system in the immigrant's country of origin. While most immigrants from Western countries have well developed educational systems in their country of origin, a higher proportion of immigrants from non-Western countries arrive from countries without

properly developed educational systems and without a sufficient level of education to enter tertiary education in Norway.

Completion rates in tertiary education among 50-54 year olds

Table 13 shows percentages of the age group 50-54 who have completed tertiary education, by population sub-groups. Similar to table 12 table 13 shows an increase in the share with completed tertiary education from 1982 to 2002. In 1982 the average completion rate was about 11 per cent and in 2002 it was 26 per cent. The completion rate is lower than among the 30-34 year olds, but the percentage point increase has been just as high, or even higher, during the period. Between 1982 and 2002 the completion rate in tertiary education among the 50-54 year olds increased by 15 percentage points and was more than doubled.

There are clear differences in completion rate according to socio-economic background. Among those with parents with higher education the completion rate in 2002 was 69 per cents, almost twice as high as in 1982, when it was 35 per cent. Among those with parents without education beyond compulsory school the completion rate was 16 per cent in 2002. Compared to 1982, when the completion rate among this group of 50-54 year olds was only 3 per cent, the rate has been doubled four times during the two decades. Still, the percentage point gap in completion rates between the two groups has by no chance diminished during this period. It must be noted however, that in this age group the number of persons where both parents have unknown educational background, is high.

Similar to table 12, table 13 show higher completion rates among those living in urban district compared to those living in rural areas. The gender differences however, follow a different pattern in table 13 than in table 12. Among the 50-54 year olds men have a higher completion rate all through the period covered. In 2002 the tertiary education completion rate is 27 per cent among men and 25 per cent among women. The data indicates that the female dominance in higher education is a recent phenomenon, thus it is not observed in the older cohorts.

Turning to the groups with and without immigrant backgrounds we find a general trend of increasing completion rates both among first generation immigrants with Western and non-Western backgrounds. However, the descendants of immigrants are a young group, and there are very few in the age group 50-54. Due to the low numbers of persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents, the statistics for this group should be interpreted with caution.

Labour market outcomes

The tables 14, 15 and 17 are constructed using data from the Norwegian Labour Force Survey (LFS). Due to sample bias it is not possible to give any results on immigration status from this survey.

Table 14 show labour market participation by type of upper secondary education completed, by population sub-groups. That is the percentage of the population who have attained upper secondary level education who are either employed or unemployed, broken down by (a) academic (b) vocational upper secondary level. The table display a relative stable labour market participation in the time period covered of around 80 per cent both among those with an academic and those with a vocational upper secondary education. Socio-economic background does not seem to have any significant impact on labour market participation among these groups. There are small variations between those who have parents with higher education and those who have parents with no education beyond compulsory school. Still, those who have parents with unknown educational background have a slightly lower participation rate, except in 1982. The geographical variations are small, although those living in rural areas seem to have a slightly higher participation rate in most of the years surveyed. Not surprisingly, men have a higher participation rate than women. Still, the differences is reduced during the last 20 years, because of an increase in the women' labour market participation from 69 per cent in 1982 to 77 per cent in 2002.

Table 15 show labour market participation by type of tertiary education degree (ISCED 5A, 5b and 6), by population sub-groups. In general, the labour market participation among those who have completed a tertiary education degree is higher than among those with upper secondary education as their highest educational level. The participation rate is around 90 per cent during the total period. Comparing the groups from different socio-economic background could indicate slightly lower participation rate among those who have parents with higher education compared to those who have parents with no education beyond compulsory school. However, the differences are small and could be accidental. Men have a higher participation rate than women also among those with tertiary education, but the gender gap is smaller than among those with upper secondary education. In 2002 the participation rate was 92 per cent for men and 87 per cent for women.

Table 17 show percentage of 15 to 24-year-olds not in education or work, by population sub-groups. Both in 1997 and 2002 7 per cent of this group reported to be neither studying nor employed. Among this group socio-economic background does seem to have an impact. The percentage being not in education or work is more than three times as high among those who have parents with no education beyond compulsory school compared to those who have parents with higher education, 13 to 4 per cent in 2002. Among those who have parents with unknown educational background the rate is even higher, 23 per cent in 1997 and 20 percent in 2002.

Survival rates in tertiary education

Statistics Norway does not collect data on survival rates in tertiary education. Taking into account the flexibility in the Norwegian system of higher education measuring survival rates are complicated and is not done on a regular basis by national statistics.

More restricted studies of graduation rates in higher education indicate large differences in progression and graduation between different study programmes. On average, students at the university colleges graduate on time more frequently than students at the universities. This may be explained by differences in the study structures and entry barriers. However, even among the study programmes in the university college sector, the variation is high. Among students entering a nursing education in 1994, 79 per cent graduated on time three years later (Aamodt, 2001). After the fourth year, an additional 9 per cent had graduated. The graduation rate among engineering students starting the same time was significant lower. Only 37 per cent graduated on time and 10 per cent graduated after one additional year. Some of these students did continue studying to become graduate engineers, but the low graduation rate is mostly a result of high drop-out (Aamodt, 2001).

In general Norwegian students have slow progression through the educational system and many are delayed by one or two years (Markussen & Aamodt in Statistics Norway, 2003a). Low graduation rates are perhaps the price to pay for having a flexible system of higher education which allows temporary stop-outs and change of study programmes. Still, one of the main goals in the Quality Reform (presented in chapter 3) is to increase graduation rates and progression in higher education and reduce drop-out rates by introducing a closer follow-up of individual students.

School performance in compulsory education

There are substantial variations in school performance. Recent analyses show that social background, gender and immigrant background have an impact on compulsory school performance (Arnesen, 2003). Those having parents with higher education have a higher grade point average compared to those with parents with lower levels of education. Girls have a higher grade point average than boys in all school subjects except gymnastics. First generation immigrant students have noticeably lower grade point average compared to ethnic Norwegian students, while second generation immigrants are almost catching up with the majority students.

Drop-out rates among secondary and tertiary education students

The drop-out²⁶ rates in upper secondary education has been reduced after 1994 (see chapter 3 for a presentation of the main features of Reform 94). However, reducing the drop-out rate and increasing the progression rate in upper secondary education is still important challenges for policy (UFD 2004).

Drop-out rates of students who enrolled on a basic course in upper secondary education in 1997 show that in total 22 per cent had not completed upper secondary education by 2002; 62 per cent completed on time, while 74 per cent had completed upper secondary education within 5 years (1-2 years delay). The remaining 4 per cent was still enrolled in upper secondary education. Girls were 10 percentage points more likely than boys to complete on time (Statistics Norway, 2004b).

The statistics reveal major differences in throughput between vocational and general studies. In 1994, 88 per cent of students enrolled in general studies completed upper secondary education within the next five years. The corresponding figure for vocational studies was only 59 per cent. Of the students who enrolled in general studies in 1994, 10 per cent did not complete within 5 years compared with 34 per cent for vocational studies (Statistics Norway, 2004).

Social background as well as having an immigrant background has a strong effect on drop-out in upper secondary education. Among students entering upper secondary education in 1994 whose parents had primary or lower secondary education 43 per cent had not completed within five years. Among students who had parents with a long tertiary education (more than 4 years), less than 8 per cent had not completed within five years. As an overall average, 39 per cent of immigrants enrolled in 1994 had not completed upper secondary education within five years (Statistics Norway, 2004b).

When comparing drop-out rates in tertiary education social background plays a less significant part. While some studies find that students from high social background have lower rate of drop-out in tertiary education than students from lower social backgrounds (Aamodt, 2001), others show no direct effect of social background on drop-out (Næss, 2003). The different findings may be explained by differences in the type of study programmes included in the analysis. However, in general there is a policy on reducing drop-out in higher education as well as in upper secondary education. The policy is expressed in the Quality reform in higher education (see chapter 3).

Evidence from tests of cognitive skills (PISA, TIMSS, IALS)

As previously mentioned the results from international surveys have been diverse; while some place Norway in a high position, other international surveys and studies of cognitive skills place Norwegian schools in an average position. The results of these studies have received massive attention in the Norwegian political and public debate.

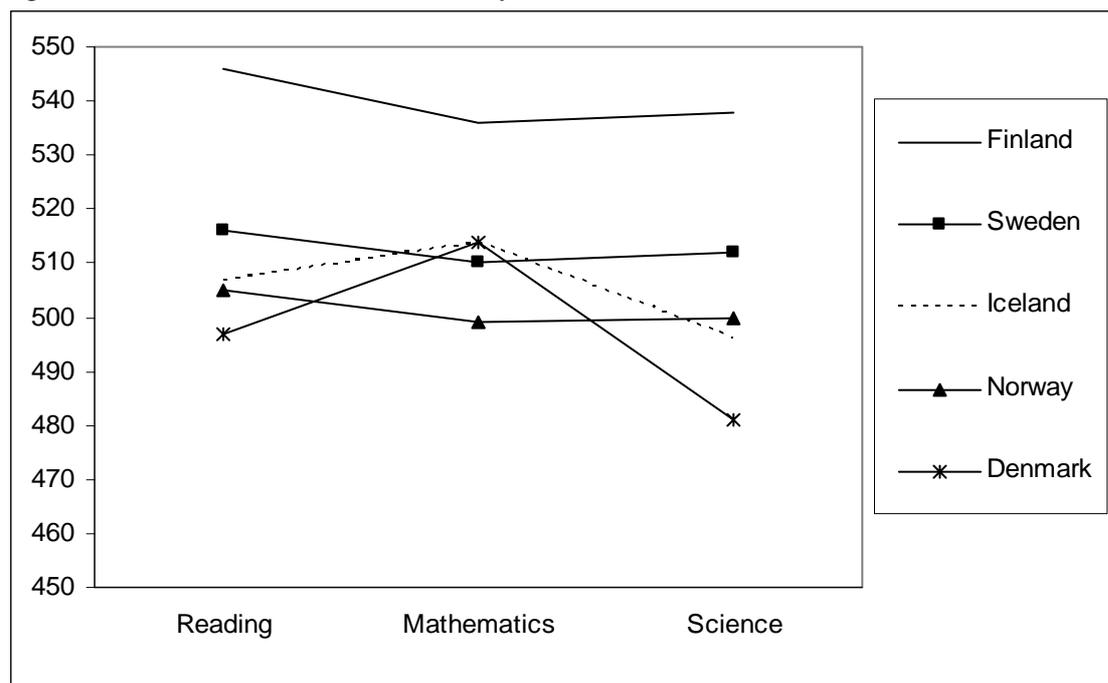
PISA

The international PISA survey (Programme for International Student Assessment) is planned to be a three-yearly survey (PISA, 2000; PISA, 2003; PISA, 2006) of the knowledge and skills of 15-year-olds in the principal industrialised countries. The survey assesses how far pupils near the end of compulsory education have acquired some of the knowledge and skills that are essential for full participation in society. The pupils' performances are measured in three domains *reading literacy*, *mathematical literacy* and *scientific literacy* respectively, as these concepts have been defined in the PISA framework (OECD 1999, 2000).

²⁶ Drop-out is defined as having left the educational system without having completed upper secondary education. However, drop-out includes those who have completed parts of upper secondary education and training. Thus, the students labelled as "drop-outs" may have obtained a certificate of documented partial qualifications (see chapter 1).

Figure 2.1 presents the mean achievement for the Nordic countries in the three domains. The OECD mean score is 500. The figure is taken from the study “Northern lights on PISA: unity and diversity in the Nordic countries in PISA 2000” (Lie, Linnakylä & Roe (eds.), 2003). The study points out two central features in the figure. First, the Finnish students score remarkably high and strongly outperform their Nordic peers. In fact, in reading the Finnish students significantly outperform students of all other participating countries, whereas the other Nordic students perform closer to the OECD mean. Norway performs very close to the OECD mean in all three domains. Secondly, the “profile” of Finland, Sweden and Norway is remarkably similar indicating higher relative performance in reading than in mathematics or science. This stands in contrast to students in Denmark and Iceland who have a pronounced relative strength in mathematics (Lie et al (eds.), 2003).

Figure 2.1 Mean scores in the three literacy domains for the Nordic countries. PISA 2000.



Source: PISA 2000 (Lie et al (eds.), 2003).

Table 2.1 presents the relationship in the Nordic countries between the students’ reading literacy score, the standard deviations and their International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI, for details, see OECD 2001d). This index is defined in PISA as a measure of the socio-economic status of the parents, based on information provided by the students on their parents’ occupations.

Table 2.1 Mean scores in the three literacy domains for the Nordic countries. PISA 2000.

	Mean	Standard deviation	Dependence on ISEI
Denmark	497	98	29
Finland	546	89	21
Iceland	507	92	19
Norway	505	104	30
Sweden	516	92	27
OECD Mean	500	100	34

Source: PISA 2000 (Lie et al (eds.), 2003).

Table 2.1 demonstrates what can be regarded as “good” and “bad” results: Finland combines a high mean score in reading literacy with a low standard deviation and low dependence on the socio-economic index. The results for Iceland and Sweden are somewhat “poorer” in these respects, but still

“better” than for Denmark and Norway, which have the lowest mean scores and also the highest spread. In addition, these two countries have the strongest variation with ISEI, thus indicating that the school systems in these countries have not “succeeded in levelling out” differences in home background factors to the same degree (Lie et al (eds.), 2003).

When discussing the findings, the relevance for policy is pointed out by the authors: *“On the one hand we may choose to reject the statement that a high spread and strong dependence on home factors tell a story about lack of “success”. After all, the dependence is definitely not a function of schooling alone; it is also one of the characteristics of the society, particularly how cultural and socio-economic factors are distributed among the population. On the other hand, the Nordic countries are basically similar in many respects, in particular by having rather homogeneous societies. Therefore, there are reasons to believe that the Danish and Norwegian educational systems are less “successful” than those of the neighbour countries in promoting equity with respect to home background factors. The relevance of this finding is significant for policy makers”* (Lie et al (eds.), 2003).

The survey also reveals that a gap has arisen in recent years between the levels attained by boys and girls, with girls continuing to outperform boys (UFD, 2003c). The gender differences in favour of girls are generally larger in Norway than in the OECD, on average. This gender difference has emerged during the latest years. In previous times boys used to outperform the girls within mathematics and natural science (Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). The causes of these gender differences as well as the changes in gender differences will be discussed in chapter 6.

The PISA-study has caused both public debates as well as political action in Norway. Bearing in mind the resources committed to education the Norwegian level of achievement is not considered to be satisfactory. The results have caused much debate of the quality – or lack of such – of the Norwegian compulsory school. However, the differences between Norway and other OECD countries are not only related to quality but also to quantity; the number of lessons per week are relatively low in the Norwegian compulsory school (OECD, 2003). Following the PISA-study new policy is about to be implemented in order to increase both quality and quantity in the Norwegian compulsory school. The policy is presented in the new Government White Paper from the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD, 2004) (see chapter 3).

TIMSS

TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study), is designed to help countries all over the world improve student learning in mathematics and science. It collects educational achievement data at the 4th and 8th grades to provide information about trends in performance over time together with extensive background information to address concerns about the quantity, quality, and content of instruction.

Norway participated in TIMSS 1995 and 2003. The results from TIMSS 2003 will be made available from December 2004. In the following some of the results from TIMSS 1995 are presented and discussed.

In TIMSS 1995 Norway participated in all three populations that were being assessed. Population 1 was defined internationally as the two grades with the most 9-year-olds, which in Norway at that time meant pupils in grade 3 and 4 in primary school²⁷. Population 2 was defined as the two grades with the most 13-year-olds, in Norway this meant pupils in the last year of compulsory school and the first year of upper secondary education. Population 3 was defined as students in their last year of upper secondary education.

²⁷ Before 1997, schooling started at the age of seven in Norway.

As a general finding in the Nordic countries, the Nordic students tend to score relatively better as they grow older. This is especially evident among the Norwegian pupils. While the 9-year olds (Population 1) scored well below average both in mathematics and science (10-40 per cent below average), the oldest group (Population 3) scored 20-25 per cent above average. Essentially two types of cultural explanations have been put forward in relation to these results. One focuses on the Nordic emphasis on education for all, with high participation rate even at upper secondary school. Furthermore, theoretical subjects do play an increasing role even within the more vocational lines of study. The second type of explanation has to do with the view of childhood. There is a common tradition in the Nordic countries to "let children be children" in the sense that they are not being subject to educational pressure. The late start of schooling and relatively few lessons per day the first years are examples. Even more significant is probably the fact that formal marks are not given in the primary school at all. Furthermore, repeating grades do not occur in the compulsory school (Lie, Kjærnsli & Brekke, 1997).

The achievement results for TIMSS 1995 revealed large gender differences in the Nordic countries. Of particular concern was the fact that there was a dramatic increase in gender differences from population 1 and 2 to the generalists in population 3. This increase occurs in all countries and reflects to a large extent gender differences in curricular choices for population 3 students. The general picture is that the girls' underachievement in both mathematics and science is particularly distinct in the Nordic countries towards the end of the education system. However, it is notable that particularly for Norway the gender gap is much wider than internationally.

IALS/SIALS

IALS (International Adult Literacy Survey) was first conducted in 1994, without Norway participating. When the Second International Adult Literacy Survey, SIALS, was conducted in 1998, Norway was among the participating countries. A total of 21 countries participated in the IALS/SIALS. The surveys use the term "literacy" instead of the term "reading literacy" used in surveys of school children. The definition of literacy goes beyond the ability of decoding written text and is formulated as: *The ability to understand and employ printed information in daily activities, at home, at work and in the community – to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential* (OECD & Statistics Canada, 2000). In the study three scales of literacy competence are used. Norway scores above average in all three scales used in the IALS, and is among the six countries where less than 15 per cent of the population is positioned on the lowest level of literacy skills. Sweden had the highest score in all three tests, while Norway came in 2nd, 3rd and 4th place in the three tests. The most important predictor of literacy competence is, not unexpectedly, education. People with higher education have higher scores on the tests than people with low levels of education. One explanation for the high score of the Nordic countries may thus be the general high level of education. However, despite the fact that Norwegian adults score high in an international perspective, approximately 30 per cent score below level 3, which according to the OECD is the level necessary to "meet the demands of a modern society" (Lie et al., 2001). Even though this is a low number compared to other countries, this implies that a significant proportion of the Norwegian adult population has low literacy competence²⁸.

Evidence that outcome inequities are growing or shrinking in the country?

Several studies have analysed changes in social inequality in the educational system (Knudsen, Sørensen & Aamodt, 1993; Hansen, 1999; Statistics Norway, 2003; Bakken, 2003). While the general picture is of stability of social inequality, or minor reductions in the social inequity in higher education, a study of performance in lower and upper secondary education suggests that social inequities have increased during the past decade (Bakken, 2003). Pupils from high social

²⁸ To further analyse and study adult literacy, the IALS has been followed up by ALL (Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey). The project has conducted pilot surveys. A project report is going to be published winter 2005.

backgrounds²⁹ and two fulltime employed parents have higher school achievements than other pupils. Between 1992 and 2002 this difference in school achievement has increased. Parent's profession is also important in explaining school achievement, but when using parent's profession as an indicator of social background, instead of using books at home and parent employment, changes in inequities are not found.

Measuring social inequities and changes in social inequities is difficult and has been the topic of several international debates over the time. The study illustrates some of these difficulties in choice of indicators; whether or not the study indicates that social inequities are growing depends on the indicator used for social background. Why the results differ according to choice of indicator of social background may have different explanations. It could be that the social differences between families with a high and low number of books in their homes, or between parents who are employed or unemployed, have increased and that the study reflects the increasing social differences between the households. On the other hand, the results may be interpreted as reflecting changes within the school system. The growing social inequities may be an indication of the school system's decreasing ability to even out the effect of social background on school achievement. Taken into account the main goal in the Norwegian school system of reducing differences between pupils from different social backgrounds and securing equal opportunities for education for all, the findings are disturbing. Together with the results from the PISA-surveys, as well as results from an evaluation of a reform in compulsory education (Reform 97, see chapter 3), these results have caused a large debate in Norway of the schools ability to provide equal opportunities for all. The need for an increasing focus on how to reduce social inequities in compulsory school is reflected in the recent policy from the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD, 2004, presented in chapter 3).

Studies on social inequality in higher education present a different picture. Research suggests that social inequality in recruitment to higher education has been reduced during the 1990's (Aamodt & Stølen in Statistics Norway, 2003a; Hansen, 1999). However, the reduction has mainly taken place in the university college sector and in the shorter education programmes (2-4 years). In the university sector, where the long prestigious education programs like medicine, law, etc. are found, social inequality has not declined (Hansen, 1999).

Earnings over the life cycle

Studies comparing earnings over the life cycle among people with different level and type of education, find in general a low rate of return to education in Norway (Pedersen, 1995; Raam, 1999; Hægeland & Møen, 2000, Hægeland in Statistics Norway, 2003a). While the rate of return to education is 4-5 per cent per added year of education, the rate is substantially higher in most other European countries (Moen & Semmingsen, 1996; Asplund & Pereira, 1999).

Could the low monetary return to education indicate that education is of less importance in Norway in comparison with other countries? If the outcome of spending more years in education is low, would it not be a better economic investment to enter the labour market as soon as possible? Still, measuring the cost and benefits of education is complicated and involve more than simply earnings over the life cycle. When taking into account the non-monetary outcomes of education, and the cost of not having any education beyond compulsory education, the benefits of education increase. Higher education reduces the risk of unemployment. In addition, when a high proportion of a cohort complete upper secondary education and as an increasing share continue to higher education, education becomes increasingly important in the competition for all types of work. The cost and benefit of education should also be seen in relation to the low cost of study to the student in Norway (see chapter 1).

²⁹ Number of books at home is used as an indicator for social background. Pupils who reports a high number of books at home (500+) are classified with high social background.

Sources of data

Statistics Norway is responsible for producing official statistics in Norway. Statistics are prepared on almost all principal sectors in society, including the educational sector. Data covering children in pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education (age 0-14) are collected annually on an aggregated level. No systematic collection or monitoring of children in pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education is conducted on an individual level. Number of children participating in the comprehensive schools is registered annually in the Comprehensive school information system (GSI)³⁰.

Data covering students in upper secondary education and higher education is available on a national level for all the required points in time and can be broken down along most relevant population sub-groups. The Register of the Population's Highest Level of Education (BHU Register) encompasses persons registered as resident in Norway and who are aged 16 and over at the end of the reporting year. In addition, 15-year-olds are registered who have completed primary and lower secondary school or who are pursuing education above the primary and lower secondary school level. The Register of the Population's Highest Level of Education is now drawn directly from the Norwegian National Education Database (NUDB). NUDB collects all statistics on ongoing and completed education from 1974/75 and BHU since 1970 in a common database. Data from Statistics Norway can be used to study differences in completion rates, and on differences between those choosing general theoretical education and vocational training in upper secondary education. Using the Norwegian National Education Database (NUDB) students can be traced on their way through the educational system. This includes retention rates, completion rates, drop-out, delays and changes of tracks in higher education.

Statistics related to the adult education area are rather fragmentary (OECD, 2001b; Tøsse in Statistics Norway, 2003a). One of the reasons for this is the wide range of study programmes and the wide range of learning arenas for adult education and training. Training takes place in the public educational system, adult education associations, study associations, folk high schools, distance education institutions and other private institutions and on the workplace. The national statistics gives information of number of participants in study associations, independent distance teaching institutions, folk high schools, labour market courses and upper secondary education programmes. The Comprehensive school information system (GSI) registers number of adults participating in adult education at the comprehensive schools.

A new system of registration of immigrants is under construction. This will improve data on newly arrived adult immigrants.

³⁰ The register provides aggregated information along several indicators, including numbers of pupils in ordinary education, number of pupils in special education and number of pupils from language minority backgrounds. In addition, number of lessons provided for these different groups of pupils are registered.

SECTION III: POLICIES, PROGRAMMES, AND INITIATIVES

Chapter 3: Active Educational Policies Bearing on Equity

Since the beginning of the 1990-ties the educational system of Norway has undergone several major reforms. The reforms have affected both structure and content of all parts of the educational system. This section describes the major educational reforms during the last decade and a discussion of the main effects of these reforms. All the major reforms have been (or are currently being) followed up by systematic evaluations, and the evaluation reports will be a central part of the discussion. Besides the major reforms, additional projects and educational policy bearing on equity will be presented in this chapter.

The major Norwegian educational reforms and innovations during the last decade:

- A reform of upper secondary education in 1994 ('Reform 94')
- A reform of compulsory education in 1997 ('Reform 97')
- A reform targeting the adult population in and outside the labour market in 1998 ('the Competence Reform')
- The Quality Reform in Norwegian Higher Education

Other educational policy bearing on equity which will be presented in this chapter include:

- Policy affecting pre-primary education
- Policy in comprehensive school
- Policy aimed at indigenous people and language minorities
- Policy aimed at pupils with special needs
- Financial assistance to students
- Forthcoming policy changes in the education system presented in the Government White Paper: "Culture for learning" (UFD, 2004)

Reform 94: Upper secondary education reform

The reform of upper secondary education (Reform 94) was implemented in autumn 1994. The previous major change in upper secondary education occurred in 1976 and Reform 94 was a response to changes in society generally and within the educational sector in particular. The main goal of Reform 94 was to increase participation and progression in upper secondary education and to make this level of the educational system more transparent by reducing the number of foundation courses and to reduce the barriers between the vocational and general tracks.

The major components of the reform were:

- Introducing a statutory right to a 3-year, full-time upper secondary education for all young people between 16 and 19 years of age who have completed compulsory school or equivalent.
- Reducing the number of foundation courses (more than 100) to thirteen areas of study³¹. Specialisation takes place in Advanced Courses I and II/company-based training (apprenticeship).
- Removing structural barriers between foundation and advanced courses by increasing access to the advanced courses and facilitating the transition from school-based to company-based training (apprenticeship).
- Establishing a follow-up service for young people who have the right to education, but are neither undergoing education nor are employed.

³¹ The number of foundation courses was increased to 15 in the year 2000. It is currently a proposal from the Ministry to reduce the number from 15 to 11 (UFD 2004).

The follow-up service

The follow-up service (*oppfølgingstjenesten*) was established in 1994 and is located in each county. The service is responsible for monitoring and maintaining contact with students aged 16-19 who do not apply for a place in the upper secondary education and training system, who drop out, or are about to drop out from the education and training system, or have been expelled. Annually between six and seven per cent of the students need contact with the follow-up service. The service does not have any measures or resources to operate on their own; their mission is to cooperate with other national, municipal or county bodies on the follow-up of each individual (KUF, 2000).

Its primary objective is to encourage these young people to return to the education system, and to give them support – in collaboration with the counsellors in the upper secondary schools – in doing so. If they are not willing to return to education, they should be helped – with the aid of the public employment service – to get a job or to be offered a place on a publicly-funded labour-market-related programme; sometimes a mix of these strategies is found to be effective. The service is managed at the county level: in some it is linked closely with the Educational-Psychological Service; in some with the counselling services in the upper secondary schools; in some with the school administration in the county's municipalities (OECD, 2002).

The follow-up service has been evaluated and the results indicate regional variations. The follow-up service has more difficulties in contacting and influencing youth living in larger cities than youth living in less urban areas (Grøgaard, Midtsundstad & Egge, 1999). Not all the youths that are contacted receive enough attention or attention adjusted to their needs and a majority still drop out of education, either to start working or other activities. The low share returning to education after having been contacted by the follow-up service may be an indicator of the service's success. In that respect, the service has only had limited success. On the other hand, one might discuss to what extent it is reasonable to expect all young people to remain within the educational system (Markussen, 2003; Markussen & Sandberg, 2004). Does it always imply that choosing not to continue education or to drop out during upper secondary education is something that must be hindered? Could it be that some drop out of school for positive reasons? Drop-out does not necessarily imply a problem for equity in education, but this will depend on the group that drops out and on what the alternatives to education are. Research suggests that especially those dropping out at an early stage in upper secondary education primarily consist of weak school performers. Those dropping out at later stages of upper secondary education is more often strong school performers who do not drop out of school because of insufficient school performance, but out of other reasons, i.e. they are offered a job or wish to have a temporarily break from school. Still, the experience so far is that the follow up service is important and necessary. A new project conducted by The Norwegian Board of Education³² (LS) aims to improve the performance of the follow-up service (see also SOS 2002).

The evaluation of Reform 94

The reform was subject to a major research programme and evaluation from 1994 to 1998 (Kvalsund, Deichman-Sørensen & Aamodt (editors), 1999; KUF, 1999c; KUF, 2000). In addition, some studies have followed the 1994-cohort of students in upper secondary education even further through the educational system or into the labour market (Støren et al, 1998; Markussen, 2000; Støren & Sandberg, 2001; Grøgaard et al, 2002; Støren, 2003). The evaluation was designed to show to what extent the central aims of the reform were realised.

The major successes identified were:

- An improvement in the progression and completion rate in the vocational tracks. Among the students who entered a vocational track in upper secondary education in 1994, almost 60 per cent completed with optimal progression (no delays). Before the reform this rate was only 30 per cent

³² On 15 June 2004 The Directorate for Primary and Secondary Education was established as a new organisation under the Ministry of Education and Research. The Norwegian Board of Education was incorporated in the Directorate.

(KUF 1999b). Among the students with statutory right to upper secondary education who entered education in 1994, about 55 percent achieved study competence, and about 25 percent achieved vocational competence. The remaining 20 percent achieved competence at a lower level (Grøgaard et al, 2002).

- An improvement in the through put into tertiary education, so that more young people obtain a national qualification.
- Better co-operation between schools and working life.

Some of the weaknesses were:

- A decline in adult education caused by the statutory right attributed to young people. However, the improvement of the Norwegian labour market in the years after 1994 might explain the decline in adults' application to upper secondary education (OECD, 2000).
- Still a significant drop-out rate in the vocational tracks, partly due to lack of apprenticeship and partly to an increasing requirement for theoretical education even in the vocational tracks.
- Variations between the upper secondary schools.

The OECD study "What Works in Innovation in Education?" has focused on identifying relevant projects initiated in relation to motivation for lifelong learning. The Norwegian part of this study was conducted by Fafo (Institute for Applied Social Science) (Egge, 1999). The results from the study draw mainly on results from the evaluation of the Reform 94. These findings indicate the importance of developing a learning environment, teacher motivation and qualification, and student motivation through participation and activation in the planning process.

Reform 97: The Compulsory School Reform

The Compulsory School Reform came into force in July 1997. The objective of the reform was to ensure that all children would receive an education that equips them to meet the challenges of the future and would grow up in an environment that generates self-confidence and security. Different from Reform 94, Reform 97 was planned for several years before it was set in motion in 1997. The government defined the reform through four parts:

- A school reform where the most important changes were increasing compulsory education from 9 to 10 years of schooling with school start at the age of six (instead of seven), and a new curriculum (both Norwegian and Sámi).
- A children reform which give the school a responsibility to contribute by providing rich impulses for the children through play and training and contact with adults in different roles.
- A family reform with emphasis on building day-care facilities before and after school hours for children in families where this is needed.
- A cultural reform where a larger part of the local and neighbourhood culture shall be integrated in the school's everyday activities.

The evaluation of Reform 97

Following the reform a large evaluation process was conducted involving researchers from a number of different institutions (Imsen, 2003; Øzerk, 2003; Haug, 2003). The results from the evaluation pointed out several fields of challenges within compulsory school and suggested that not all of the good intentions of the reform had been equally successful. The evaluation indicated a variation in the quality of the activity in the compulsory school: *"In some areas the evaluation draws a fairly positive conclusion, in some fields a great deal of variety is revealed, and in some areas the quality is downright poor"* (Haug, 2003).

The evaluation points out great differences in what is expected of school, in the way school is experienced and in the results achieved in school in many fields. These differences exist both between counties, municipalities, schools, classes, teachers, pupils and parents. There are vast differences between schools when it comes to e.g. school environment, aesthetic qualities of the schools, academic

results in several subjects, the organisation of the school day and the use of new teaching methods. For certain groups of pupils, the evaluation indicates that the quality is not satisfactory. The compulsory school does not fulfil its declared intention of providing an equal education for all pupils, regardless of sex, parents' financial situation, where they live, abilities, qualifications and cultural and linguistic background. Several categories of pupils are faced with a school which does not pay sufficient attention to their point of departure and background.

Furthermore the evaluation indicates several "*systematic unfortunate differences*", which has negative impact on the pupils' learning in school, and in particular the weak pupils: "*What is most obvious is that boys and girls are faced with different circumstances and in such a way that the boys systematically do not perform as well as the girls in almost every respect. Research has pointed out that many pupils with another mother tongue than Norwegian do not make the grade in school, and probably they do not amass sufficient knowledge and skills to enable them to function in further education and in society at large. Pupils from families with a poor educational background systematically achieve less than pupils with parents who have a good education. The benefits of specially adapted teaching programmes have been questioned. Local culture and local values enjoy less room in school than the national culture of the country. Some parents are reluctant to get in touch with the school to express their opinions and wishes. They are afraid that their children will suffer. Specially adapted teaching programmes have not been implemented to the extent that they ought to have been. The pupils report that there is far less specially adapted teaching than the teachers claim that they offer, and independent observations would appear to support the pupils rather than the teachers. It is probably the case that much of what is mentioned above has negative consequences mostly for pupils who for a variety of reasons need more time and help to benefit from school, or who need other forms of teaching and measures than the majority of the pupils do*" (Haug, 2003).

When it comes to explaining the reasons for this situation the school system the evaluation focus on priorities in educational policy that has been implemented throughout much of the previous century and the lack of follow-up: "*(The policy) emphasises a strong central administration, a rather strict standardisation and harmonisation of the schools, and with great emphasis on the collective when it comes to methods and content. The policy has not been particularly concerned with inspecting, following up and controlling the methods the school has used and the results that have been achieved and the circumstances have therefore not been conducive to insight and change*" (Haug, 2003).

The results and the experiences of Reform 97 and the following evaluation has been a basis for recent policy-making. A new policy for the compulsory school has recently been developed by the present government. The main content of this policy will be presented later in this chapter.

The Competence Reform of adult education and training

The Competence Reform was initiated in 1999 (St. meld. Nr. 42, 1997-1998), and is still in progress in various initiatives and projects. The aim of the Competence Reform has been to make a contribution towards meeting the needs of society, the workplace and of individuals for competence and skills. The Competence Reform may be regarded as an incentive programme for lifelong learning (Egge, 1999).

One of the measures used is the Competence Building Programme (*Kompetanseutviklingsprogrammet, KUP*), financed by the government. The main goal for the programme is to develop the market for adult learning and workplace learning. Both public and private companies and business corporations may apply for project finance. The programme started in 2000 with a budget of NOK50 mill, and by 2004 the programme had received more than NOK310 millions (about 38 mill euro) in state funding. Close to 700 projects have been financed by the Competence Building Programme.

The Norwegian Institute for Adult Education (VOX) was established on 1 January 2001. The institute will expedite and carry on research and development, spread knowledge, build networks and be a knowledge resource to the adult education community. VOX administers, among other things, the

Competence Building Programme, the non-formal learning programme and the project for the development of flexible teaching models in upper secondary education.

Another central feature of the Reform is the implementation of measures for documentation and evaluation of adults' non-formal learning to be used as a basis for professional recognition and entry into further formal education. Non-formal learning may be acquired through work, experience of working in organisations or through other informal learning. Schemes have been developed that are valid in both the workplace and the educational system. This has been achieved through collaboration between the parties in working life, the educational system, study associations and private providers of education (UFD, 2003c). From 2001 adults have been able to enter higher education on the basis of evaluation of non-formal learning (*realkompetanse*). In 2002 the share of students applying for higher education based on their documented non-formal learning was 7 per cent of all students (Helland & Opheim, 2004).

Under the Competence Reform adults who have a need for primary, lower secondary or upper secondary education have a right to be given access to it; moreover, those who have been employed for at least three years, and have been with the same employer for the last two, have a right to full-time or part-time leave of absence for up to three years to participate in organised education and training. The right to study leave was introduced on 1 January 2001 and is laid down in the Working Environment Act. Besides formal learning, the reform is concerned to support recognition of non-formal learning, closer links between the education system and the workplace, and formal acknowledgement of the workplace as a place of learning.

The Competence Reform is currently undergoing an evaluation.

The Quality Reform in Norwegian Higher Education

The Quality Reform was implemented at all higher education institutions from the autumn term 2003³³. The main reason for the reform was both to achieve improved quality in higher education and research, to reduce drop-out, and to follow up the outcome of the Bologna Process and Norway's obligations in that respect.

The major components of the reform were:

- A new degree system, bringing Norway higher education in line with the 3+2+2 structure that is going to dominate Europe as the Bologna process moves on
- New study programmes, with a more flexible, modular structure, but also with clearer contract obligations between students and institutions
- New approaches to teaching, with closer follow-up of individual students, more student collaboration and updated forms of evaluation and exams
- A comprehensive system of quality assurance, directed by a new, independent national agency: The Norwegian agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT)
- A revised system of financial support to students
- A clearer mandate for every institution to internationalize and to enable every Norwegian student to include a period of study abroad in a Norwegian degree

Source: UFD (2004)

One of the major goals has also been to give the institutions increased freedom in order to improve quality. The reform implies more autonomy for the higher education institutions both regarding academic issues (e.g. freedom to establish new programs); in financial issues (e.g. to redistribute capacity); and in organisational issues. However, the increased freedom (from detailed steering from

³³ The Quality Reform was debated in Parliament and decisions were made in 2001, and the necessary legislative changes were introduced as from 1 July 2002. Some changes were implemented in 2002.

the Ministry) is at the same time correlated by higher demands on quality and quality assurance. And perhaps most important: More attention is to be paid to the students' needs.

The Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education, NOKUT, was established by the Norwegian Parliament in 2002 and commenced its activities on 1 January 2003. NOKUT is an independent government body. NOKUT will be the main authority for accreditation and approval of institutions and educations.

By increasing the monitoring of the students a central goal for the Quality reform is to increase the completion rates and reduce drop out in higher education. A recent study indicates only a minor reduction in the drop-out rate among first year student at the University of Oslo from the academic year 2002 to 2003 (Universitas 2004). While the drop-out rate among new students was 19.5 per cent in 2002, it was reduced by only 2.5 per cent to 17 per cent in 2003. At the University in Bergen, however, preliminary results display a noticeable improvement in graduation rates.

The Quality Reform is currently undergoing an evaluation.

Policy affecting pre-primary education

The cash benefit scheme

The cash benefit scheme was introduced in 1998/1999³⁴. The scheme is a transfer of cash to parents with children between the ages of one and three who do not or only partly make use of government subsidized day care institution or pre-primary education. Part-time places may entitle to reduced benefit.

The intention of introducing the scheme was:

- To provide the family with more time to take care of their own children
- To give the family real choice in selecting the type of care they prefer for their children
- To ensure greater equality in the payments individual families receive from the government for child care, regardless of how the supervision of the child is arranged.

The public reactions to the scheme were mixed and many expressed a concern that the scheme would contribute to keeping women outside the labour market and thus have a negative impact on gender equality. Other concerns were that the scheme would be mostly used by low income groups and sub-populations at risk in society and thus have a negative impact on integration in society and among children from language minority backgrounds.

Evaluations of the cash benefit scheme did show that the scheme was more frequently used by low income families than among families with higher income. Participation in pre-primary education also increased with parent's level of education (Hellevik & Koren, 2000). This was mainly explained by a correlation between parent's (especially mother's) educational level and their labour force participation. The general impression from the evaluation was still that the scheme had a rather minor effect on participation rates in pre-primary education (Gulbrandsen & Hellevik, 1998; Gulbrandsen & Hellevik, 2000). However, the possibility of producing long term effect on parents and particularly mother's participation in the labour market has been pointed out.

The pre-primary education agreement (*Barnehageforliket*)

In June 2003 the Norwegian Parliament made an agreement of finance and management in the sector of pre-primary education for the period 2004-2005. The main content of the agreement was to increase the number of places in pre-primary education to reach full coverage within 2005 and to lower the cost for the parent's by introducing a price cap on parental payment for pre-primary education.

³⁴ The scheme was first introduce for 1 year old children, and later for 2 and 3 year olds.

Policy in comprehensive school

The Differentiation project (*Differensieringsprosjektet*)

The Differentiation project (1999-2003) was a national project initiated by the Ministry of Education and Research and financed by governmental support. The project has involved all upper secondary schools in the country. The background for the project was a documented need for improvement and innovation in adapted education for each student in upper secondary education (KUF, 1999a; KUF, 1999b). The goal for the project was to develop and practice methods for learning that would secure to the largest extent an adapted training for each individual student. Each school decided themselves what types of strategies they wanted to try out. More than 1600 different types of strategies for adapted learning has been taking place during the project period. The project has been evaluated (Dale & Wærness, 2003). The evaluation show that while half of the teachers find the projects in their school interesting and useful the other half finds the differentiation projects unclear regarding criteria and goals. The evaluation report points out that both school leaders and teachers must see their work as useful and important in order to obtain quality in the differentiation. The results also show that a high proportion of the students report low motivation (Læringslaben, 2003).

The "Pupil inspectors" (*Elevinspektørene*)

The "Pupil inspectors" is a national project initiated by the Ministry of Education and Research and financed by governmental support. The project is an electronic device developed to gain information of pupil's own experiences, judgements and points of view of their own learning in primary, lower and upper secondary education. By entering a site on the internet, pupils have the opportunity to answer questions about school motivation, satisfaction with the teachers, physical and social environment, experiences of school bullying, pupil participation, counselling services, among others. The answers have been a tool for local work for improving quality in school. During the school year of 2001/2002 around 52 000 pupils have participated in the "Pupil inspectors" survey. An analysis of these answers points out both pupil participation as well as the teacher's important role as motivator and supervisor as central indicators of quality teaching (Dale & Wærness, 2003b).

Policy aimed at indigenous people and language minorities

Indigenous people

The Sámi is an indigenous people with a population of about 75 000, or 1, 7% of the total population. According to the Education Act adopted in 1998 all children at primary and lower secondary level living in areas defined as Sámi districts and according to specific criteria elsewhere in Norway, teaching is given in accordance with the special Sámi curriculum introduced in 1997. For Sámi pupils, this teaching is intended to build a sense of security in relation to the pupils' own culture and to develop Sámi language and identity, as well as equipping Sámi pupils to take an active part in the community and enabling them to acquire education at all levels. Sámi language has equal status as Norwegian in the educational system. Since the academic year 1997/98 also Finnish (*kvensk/finsk*) has been granted the status as second language in schools. When so required by at least three pupils of Finnish stock (Kvens) attending primary and lower secondary schools in the northern areas, the pupils have the right to receive tuition in Finnish. From the eighth class level, pupils decide themselves whether they will receive tuition in Finnish (KUF, 2000b).

The Sámi University College has a special responsibility for training Sámi teachers. The University of Tromsø has responsibility for Sámi language and Sámi studies. State support is provided for the development of textbooks written in the Sámi language.

Language minorities

Language minorities include groups who have lived in Norway for a long time as well as groups of more recent immigrants, including refugees and asylum seekers (see chapter 1). Within compulsory

education, pupils from language minorities are entitled to the same opportunities and rights, and have the same obligations, as pupils with Norwegian as their mother tongue.

Pupils in primary and lower secondary education with another mother tongue than Norwegian or Sámi, have the right to special education in Norwegian until they have acquired the proficiency to enable them to follow the normal teaching (Section 2–8 in the Norwegian Education Act). If considered necessary, these pupils have the right to mother tongue education, bilingual subject learning or both. This applies both to newly arrived pupils and to other pupils with inadequate skills in Norwegian to follow the normal teaching provided in Norwegian. If mother tongue education and content and bilingual subject learning can not be given by suitable educational staff, the municipality is obliged to do everything to be able to cater for other kinds of education adapted to the pupils' individual needs and premises. In 2002, 15 per cent of all immigrant pupils aged 6-15 received mother-tongue education and 40 per cent received special education in the Norwegian language³⁵ (*norsk som andrespråk*) (Statistics Norway, 2003b). From 1 October 2003, pupils from language minorities in independent schools have the same right to the special language education pursuant to section 3-5 of the Norwegian Act relating to independent schools. The regulations regarding special language tuition were changed in June 2004³⁶. The changes have the intention to give the municipalities more flexibility to decide how they will provide suitable tuition (UFD, 2003b).

The state provides grants for special Norwegian language tuition, mother tongue tuition and bilingual subject instruction. The grant is given according to a rate for each lesson taught. In 2003 approximately NOK 663 million was allocated to this purpose. The local government is required to provide some of the financial resources necessary for the tuition (UFD, 2003b).

Refugees have access to all aspects of the adult education system on the same terms as Norwegian citizens and are entitled to the same educational assistance³⁷. The children of refugees have access to the state school system on the same basis as Norwegian children. Schooling is compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 and 16. Schools may also accept young people aged between 16 and 18. They are placed in regular Norwegian schools, but receive additional lessons in Norwegian when appropriate.

Norwegian language and civilization training is an introductory course which the municipalities are responsible for providing adult immigrants (Statistics Norway, 2003f). Immigrants are selected for A-level or B-level according to their education from country of origin. Participants who have primary or secondary education from country of origin are selected at the A-level, which is up to 850 free lessons. Participants who have less than primary or secondary education from country of origin are selected for B-level, which is up to 3 000 free lessons (KRD, 2004b). By October 1, there were approximately 16 700, or 55 per cent who received level-A training, whereas approximately 13 700, or 45 per cent, received level-B training (Statistics Norway, 2003f).

From 1 January 2004 new rules apply as to who can get free language and civilization training. In order to qualify, the person must be 16 years of age or older and have a residence permit valid for more than three months. Foreign students or asylum seekers are not entitled to free language training³⁸.

³⁵ Special education in the Norwegian language is normally provided as the subject Norwegian as a second language (*norsk som andrespråk*).

³⁶ Ot.prp. nr. 55 (2003-2004): Amendments of section 2-8 of the Norwegian Education Act and section 3-5 of the Norwegian Act relating to independent schools.

³⁷ From 2004 the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (KRD) has the administrative and economic responsibility for Norwegian language training for adult immigrants. The pedagogical responsibility remains at the Ministry of Education and Research.

³⁸ The right to language and civilization training for asylum seekers was removed from 1 January 2003. The argumentation is to spend resources only on those who obtain a residence permit and not on those who are not allowed to stay in the country. However, this has caused some debate and critique. Some asylum seekers spent a long time waiting in the reception centres. Since they do not receive any Norwegian language and civilization

However, asylum seekers under the age of 18 and people with a residence permit living in reception centres while waiting for settlement, can get free language training (KRD, 2004b)³⁹.

There are several challenges related to integrating language minority and immigrant children in the educational system. The group is very heterogenic, both according to background, language skills and educational needs. Some groups of children have additional needs. For instance children who have arrived as refugees from war areas may have a higher incidence of disabilities, and suffering from post traumatic stress syndrome that makes concentration and participation in school difficult. Immigrants who arrive as adolescents, particularly those with gaps in prior schooling, May have other educational needs compared to same age native students. For instance they may need more time in school to accommodate the extra academic tasks they face, instructional approaches that support comprehension, language development throughout the curriculum, and mechanisms for filling the gaps they often have in academic content. The needs of language minority and immigrant children are also a question of both appropriately skilled teachers as well as sufficient funding.

The Directorate for Primary and Secondary Education⁴⁰ works to improve the situation concerning educational resources for language minorities in primary and lower secondary school, upper secondary school and adult education. A database on educational resources for language minorities has been developed. The Directorate supports the development of teaching aids within the following categories: Norwegian as a second language, bilingual subject learning, different mother tongues, Norwegian with civics for adult immigrants, and literacy training material for adult immigrants.

The increase in immigration has led to a growth in the number of pupils who belong to the language minorities. There is a broad political consensus that the school should cater for the needs of language minorities. However, there is an ongoing debate concerning choice and effects of different methods and approaches in order to integrate language minorities in the educational system. Most schools are not adequately prepared to respond, lacking the basic understandings, structures or programs to meet the needs of this group of pupils. Teachers of immigrant pupils need specialized skills, but there is a national shortage of teachers trained to work with language minority students (UFD, 2003b).

Language minority groups are considered a sub-population at risk, especially immigrants originating from non-western countries. Studies and research papers show lower retention, lower completion and higher drop-out in upper secondary education, lower participation in higher education and higher levels of unemployment among this group (see also chapter 2). Policy debates concerning this group includes the extent and quality of education in the mother language training or bilingual education that they are receiving, how to improve participation and performance in all levels of the educational system among this group, and how to increase participation by immigrant students in vocational studies in upper secondary education and some sectors of tertiary education (i.e. teacher education).

training during this time, they are not able to prepare for participation in the Norwegian society and labour market. This may thus reduce and delay the integration process among those who obtain a residence permit after having spent several months in the reception centres (Utdanningsforbundet, 2003).

³⁹ The Government is planning to introduce a new system for language training from 1 January 2005. An important part of the proposal is that 300 hours of language training will be compulsory for all adult immigrants and refugees. In order to obtain a settlement permit and Norwegian citizenship, they will have to have completed 300 hours of Norwegian lessons. For those who want and need more language training, the municipalities will be obliged to offer up to 3,000 hours of free lessons (KRD, 2004b).

⁴⁰ On 15 June 2004 The Directorate for Primary and Secondary Education was established as a new organisation under the Ministry of Education and Research. The Norwegian Board of Education and the administration of the Norwegian Support System for Special Education were incorporated in the Directorate. The Directorate will also be responsible for the professional governance of the work done by the 18 regional County Governors' education departments. The Directorate is meant to be a driving force for quality development in Norwegian primary and secondary education. The establishment of the Directorate is part of the improvements in the national education administration and is one of the elements in a collected national strategy for quality development in primary and secondary education.

Government strategic plan: "Equal education in practice"

The Ministry of Education and Research launched a strategic plan in 2003 in order to improve learning and participation by language minorities in day care institutions, school and education (UFD, 2003b). With this plan a greater focus is placed on improving educational achievement and Norwegian language skills among minority language children, youth and adults.

The strategic plan is based on the knowledge that there are great differences between minority language and majority language pupils and students in the educational system. Those from language minorities – whether they were born and grew up in Norway or have immigrated during compulsory school – consistently show poorer results than majority language students. This applies to both participation in and benefit from education. The strategic plan discusses the background for this and proposes measures to be implemented to reduce the differences. The goal is better learning and greater participation by those from language minorities in day-care centres, schools and education (UFD, 2003b).

One of the goals is to increase the share of language minority children attending pre-primary education. Grant scheme for children with immigrant background in pre-primary education is among measures introduced in order to increase participation in pre-primary education among language minority groups (UFD, 2003b).

The strategic plan lasts for 5 years (2004-2009) and will be evaluated.

Policy aimed at pupils with special needs

A central principle of the Norwegian education system is that teaching shall be adapted to the abilities and aptitudes of the individual pupil and apprentice. As from 1991 a reorganisation of special education has taken place. A main objective of the reorganisation has been to change from a system of special schools to a system of full integration. Pupils with special needs are, whenever possible, integrated in ordinary schools. As a result only 1 per cent of the total pupil population is now offered education in special schools or special classes. The special schools run by the state were closed in 1992 with the exception of schools for the deaf.

The Norwegian policy of inclusion instead of segregation of pupils with special needs in ordinary classes has received support from research findings. Research indicate that students with special needs have a higher rate of completion and lower rate of drop-out when integrated and receiving special education in ordinary classes instead of in special separated classes (Markussen, 2000). This might be explained by students feeling less stigmatized by receiving extra teaching within the regular classroom instead of being separated from the other students.

Those who either do not or are unable to benefit satisfactorily from ordinary tuition have the right to special education. As far as possible, the special education that is provided shall be planned in cooperation with the pupil and the parents of the pupil, and considerable emphasis shall be placed on their views. Before the municipality or the county authority takes a decision concerning special education, an expert assessment shall be made of the pupil's specific needs. This assessment suggests whether the pupil needs special education, and what kind of tuition should be provided. Each municipality and county authority shall provide an educational and psychological counselling service. The service shall ensure that expert assessments are prepared when this is required by the Education Act. The service shall assist the school in work on organisational development and development of expertise in order to improve the adaptation of tuition for pupils with special needs (UFD, 2004).

However, policy does not always reflect what happens in practice. A study of the system of special education in Oslo revealed that some pupils do not receive the special education they are entitled to and that the right to adapted education not always are present in special education (Nordahl &

Overland, 1998). This has an impact on motivation and performance among pupils with special needs. As transition to upper secondary education is based on grades from compulsory school, there is a risk of an overrepresentation of students with special needs at low priority schools which may in turn have a negative impact on the education offered to this group of students since these school may not have the resources to provide sufficient and adapted special education.

The need for sufficient and adapted special education is also supported by other research. A longitudinal study following students with special needs through upper secondary education find that the "pedagogical consciousness", defined as didactic/educational reflection among the teachers and school administration, is important for achieving social and theoretical development among students with special needs. Students at schools with "pedagogical consciousness" and close follow-up of the students had better performance and lower drop-out compared to upper secondary schools with more excluding practice towards the students (Markussen, Brandt & Hatlevik, 2003).

In the OECD-report; "Equity in Education: Students with Disabilities, Learning Difficulties and Disadvantages. Centre for Educational Research and Innovation Education & Skills" policy and practice regarding special needs education in the OECD-countries are compared. The report describes differences between the countries based on data collected in 1999. One of the findings is that countries varied considerably in the monitoring arrangements followed for ensuring that funds allotted for special needs students were used appropriately. The report observes that in some countries, such as in Canada, there is a reporting and auditing process to ensure compliance, schools are reviewed, and individual education plans for special needs students are required. This centralised process looks very different from the decentralised models that are working in countries such as Norway and Sweden. These countries appear to have less strong monitoring procedures in place and in Sweden there is a well used complaints procedure for parents who feel that their child is not receiving adequate support (OECD 2004).

Financial assistance to students

The State Educational Loan Fund (*Lånekassen*) provides grants and loans to students and apprentices in upper secondary schools, and to university and university college students. All university and university college students enrolled in a study programme are entitled to financial aid. Such support is also available for studies abroad. Among students and apprentices in upper secondary education the financial assistance is need-based. Students and apprentices from low income families can obtain financial support from the State Educational Loan Fund in the form of loans and grants. In addition, those not living together with their parents are entitled to financial support. The student loans are interest free during the studies, and they do not have to be repaid while the student is still studying; they are repaid over a period of maximum 20 years after graduation. The loans and grants are intended to meet such expenses as housing, food and study materials.

Around 90 per cent of all Norwegian students in higher education take up a loan to cover expenses while studying (Eurydice, 1999). The proportion of students and apprentices obtaining a student loan during upper secondary education is lower, but some have obtained high loans already at this stage in the educational system (NOU, 1999).

A key intention for the student support system is to enable people to study regardless of their social and economic backgrounds. Another essential goal is to ensure sufficient supply of educated people to society. The student support system is part of the cost sharing between the individual and society. While the main cost for the individual by taking a higher education is the lack of income during the time of studies, the main cost for society is covering the expenses of education and providing student support. In 2003 the State Educational Loan Fund distributed 5.7 billion NOK in grants and 9.3 billion NOK in loans (the State Educational Loan Fund, 2004).

From autumn 2002 the student support system went through a major restructuring. The main changes are: An increase in the total amount of support⁴¹; an increase in the student' maximum income limit before the support is reduced; an introduction of a new arrangement which will convert loans to grants depending on student progression; some types of travel grants expires; lastly students are no longer given a grant after completing a long education (6-7 years) to reduce the student loan. The changes have caused an increase of cost for the state due to the increase in total amount of annual support and the increase in the student' maximum income limit. However, the changes may also have an effect on the economic barriers. The impact of student finance on equity in education is discussed in chapter 6.

Looking into the future: Forthcoming policy changes in the education system

In spring 2004 the Ministry of Education and Research launched the White Paper "Culture for learning" on compulsory and upper secondary education to the Norwegian Parliament. The White Paper sets out the government's policy and proposes several activities and action aimed at increasing motivation and performance in compulsory and upper secondary education. The Ministry has announced the policy proposals as a system change in the school government ruling from regulation to trust. Central themes are knowledge, diversity and equity. The main proposals include:

- Increased focus on learning basic skills (reading, writing, arithmetic)
- New curricula in all school subjects
- Increase of school hours in primary education
- Competence development of teachers and school leaders
- Increasing local flexibility, 25 per cent of the timetable allocation may be decided locally in each school

The White Paper put great emphasis on equity. The goal of equity in education shall be reached by providing each school with improved opportunities to adjust the education/training to each pupil/student. Among the measures proposed in order to enhance equity and inclusion in the school system are the following:

- Keep the statutory right to special education
- Increase funding for research, method development and the dissemination of experiences connected with adapted education.
- Increase funding for competence development to prevent and deal with problem behaviour.
- Improve the coordination of the work done by various bodies concerning adapted education.
- Continue measures for improving the learning environment, including work against bullying.
- Strengthen the competence of the Norwegian Support System for Special Education and the educational and psychological counselling services.
- Make supervision goal-oriented and strengthen it.
- Make a universal design of equipment and teaching aids and educational resources a priority.
- By means of an evaluation look at how adapted and customised education is dealt with in teacher training.

Some of these proposals are discussed in chapter 6. The proposals have been discussed in the Norwegian Parliament in June 2004 (Innst. S. nr. 268, 2003-2004). After discussing the suggestions and proposals the national in general gave support to most of the proposals in the White Paper.

However, some changes have already been implemented. From spring 2004 *national tests* are carried out among pupils in the 4th and 10th grade in primary and lower secondary education. The tests are compulsory and will from 2005 be conducted on four grades during primary and secondary school. The four grades are 4th, 7th, 10th, and 11th grade (the first year in upper secondary education). The

⁴¹ Annual support rose from NOK69500 in 2001 to NOK80000 in 2002. In 2004 the maximum support is still NOK80000.

pupils will be tested in four major subjects; reading, writing, English, and mathematics. A web site is about to be launched, containing information of and results from the national tests (*skoleporten.no*)⁴².

There has been some political opposition against introducing national tests for all pupils. There is a concern of what effects – intended and unintended – introducing the national tests and publishing the tests result by school and educational level will have on the school system. One fear is that the tests will lead to a ranking system of the schools and thus negative media attention towards the low performing schools. There are different factors that intermingle and may have an impact on school performance, such as resources among the individual pupils (social background, etc.), resources among the teachers, and school resources (allocated from the municipalities). This should be considered when interpreting the results from the national tests. The opposition argues that publishing the national tests result is not necessary, since testing only a percentage (5-10 per cent) of the pupils would be sufficient for obtaining a picture of the situation and quality in school (Aftenposten 2004). In addition, there is a fear that introducing national tests will lead to a test-driven kind of schools with an increased focus on training of the type of competences that are included in the national tests, and less attention on other type of knowledge, such as personal development.

⁴² Results from classes containing less than ten pupils will not be published. Results will be presented as average figures. The web site will not contain any rankings of schools or classes.

Chapter 4: Non-educational Policies that Affect Outcomes in the Education Sector

The educational sector is connected to others sectors of society in several ways. In this chapter we will focus on two main groups of policy: 1) policies towards increasing integration in the Norwegian society and 2) policies towards ensuring economic security in different parts of the society. In some ways, these two groups of policies interact.

The welfare system in Norway is well developed, including child health and welfare services, social services, housing policies, income support policies and unemployment services. A basic goal of ensuring economic wellbeing and integration in the Norwegian society for all citizens is embedded in the general policy of lifelong learning and the policy of an all including labour market (*inkluderende arbeidsliv*). Thus, central policies aimed at combating poverty and increasing integration among immigrants and groups at risk in society are to ensure participation in the labour market. Naturally, education and the labour market are two sectors closely linked together. Education is often used as a mean to re-enter and integrate people who are unemployed or on social welfare into the labour market.

In the following we present policy towards combating poverty, the system of vocational rehabilitation (re-entering into the labour market), policy on integration of persons with disabilities, policy on integration of immigrants, and policy towards combating racism and discrimination.

Policy on combating poverty

Even though Norway is one of the wealthiest countries in the world with a generally high standard of living, a small group still lives in a condition identified as poverty. In 2002 The Ministry of Social Affairs presented a White Paper to the Parliament describing a plan of action for combating poverty. The White Paper states that poverty in Norway today is different from poverty in an international perspective. Instead of affecting larger groups in the population, today's poverty in Norway is affecting single persons and families with different backgrounds. Living in social and material deprivation in a welfare society with high standards of living is often experienced as particularly tough (SOS, 2002). The majority of people living in poverty in Norway are not in employment or are just temporarily employed. A main goal is therefore to improve this group's capability to support themselves through labour. Both the welfare services as well as the social support system shall be targeted towards reaching this goal. Among the policies used in order to bring unemployed people back into the labour market, which involves education, is vocational rehabilitation.

Vocational rehabilitation (attføring)

The system of vocational rehabilitation is among the strategies used in order to re-enter working disabled in the labour market through vocational training and education. The rules and regulation of the system is expressed in the National Insurance Act (*Folketrygdloven*).

Vocational rehabilitation is first and foremost a policy intended to bring back those unable to function in their work into the labour market instead of relying on social welfare. The basic idea is that many of those who experience work related problems may function well in another type of occupation. Those entitled to vocational rehabilitation may obtain an education paid by the government, with housing and living expenses and cost of study material covered according to a system of rules.

However, the number of people on vocational rehabilitation has had a remarkable increase during the past years. In 1994 the number of students in higher education on vocational rehabilitation was 14000; in 2002 the number was almost doubled with 26000 students on vocational rehabilitation (Aftenposten, 2003). When so many finance their studies in higher education by vocational rehabilitation, the question arises of how well the policy is targeted towards the intended group of receivers. Along with the increasing number of people on vocational rehabilitation, the costs are

increasing. In order to reduce the costs and increase the targeting, the vocational rehabilitation policy has been altered, mostly restricted the past years.

In the beginning of 2003 a restriction of how expensive education one may obtain being on vocational rehabilitation was introduced. In 2004 the right to paid education was limited to three years of education. It has been argued that many clients on vocational rehabilitation who have reading and writing difficulties or other learning (or functional) disabilities may need more than three years to complete lower secondary education, followed by upper secondary education. Naturally, both these changes have reduced the costs of vocational rehabilitation. However, to what extent the changes in the rules of vocational rehabilitation have increased the targeting of the policy has not been analysed.

Policy on integration of persons with disabilities

Persons with disabilities are a heterogeneous group consisting of persons with different forms of physical and/or mental disabilities. As a group they are recognized with a high level of unemployment and a high rate is living on social welfare, because of lack of integration in the labour market. It is a policy in Norway to enable as many persons with disabilities as possible to live an independent life. Young persons with disabilities are to be offered alternative accommodation and services to nursing homes and homes for the elderly. It is vital that efficient schemes for practical assistance are provided if the disabled are to carry out their daily routines effectively. In 2003 The Ministry of Social Affairs presented a White Paper to the Parliament describing a policy on integration of persons with disabilities (SOS, 2003). It is recognized that persons with disabilities face barriers both in the educational system and in the labour market. Still, national and international studies report a situation on the labour market that is far from satisfactory.

A survey conducted by Statistics Norway finds that 46 per cent of the persons with disabilities were economically active, compared with 79 per cent of the total population aged 16-66 (Bø, 2003). In addition, 28 per cent out of 249 000 non-employed persons with disabilities wish to have a job. Nearly 90 per cent of them have previously been in employment. The indication of barriers among the persons with disabilities in entering or remaining in the labour market is strengthened by a recent report comparing the labour market in 40 countries reveal that Norway has one of the most excluding labour markets for persons with disabilities (Dagens Næringsliv, 2004).

Policy on integration of immigrants

The integration policy of immigrants is based on the principles of equal opportunities, the acceptance of difference and shared responsibilities⁴³. A main key to integration and inclusion in the society is to be included in the working life. To maintain a decent living standard and to prevent poverty, it is crucial that people are able to provide for themselves and their family by paid work. This is the main element in the social policy, both on national and international level. The policy on integration of immigrants focus on increasing participation in the labour market among this group, reducing poverty and social exclusion, and on combating racism and discrimination.

Still, some of the practices used in order to integrating newly arrived immigrants may be discussed. All asylum seekers are placed in reception centres where they stay while their application is processed. The reception centres are operated under municipal or private management by arrangement with the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration's (UDI) regional offices. The director of operations is

⁴³ The Immigration Act of 24 June 1988 (*Utlendingsloven*) regulates the entry of foreign nationals into Norway and their rights to residence and work. In simplified terms, four categories are admitted: workers who have been offered an employment, refugees and other humanitarian cases, family relations and students. As a general rule, students are only granted temporary residence. The other categories may, dependent on the conditions, be granted either permanent or temporary residence.

responsible for the day-to-day operation of the reception centre pursuant to the guidelines laid down by the UDI. The state covers all costs associated with the running of the state reception centres.

In a White Paper from the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (KRD) the quality and the length of time which asylum seekers stay in the reception centres are discussed. The White Paper point out the great variation as to how operators choose to run their reception centres, both when it comes to staffing, activity programmes, and services offered. The day-to-day activity of some residents has typically consisted of waiting around with little to do, while other residents have been fully employed or have attended school. Service programmes outside reception centres could generally be better, especially when it comes to health services. Residents with psychological problems do not always receive the assistance they need. There have also been cases where some residents who have needed medicine have lacked the financial means to acquire it (KRD, 2001a).

The main reasons why many residents have had extended stays in reception centres are the length of time it takes to process applications and the difficulties in settling asylum seekers in municipalities. Research shows that the residents find the waiting to be the worst aspect (KRD, 2001a). Both the uncertainty regarding the outcome of the application for asylum and the subsequent waiting to learn where they will be living in the future make life in a reception centre hard and difficult to endure for the residents. In addition, staying at the reception centre is a hindrance towards integration in society. The Government thus wishes to give priority to measures which will reduce the period of time persons have to stay in reception centres.

Policy towards combating racism and discrimination

In 2002 the Norwegian Government presented the "National Plan of Action to Combat Racism and Discrimination". The time period for the plan of action is the years 2002-2006 and the plan applies to the indigenous people, national minorities and the immigrant population of Norway. The measures set out in the plan of action are mainly focused on eight target areas: working life, public services, schools/education, the judicial system, documentation/monitoring, the Internet, the local community, and the strengthening of legal protection against ethnic discrimination and racist harassment (SOPEMI Norway 2003). A bill against ethnic discrimination has been drafted and is planned to be adopted in 2004; new antidiscrimination provisions are also in the process of being introduced in the field of employment and housing.

The Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (KRD) is responsible for coordinating the implementation of the National Plan of Action to Combat Racism and Discrimination (2002-2006). There has been established a follow-up mechanism of the plan of action, consisting of representatives from the relevant ministries, the Directorate of Immigration, the Centre for Combating Ethnic Discrimination, the Contact Committee for Immigrants and the Authorities and NGOs working in the field of racism and discrimination.

Education is often considered as a main precondition for entering the labour market, and thus for integration. Through the media several stories about immigrant from the eastern parts of Europe and from non-Western countries with high levels of education who have sent hundreds of job applications without any positive response has been published. Higher unemployment rate among immigrants has been partly explained by discrimination among the employers (Støren, 2004). Still, participation in the labour market is higher among immigrants with higher education compared to other immigrants (Blom, 1998).

In their third report on Norway the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) recognizes the policy as an important progress to reduce racism and intolerance. Still, the report recommends that the Norwegian authorities take further action in a number of areas. In the area of education ECRI encourages the Norwegian authorities to ensure that issues of mutual respect and of racism and discrimination are adequately addressed as part of the human rights curriculum of teacher

training. It recommends that the Norwegian authorities monitor the quality control on textbooks carried out by publishers and the individual schools. It encourages the Norwegian authorities to strengthen the human rights dimension of school curricula and to pursue their efforts to enhance recruitment of teachers from minority groups (ECRI 2004).

SECTION IV: CAUSES AND EXPLANATIONS

Chapter 5: Longitudinal Transmission of Inequality

The empirical work on this topic using longitudinal data is limited in Norway. There exist no longitudinal studies following students through the entire educational system, and definitely not through the lifecycle. Still, there exist a number of longitudinal or cohort studies where pupils and students have been followed through parts of their educational career. These studies often follow students either from the beginning of upper secondary education (Raaum & Hamre, 1996; Jørgensen, 2000; Opheim & Støren, 2001; Støren & Sandberg, 2001; Grøgaard et al., 2002; Støren, 2003), or from the beginning of higher education and through higher education (Aamodt, 2001; Opheim, 2001; Næss, 2003). The evaluation of the reform in upper secondary education, Reform 94 (see chapter 3), included a number of studies following student's progression through upper secondary education (KUF, 1999c).

When studying the student flow through the educational system, the focus is often on transitions between the different stages in the educational system, the "branching points" (Boudon, 1974). At each branching point some students chooses to continue their education while others choose to leave the educational system. The transition from lower to upper secondary education and the transition from upper secondary education are often considered as central branching points. The branching point between lower to upper secondary education is in Norway not so much a question to whether or not to continue the education, as most of the youths continues, but it is a question of what type of track the student chooses to follow.

The main questions in this chapter are: When does inequity in education arise? How do inequities accumulate throughout the lifecycle? The longitudinal transmission of inequality often focus particularly on social inequality and sub-population groups with generally low educational attainment, such as language minorities and students with immigrant background.

When do inequities arise?

Recent national research show significant differences between different groups of student attainment at the end of compulsory education (tenth grade). Gender, social background and immigrant background have significant impact on grades. Girls have higher average grades than boys in three basic subjects, although differences are small in mathematics and larger in Norwegian and English. Having parents with higher education (high social background) increases your average grades compared to those having parents without any education after primary school. Students with immigrant backgrounds have lower average grades in all basic subjects compared to majority students (Arnesen, 2003).

The strong correlation between school performance and family background suggest that processes outside the education system are important for school achievement and that such inequalities are present from the very time the pupil enters compulsory education (or even earlier; in pre-primary education). Children from disadvantaged backgrounds, in the sense of parents lacking resources in education, language, culture, or other economic or non-economic resources, start with lesser opportunities for success in school compared to children from more resourceful homes. These inequities are not eliminated by the educational system. But whether or not the inequalities are reduced or strengthen is difficult to establish.

Accumulation of inequities throughout the lifecycle?

Studies indicate that social inequities are reinforced through the educational system. A study of participation rates in higher education in 1997 among the cohort finishing compulsory education in 1989, found that while more than 80 per cent of those with parents with a long tertiary education had continued to higher education, the rate was only 17 per cent of those with parents with only compulsory education (7-9 years) (Jørgensen, 2000). Some of these differences were produced by students choosing different tracks in upper secondary education. Students from higher social backgrounds are over represented in the general tracks and students from low social background are overrepresented in the vocational tracks. But even among students who had completed a general track, preparing for higher education, the share continuing to higher education was 92 per cent among those with parents with a long tertiary education, and 67 per cent among those with parents with compulsory education. As described in chapter 2, the completion rate is lower in the vocational tracks than in the general tracks in upper secondary education, thus the social inequality in choice of tracks influences the social differences in completion rates in upper secondary education.

Other studies confirm the reinforcement of social inequities through the educational system. The main factor contributing to school retention in upper secondary education is entry grades from lower secondary education, and the level of entry grades from lower secondary education is related to social background (Markussen & Sandberg, 2004).

Research on transition from upper secondary to higher education among immigrant students suggests that the motivation to obtain further education and transition to higher education is not lower among immigrant youths who have completed secondary education compared to non-immigrants. This must be seen in relation with both differences in the transition rate between compulsory and upper secondary education and in the share that has completed upper secondary school. Among first generation immigrants in particular, the share is strikingly lower than among non-immigrants (Opheim & Støren, 2001). Thus, selection effects may explain the high rate of transition from upper secondary education to higher education among students with immigrant background.

Taken into account the inequities that arises during compulsory education, in choice of tracks in upper secondary education, in transition to higher education and in choice of higher education, one should hope that the social differences did not continue after graduation from higher education. Still, studies indicate that even when entering the labour market after having completed a long term higher education, some social differences may be traced (Hansen, 2001; Try, 2002; Opheim, 2004). The effect of social background on transition from education to labour market among graduate candidates is small, but significant. Graduate candidates from high social backgrounds have slightly lower rate of unemployment and higher salary half a year after graduation (Opheim, 2004). When comparing income after several years in the labour market, the impact of social background has become more substantial (Hansen, 2001). Some of these differences may be explained by students from high social backgrounds being in possession of contacts through informal network (social capital) through their parents (Try, 2002).

The System of national assessment and monitoring of performance levels in primary and lower secondary education has recently been established⁴⁴, introducing national tests and an internet site "skoleporten.no". This will produce more information of quality, learning environment and learning outcomes in primary and lower secondary education (see chapter 3). The new system may improve data on school performance and the possibility of following pupils and students through the educational system (longitudinal studies).

⁴⁴ The System of national assessment and monitoring of performance levels was established in spring 2004, and consist of several elements in addition to the national tests and the internet site "skoleporten.no".

Chapter 6: Understanding the causes of inequity

While chapter 2 brought a general description of inequities in the Norwegian education system, this chapter seeks to explain and understand some of the causes of these inequities. Central questions to be discussed in this chapter include: What causes the low participation rate in pre-primary education, especially among children with language and cultural minority backgrounds? Why do students from low social backgrounds have lower school performance, lower completion rates and lower participation rates in higher education compared to students from high social backgrounds? How are the differences in the pupil's performances indicated in the PISA-studies explained?

During the past decade a vast number of studies have been conducted focusing on different aspects in the educational system. Many of these studies have been carried out as evaluations of the reforms in the educational system (see chapter 3). Obviously they cannot all be included in the discussions in this chapter. Here we have tried to extract some of the main findings related to equity and inequity in education. In addition to data from research and evaluations, this chapter will draw on information from key policy documents and recent media debates.

Many of the causes of inequity that we will be discussing in this chapter are not limited to the Norwegian education system but are general causes of inequity existing in a number of countries both within and outside the OECD. During this chapter we will refer to some of the general sociological theories of causes of inequity in education that are used in order to explain inequity in education both in Norway as well as in other countries.

In the next section the four types of barriers is presented and defined. This section is followed by sections where each level of the educational system is discussed separately. In these sections we will discuss to what extent the different types of barriers explain inequity at each educational level.

Definitions of barriers

Institutional barriers

Institutional barriers are defined both as structural barriers and entry barriers. While structural barriers may consist of dead-end tracks in the educational system, or tracks that do not qualify for further education, entry barriers are more linked to qualification and certification systems. Institutional barriers may also be a question of supply and demand. If the demand for certain types of education is high and the supply is low, the entry barriers will be high.

Economic Barriers

Economic barriers may include both private and public economic barriers. Private economic barriers include the cost of education for the individual, while public economic barriers include public funding and allocation of educational resources to different part of the educational system. Both forms of economic barriers will be discussed related to the different levels in the educational system.

Social and cultural barriers

Social and cultural barriers may be defined quite broadly covering several topics including cultures within and outside the educational system. Such barriers may exist in the form of discrimination and prejudice both in the society in general and within the educational system, among the teachers and among pupils and students.

Motivational barriers

Motivation can be defined as the factors within an individual which arouse, maintain and channel behaviour towards a goal. In this case, the goal is connected to education – choosing an education, progression during education, level of achievement, and completion of an education.

In general, motivation may be divided between "inner drive" and "outer forces" (Svensen, 2000). Another way of describing different types of motivation is separating between "push" and "pull" factors (Gambetta, 1987). The cultural push-factors are related to inner drive where choice of education is based on interest. The pull-factors on the other hand, are more connected to behaviouristic inspired theories emphasising external rewards as a principle for motivation (Svensen, 2000). When discussing to what extent motivational barriers can explain inequity in education we may separate between these different types of motivation. While motivational barriers as it is defined here, mostly involves the student's inner drive, or interest, external factors influencing motivation, the "pull"-factors is more related to cultural and social barriers. However, external factors influencing motivation may also include institutional or economic factors. Thus, separating motivational barriers from other types of barriers is difficult and sometimes even impossible. Motivational differences between groups of students may reflect variations in institutional, economic, social and cultural features of society. During this chapter discussions will concern both how motivational barriers may cause inequity in education, but also how other types of barriers may influence motivation among different groups of students.

Barriers in pre-primary education

As described in chapter two, Norway has for many years had a low rate of participation in pre-primary education. In this section we will discuss possible explanations to the low participation rate in general, and the especially the low participation rate among children with language and cultural minority backgrounds.

Institutional barriers in pre-primary education

While some parents choose not to use pre-primary education, others do not have a choice since they are not offered a place in a day care institution for their children. Lack of sufficient supply of pre-primary education is an institutional barrier for those living in areas with a high demand and a low supply for pre-primary education. In that respect, the institutional barriers to pre-primary education is a form of entry barrier, as some parents may not be offered a place for their child (or children) because the demand is higher than the supply.

Research indicates that participating in pre-primary education is especially important for immigrant children in order to develop competence in the Norwegian language, to gain social contacts outside school, and to participate in organised activities (Øzerk, 1992). The provision of good facilities for minority language children in day-care centres has a positive influence on the child's school start. A pilot project in one district of Oslo offering free short-term places in day-care centres for all four- to five-year-olds led to some improvement in language development and integration of minority language children and their families during the project period (Nergård, 2003).

Still, groups that may have the most need for the integration and educational training that flows from pre-primary education do not necessarily have priority in access. One of the main challenges concerning access to pre-primary education in Norway is to close the gap between demands and supply (OECD, 1998). To increase the supply of pre-primary education is a central goal in the new reform on pre-primary education, the pre-primary education agreement (*Barnehageforliket*) (see chapter 3). Still, the goal of giving the family real choice in selecting the type of care they prefer for their children has not yet been accomplished.

Economic barriers in pre-primary education

The structural barriers in attending pre-primary education are strongly related to economic barriers. Public pre-primary education in Norway is partly financed by the state, municipalities and by parental payments. The economic costs of pre-primary education have been an economic barrier for low-income families (OECD, 1998). In 2003 the Norwegian Parliament made an agreement of finance and

management in the sector of pre-primary education for the period 2004-2005 (*Barnehageforliket*). The main content of agreement was to increase the number of places in pre-primary education and to lower the cost for the parent's by introducing a price cap on parental payment for pre-primary education (see chapter 3). Thus, the agreement aims at eliminating the economic and structural barriers in pre-primary education. As presented in chapter 2, the participation rate in pre-primary education has increased during the past years. From August 2003 to August 2004 households' payments in private institutions fell by 14.7 per cent while the fees in public institutions were reduced by 8.3 per cent (Statistics Norway, 2004g).

However, the policy on pre-primary education has caused a public debate. The debate concerns both the pre-primary education agreement and the cash benefit scheme. Firstly, there is a debate concerning the possible negative correlation between introducing a maximum price (price cap) and increasing the supply of pre-primary education. The price cap implies a reduction or a cap in the income of the pre-primary education institutions which may affect the supply. Thus, introducing a maximum price may have a negative impact on the supply of pre-primary education. The concern is that the maximum price policy will only benefit those already having their children in pre-primary education, on the expense on those still waiting to get a place. In order to avoid this, the state must provide sufficient funding to the institutions to cover for the loss of income followed by the price-cap.

A second line of debate concerns to what extent the maximum price cap has an effect on reducing the economic barriers in access to pre-primary education. Has the fees been reduced for all or only for parents with the highest income; those who previously paid the highest fees? Almost half of the pre-primary institutions have income dependent payment. Among the pre-primary institutions with income dependent payment there are a majority of public institutions. In these institutions low income households pay a reduced fee for having their children in pre-primary education. This fee is normally below the maximum price cap. Introducing a maximum price cap may thus have little impact on the economic cost of pre-primary education for the low income households. Among the high income households who previously paid a full fee, the new rules will imply a larger reduction in the fees.

A third concern is that in the new policy the focus on price is much stronger than the focus on quality (Gulbrandsen & Sundnes, 2004). The following years will prove to what extent the pre-primary education agreement will fulfil its goals. No evaluation has yet been conducted in order to study the effect of this arrangement.

The cash benefit scheme (*kontantstøtten*) (see chapter 3) provides cash support to parents that do not have or have partly their children (aged 0-3) in public or private approved pre-primary education. The cash benefit scheme may function as a disincentive towards having children in public pre-primary education, especially among low income families; in addition to the direct cost of having children in public pre-primary education parents then "looses" the cash benefit.

Social and cultural barriers or motivational barriers in pre-primary education?

In addition to the institutional and economic barriers in access to pre-primary education other barriers may exist. Participating in pre-primary education is voluntary and both social and cultural barriers as well as motivational barriers may exist. Lack of information of the content in pre-primary education may cause motivational barriers among parents, and perhaps especially among parents with immigrant or minority background and with little knowledge of the Norwegian society. However, the amount of research on motivational barriers and social and cultural barriers in access to pre-primary education is scarce.

Barriers in compulsory education

All children living in Norway have a right and an obligation to participate and complete compulsory education. However, there are substantial variations in school performance. Recent analyses show that

social background, gender and immigrant background have an impact on compulsory school performance (Arnesen, 2003; (Lie et al (eds.), 2003). How are the differences in performances in compulsory education explained?

Institutional barriers in compulsory education

The Norwegian school system has previously been described (see chapter 1). All children in Norway attend compulsory education. Pupils are not grouped by ability at any level, and there are no tracking or streaming of pupils during the 10 years of compulsory school. The policy has been to combine an inclusive educational system with an emphasis on adapted learning.

However, following the evaluation of Reform 97 as well as the PISA-survey (see chapter 2) there has been a debate to what extent the policy of adapted learning is practiced (Solstad & Engen (eds.), 2004). Does the system provide adapted learning for all groups of pupils or only for some groups? The evaluation of Reform 97 pointed out that despite the policy of adapted learning certain groups of pupils systematically achieve less. According to the researchers, much of the explanation for this complex situation can be traced back to the school and the way it is organised (Haug, 2003). The most central issue is that of what causes some groups to not achieve the results that they ought to achieve. The school would appear to be best suited to those who are normal and average, and for those who belong to those groups that have traditionally done well in this type of school. One interpretation of the findings is that: (...) *we have a school that is insensitive to variation, heterogeneity, multiplicity, deviation from the norm, colourfulness, and what is different and unknown. The school would appear to be strongest and best for those who fit into the pattern that the school has established over the years. The school has created a norm for what is required in order to benefit from being there. Those who cannot accept the school as it is, meet difficulties* (Haug, 2003).

Results from the evaluation of Reform 97 suggest that some of the social differences that exist in Norwegian compulsory schools are related to the pedagogical methods of learning. Introducing project work as a new method of learning implied in many schools more independent work by the pupils and less active follow-up by the teachers (Haug, 2003; Imsen, 2003). The evaluation pointed out the need for competence building among the teachers before introducing new methods of learning.

These results have had an impact on the recent policy proposals from the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD, 2003b; UFD, 2004). Among the policy proposals is a strong emphasis on competence development of teachers and school leaders (UFD, 2004).

Pupils with immigrant and/or language minority backgrounds

In chapter 3 the main policy on language minorities and pupils and students with immigrant backgrounds is presented. The main goals of the policy on language minorities in the educational system are to increase their understanding of the Norwegian language and to improve their educational achievements (UFD, 2003b). However, studies indicate that some of the structures introduced in the educational system do not function according to their intentions. Many of the challenges in integrating pupils from minority language backgrounds in the educational system is recognized by the Ministry of Education and Research and described in the strategic plan on language minorities (UFD, 2003b).

One of the challenges is related to teacher qualifications. There is a great shortage of qualified mother tongue teachers and bilingual teachers in the school system. Many of those who currently work as mother tongue teachers and bilingual teachers in schools do not have formal qualifications and only have mother tongue teaching assignments. Teachers with majority language backgrounds have poor skills in teaching pupils from language minorities (UFD, 2003b).

Another central topic of debate is the quality and the effects of the special education in the Norwegian language offered to pupils in primary and lower secondary education whose native language is not Norwegian or Sámi (see chapter 3). This special education is often provided through a subject named

"Norwegian as a second language" (*norsk som andrespråk*) and the subject is intended to function as a temporary arrangement before the pupil has acquired the proficiency to enable them to follow the normal teaching in the Norwegian language ("Norwegian as a first language").

Research has indicated weaknesses with how this policy is practiced. A study conducted in Oslo and six other counties in central Norway found that some pupils never transfer from the special language education (Lødding, 2003). Among pupils with immigrant backgrounds completing all or nearly ten years of compulsory education in Norway, 20 per cent received special education in the Norwegian language during their entire time in school and was never transferred to the regular Norwegian language education. Seemingly a paradox the policy formed in order to increase integration and school achievement among pupils with language minority backgrounds may for some pupils have the opposite effect.

There can be several reasons for why some pupils are never transferred. It could be that some pupils have a need for attending the special language education all through compulsory education and never acquire the proficiency to enable them to follow the normal teaching. Another argument has been that the schools have an economic interest in keeping the pupils in the special language education because of the funding structure. To cover the cost of this type of teaching the school receive extra funding based on the number of pupils with language minority background enrolled. Thus, the funding structure may be an incentive to define pupils as language minorities. A general shortage of economic resources may tempt some schools to stretch the rules in order to increase their budgets.

Whether or not the funding structure has an impact on the schools behaviour, the discussion is connected to another central point of debate regarding the policy on special education in the Norwegian language: There exists no national unified system of evaluation of the individual pupil's needs for such special education. The evaluation is done at the school where the pupil is enrolled. The lack of a unified system might imply that the evaluation procedures vary between the schools, both in deciding who needs to have special education in the Norwegian language and at what level the pupil has gained sufficient language skills to transfer to the regular Norwegian language education (Lødding, 2003).

Following this debate there is currently a political suggestion is to remove the special class education in Norwegian as a second language. Instead of special language education, the suggestion implies that all pupils receive the regular education in Norwegian. But is this a good policy solution? Another policy solution may be to focus on improving the quality of the special education in the Norwegian language and developing better and more unified systems to evaluate the individual pupil's needs for such special education. The study of the pupils receiving special education in the Norwegian language points out the importance of providing special language education for pupils with immigrant backgrounds and poor Norwegian language skills. Despite the critique concerning how the education is provided and who receives such special education, for many the special education in the Norwegian language functions according to its intentions (Lødding, 2003)⁴⁵.

Another issue related to equity in education among pupils with immigrant backgrounds concerns the group of first generation immigrants who has not completed compulsory education (see chapter 2). This group consist mainly of children who have immigrated to Norway during compulsory education. Data indicates that some of these children and youths are not integrated in education (Støren, 2002).

⁴⁵ Another interesting finding in this study was the importance of the labour market attachment of the father. Pupils who had an employed father had lesser need for receiving special education in the Norwegian language compared to pupils with fathers who were out of work. This indicates the importance of the structural integration in the society and the labour market among the families. The findings may indicate the importance of combining the educational policy with the integration policy in other areas of the society, such as the labour market (Lødding, 2003).

Including all immigrants in the educational system is important both for the integration process, as well as for reducing inequities in education.

Discussing barriers facing pupils with immigrant backgrounds or from language minorities, may give the impression that this is a homogenous group, that they must all be treated alike, and that they all perform somewhat poorly at school. This is not the case; on the contrary language minority pupils are a very heterogeneous group, both regarding school performance, their cultural and language background, and their need for learning assistance. Thus, recognizing the diversity within this group is needed in order to develop policy and measures that can improve the situation for those from language minorities who do not participate and for those who do not gain the desired benefit from their education (UFD, 2003b).

Institutional barriers explaining gender differences?

As presented in chapter 2, the PISA survey show larger gender differences in favour of girls in Norway than in the OECD, on average. This gender difference has emerged during the latest years. The main question therefore is what has happened with the school system that can explain the changes in gender differences during the latest years? Does the structure of the school system favourite girls? If so, what are the elements of the school system causing the gender differences and how may they be reduced?

Causes for the gender differences have been linked to the so-called "feminizing of the school" (Lie et al, 2001). Within this discussion lies the connection between structural barriers and social and cultural barriers. The structural barriers causing gender differences in compulsory school is based on the assumption or hypothesis that girls and boys are brought up differently and that this has an impact on learning strategies, motivation and behaviour (Hernes & Knudsen NOU:46, 1976; Grøgaard et al, 1999). While girls are brought up to be obedient and dutiful, boys are expected to be more experimental and more outgoing. The mechanisms used in order to increase control and motivation in compulsory school is oriented towards sanctions which favour the obedient girls. In later stages of the educational system, more emphasis is put on student initiative and independent use of skills and knowledge which instead favour the boys more than the girls (Hernes & Knudsen, 1976). The theory is strengthened by later studies finding that girls in upper secondary school spend more time on home work than boys and that they report doing this because of duty (Edvardsen, 1998). If we assume that these findings apply for compulsory school as well, gender differences in school achievement may be caused by the school structure. In general there seems to be a growing concern and a focus towards the boys' situation in school (Høiskar & Turmo in Statistics Norway, 2003a). However, to even out the gender differences in school one might argue that this is a discussion involving not only the educational system but also the social and cultural features of society causing a gendered upbringing.

Economic barriers in compulsory education?

All public compulsory education in Norway is free (or financed by tax funding), and it is the municipalities that are responsible for primary and lower secondary schools. However, there are great variations between municipalities concerning economic resources in general and resources spent on school in special. While some municipalities are well off and have no difficulties in fulfilling their responsibility in respect of each student's legal right to education, for the administrative running of schools, for the building and maintenance of school buildings, and for appointing teachers, other municipalities have a hard time prioritizing small resources between school, hospital and health services and other needs. Indicators of school finances including average amount spent on each student show considerable variations between municipalities (Statistics Norway 2004a). As a consequence, the funding structure may cause an economic barrier to equity in education⁴⁶. The research conducted on

⁴⁶ There are a number of factors contributing to decide the annual size of the block grant received by each municipality. The rules and regulations concerning the financing of the compulsory schools are complicated and it will go beyond the scope of this report to give a detailed analysis of the finance structure. In general smaller schools with a low number of pupils have higher costs per pupil compared to larger schools. The number of

the relationship between economic resources in the municipalities, school's economy, and equity in education is limited. More research is needed in order to establish knowledge about this relationship.

While compulsory school has no direct cost for the parents, the day-care facilities for school children are not free (see chapter 1). This may cause an economic barrier for some families and have the effect that some children from low income families do not participate in the cultural and recreational activities provided by the day-care centres. However, more research is needed on the relationship between participation in day-care facilities and school performance, and on the connection between family economy and participation in day-care facilities.

Social and cultural barriers in compulsory education

Social and cultural barriers have in both Norwegian as well as in international sociological research received a large part of attention. There exist a large body of research and several theories on the relationship between social background and school performance. Social and cultural barriers, in the form of the influence of the parents and the environment of which the pupil or student belong to, is recognized as important factors when explaining school performance and educational outcome. Social inequity in education is a stable phenomenon, even if it appears with different strength in different countries. The theories seeking to explain this phenomenon may be divided into theories focusing on social differences in values, culture or social position (Boudon, 1974; Hansen & Mastekaasa, 2003).

The *value theory* emphasized that school performance and choice of education is influenced by norms and values. The main argument is that those from lower social backgrounds have less interest in education because they have gone through a socialisation where education is of low value. This causes low motivation for school work, low school achievement and reduces the educational aspirations. Among those from higher social backgrounds education is of high value. Through socialisation these children are stimulated to high school achievement and motivation for continue in the educational system and pursue a higher education.

The *cultural theory*, on the other hand, focus on social differences in school performance and on how these differences are caused by the school structure and school culture. The basis in this theory is that the pupils from higher social backgrounds are feeling more at home at school and have an advantage compared to pupils from lower social backgrounds because it is the culture of the higher social classes that dominate what is taught in school. While some pupils arrive at school feeling at home other may feel alienated when faced with the school culture. Thus, pupils from higher social backgrounds possess the language and cultural skills required to succeed in the educational system and therefore they will succeed more often than pupils from lower social backgrounds.

The *social position theory* is more than the other theories based on economic theory as it explains social inequities in education as a result of cost and benefit analysis. The theory was originally developed by Boudon (1974) and in the theory he argues that educational choices are rational, and that social inequities are a result of social differences in the cost and benefit of education. While an important reward for youths from higher social backgrounds who pursue a higher education is to avoid downward social mobility. Among youths from lower social backgrounds the risk of downward mobility are lower, as their parent have lower social positions. Thus, they have less to benefit from education, in the sense of increasing their social position, compared to youths from higher social backgrounds. In addition the economic cost of pursuing a higher education may be more affordable among those from higher social backgrounds. The theory separates between a primary and a secondary effect of social background on student's choice. The primary effect is described as cultural differences between parents with different social position which affects children's achievements in school, leading to different choice of education. This difference in choice of education is then reinforced through the secondary effect of social background that is effective at every branching point in the educational

pupils with special needs, pupils with disabilities and pupils with language minority backgrounds in each school also influence the school budget.

system (see chapter 5). The primary and secondary effects of social origin is thus causing youths from different social backgrounds to choose differently in the educational system, and due to the secondary effect the differences increases at every branching point in the educational system.

Obviously these three groups of theories are not limited to explaining social inequities in compulsory education; they may be used as explanations for inequities in all parts of the educational system. The theories provide different explanations to how social and cultural barriers are causing social differences in school performance, participation rates and completion rates in the various levels of the educational system. Thus, the theories are not necessarily competing; they may just as well be complementary.

Relating these theories to the previous discussions of barriers in compulsory education, social and cultural barriers may be seen in relation to other forms of barriers in the educational system. To what extent are the social differences in school performance caused by social and cultural barriers? The evaluation of Reform 97 emphasizes many positive features of the Norwegian compulsory education, but it also point out the rigidity of the school and states that the school has created a norm for what is required in order to benefit from being there (Haug, 2003). Although these conclusions do not particularly focus on social differences between the pupils, they still have similarities with the *culture theory*, in that they focus on how differences in school performance are caused by the school structure and school culture.

Previously we discussed to what extent the gender differences in school performance may be caused by institutional barriers. However, that discussion could also involve the theories of social and cultural barriers presented above. Could it be that the relatively large gender differences in Norwegian compulsory school is caused by social and cultural barriers? Are boys facing social and cultural barriers in compulsory school? Explaining and developing policy for reducing the gender differences in compulsory school performances is a field where more research is needed to fully explain what causes these differences and how they affect gender differences in later levels of the educational system.

Concerning the differences in school performances between pupils with immigrant backgrounds and pupils with majority backgrounds, the conclusions from research are slightly more evident. The evaluation of Reform 97 indicates that some immigrant children are facing an alien culture in school (Øzerk 2003). Feeling alienated in school may have a negative impact on motivation and may explain school drop-out among immigrant children (Andersen, 2000; Øzerk, 2003). Furthermore, the evaluation indicates that many teachers unconsciously lower the demands to pupils with minority language backgrounds and pays more attention to their well-being than their learning achievements. Thus, the social and cultural barriers indicated by the evaluation of Reform 97 may be an explanation to the low average school performance among pupils with immigrant backgrounds. Measures to change this are among the policy on minority language pupils expressed in the governmental strategic plan (UFD, 2003b). The plan endorses an increased emphasis on the multicultural perspective and the situation of the minority language pupils both among school leaders and teachers.

Motivational barriers in compulsory education

The existence of motivational barriers in compulsory education is well recognized at the political level. In the latest white paper, "Culture for learning" among the central policies is to improve school motivation (UFD, 2004). Results from the PISA-study indicate a general low level of motivation among Norwegian pupils, both regarding school work in general and reading literacy in particular. Increasing pupil's motivation is recognized as important for improving school performances. The "Pupil inspectors" is a project initiated by the Ministry of Education and Research in 2001 that focuses on pupil's motivation (see chapter 3).

However, while low motivation may be a general barrier towards a culture for learning among pupils in compulsory education, the differences in school performance between different groups of pupils could suggest that motivational barriers are not equally distributed among all groups of pupils. If the argument is that motivational barriers explain low school performance we should expect that the groups with the lowest school performance face the most motivational barriers. According to the PISA-study pupils from low social backgrounds, boys and pupils with immigrant backgrounds are over-represented among the low performance-groups (see chapter 2). Could the relatively low school performance among pupils from low social backgrounds, boys and pupils with immigrant backgrounds be explained by motivational barriers?

As previously discussed, motivational barriers may be an explanation of the gender differences as well as the social differences in school performance. However, school performance is not always related to low motivation. Research on pupils with immigrant backgrounds and language minority backgrounds indicate that this group is recognized by high motivation for learning despite relatively low school performance. Several studies on immigrants in both compulsory education and upper secondary education have indicated high educational motivation and "a stronger drive" towards social mobility among immigrant youth (Lauglo, 1996; Bakken & Sletten, 2000; Sletten, 2001; Støren, 2003; Lødding, 2003). Pupils with immigrant background on average spend more time on homework and have a more positive attitude toward the school compared to majority pupils. The findings suggests that the gap in achievement between pupils with minority and majority backgrounds to a large extent is caused by a lack of economic and cultural resources in the family and not lack of motivation among the pupils (Bakken, 2003).

However, separating motivational barriers from other factors contributing to or reducing school performance is difficult. More research is needed to increase knowledge on how to increase school motivation and the relationship between motivation and school performance.

Barriers in upper secondary education

Institutional barriers in upper secondary education

As all young people aged 16-19 have a statutory right to upper secondary education leading either to higher education or to vocational qualifications, institutional barriers in access to this part of the educational system are small.

A requirement for entering upper secondary education is of course that the student has completed compulsory education. The completion rate in the non-immigrant part of the population is 100 per cent, but among the immigrant population there is a group who have not completed compulsory education (see chapter 2). To not have completed compulsory education will be a barrier against entering upper secondary education.

After Reform 94 there are few dead-ends in upper secondary education (see chapter 3). The drop-out rate in the vocational tracks has been reduced and most vocational tracks may be extended so that the additional qualifications required for entry to higher education can be acquired. The system is thus being developed to reduce structural barriers in moving from a vocational to a general track, or to continue to higher education after having completed a vocational upper secondary education. Moving from general to vocational routes, however, tends to require 'taking one step back'. In that respect it would seem that the system contains an incentive towards choosing a vocational track.

The flexibility in upper secondary implies increasing the theoretical subjects in the vocational tracks. However, this may involve a structural barrier for the low-performance students. As described in chapter 2, the average drop-out rate in the vocational tracks is higher than in the general tracks. This must be seen in relation to the group of students and apprentices entering the different tracks. The level of entry grades among those entering the vocational tracks is in general lower than among those

entering the general tracks. As mentioned in chapter 5, the main factor contributing to school retention in upper secondary education is entry grades from lower secondary education (Markussen & Sandberg, 2004). But why do the low-performance students drop-out and how can this be prevented? One contributing factor to drop-out is lack of motivation. When discussing drop-out in upper secondary education (and perhaps in other parts of the educational system as well), structural and motivational barriers intermingle.

As a part of Reform 94 the foundation courses in all the vocational tracks became more theory based than it was before the reform. Among students with low motivation for theoretical school work, entering a vocational track only to find themselves still struggling with theory instead of practice might have a negative effect on their motivation. The evaluation of Reform 94 pointed out that one explanation for a low progression rate in vocational subject studies may be the fact that students are generally dissatisfied with the new curricula. They feel that too little emphasis is placed on practical experience, and too much on theoretical learning (Støren, Skjersli & Aamodt, 1998).

Earlier studies have indicated a link between social background and academic motivation. A study of school performance among boys in upper secondary education suggests that boys from lower social backgrounds value technical abilities more than academic abilities, and that these differences in values and motivation have an impact on school performance (Grøgaard, 1992; Grøgaard, 1995). Low academic motivation may be a result of choice of interests and a willingness to enter a vocational training and the labour market instead of pursuing an academic education. Following these findings, structural barriers affecting motivation may be one explanation to the social inequities in completion rates in upper secondary education. A vocational training with a lesser amount of general subjects and theory may thus reduce the structural barriers and increase motivation among those students with low levels of achievement in the general subjects. However, the question of what is the ideal content in upper secondary education will differ between groups of students and between the educational system, policy-makers and the employers. The theoretical learning may be a barrier for some students and not for others. Including more theory in the vocational tracks has had several positive effects. From the employer and labour market side, many have expressed a demand for employees and apprentices with more general and theoretical knowledge. As the need for knowledge and information in society increases, the demand for more theoretical education increases among students entering the vocational tracks. The drop-out rate in the vocational tracks was even higher before implementing the Reform 94, partly due to the dead ends in the vocational tracks and to the lack of apprenticeship. Still it should be discussed how to further reduce the drop-out rate.

The counselling services

Institutional barriers may also be connected with the quality and quantity of *the counselling services*. As mentioned in chapter 1 the counselling service consist of two parts; one part that provides counselling for students with learning difficulties caused by social or psychological difficulties, and another part mainly consisting of career guidance. There have been expressed concerns, especially by employers' organisations, about the extent and quality of the guidance provision within schools. Studies indicate that the first part of the counselling service take up most of the resources allocated to this service, and that students on the average only receive a few minutes of career guidance. It is also a concern that many of the teachers responsible for the counselling service lack sufficient training or had none at all (Hatlevik, 2002; OECD, 2002).

In order to improve the counselling services a project called "Split counselling service" (*Delt rådgivningstjeneste*) was initiated by the Ministry of Education and Research in the year 2000. During a period of three years the project has been carried out in four pilot counties. All through the same period of time the project has been evaluated. The evaluation indicates an improvement in the quality of the counselling service in the counties that participated in the project (Buland & Havn, 2003).

Lack of sufficient career guidance and information of possibilities in the educational system and the labour market may be a structural barrier that might explain inequities in upper secondary and higher education. This barrier will probably have the largest impact on students without parents or an environment that possess resources and information of the educational system. It is students who lack other sources of information of the educational system who will benefit most from the counselling service.

Economic barriers in upper secondary education

All public upper secondary education is free and apprentices receive wages during their education. The main cost for the students is to pay for books and material in addition to the cost of living. Some students and apprentices, especially those who have to move away from home to obtain education, may need financial support to cover these costs. The State Educational Loan Fund (*Lånekassen*) provides financial support to students and apprentices in upper secondary education in the form of loans and grants. The level and type of support (grant or loan) depends on several factors, including parental income, own income, whether the student is living together with his or her parents or not, and distance to school. In addition to grants, students from low income families who live together with their parents can obtain a maximum loan of NOK 24000 per year while in upper secondary education. The students may also apply for additional loans to cover fees in private schools. Such loans are not need-based according to parental income. Financial support is also given to those not living together with their parents.

Even though the financial support for students and apprentices is need-based according to level of parental income the loan is given to the individual student or apprentice. This has caused high loan burdens among some already at this young age (NOU, 1999). Although the financial support system may reduce economic barriers in entering and completing upper secondary education, it may have caused financial difficulties for the individuals who finish upper secondary education loaded with the weight of a student loan. Statistics from the State Educational Loan Fund show that those with upper secondary education as their highest level of education have larger repayment problems compared to those with higher education (Baekken, 1997; Opheim, 2002). In addition, high student loans already at this stage in the educational system may prevent continuation in the educational system. Research has shown that having a student loan after completing upper secondary education reduces the probability of transition to higher education, even when comparing students with similar social background and similar grades (Grøgaard et al, 2002).

On the other side, reducing the possibility to obtain loans to finance upper secondary education may increase the economic barriers among students from low-income families to complete upper secondary education. To avoid large debts among young students from low income families, a question might be to ask whether student support in upper secondary education should be provided as either grants or as loans to the parents instead of the individual student or apprentice.

Cultural and social barriers in upper secondary education

The theories explaining social and cultural barriers in compulsory education mentioned above, also applies to upper secondary education.

Research indicates that some students and apprentices with minority or immigrant backgrounds face cultural and social barriers in upper secondary school (Lødding, 2001). Boys with immigrant backgrounds have more difficulties in getting an apprentice position compared to non-immigrant youth and some have experienced discrimination from employers hiring apprentices. These differences still exist when comparing students with equal levels of performance (grades). Among girls with immigrant backgrounds, the situation is different. They have fewer difficulties in obtaining an apprentice position. This may be explained by gender differences in choice of vocational subject, but also by prejudices by employers (Lødding, 2001). Facing difficulties when trying to get a apprentice position may be a cultural and social barrier against continuing and completing upper secondary

education; thus, it may be an explanation to the low completion rate among students with immigrant backgrounds displayed in chapter 2. Increasing the retainment of minority students in upper secondary education and training is a priority in the present educational policy (UFD, 2003c).

Cultural and social barriers explaining gender differences?

Gender differences in upper secondary education are not so much related to differences in school performance, but more so to differences in choice of study programmes or study fields. As described in chapter 2, the gender segregation in the vocational tracks is strong, and gender inequities in choice of study fields in upper secondary education have not changed much during the past decade (Støren, 2003). Both girls and boys still make very gender traditional choice of education (UFD, 2003c).

These gender differences have been explained by theories including socialization theories, the importance of role models, rational choice and discrimination theories. The theories are often similar to the theories used to explain social inequities in the educational system presented above, but instead of focusing on how the social environment may have different impact dependent on social background, these theories focus on how the social environment may have different impact on boys and girls. Socialization theory involves theories of how traditional gender patterns affect how parents bring up their sons and daughters and how traditional gender patterns are reinforced by society. Theories of role models concern how girls and boys are motivated by adults, and how introducing adults in untraditional roles or professions may motivate untraditional educational choice among young girls and boys. Rational choice models explain gender segregation by relating choice of education and work to the individual's preferences. Gender differences may be explained by women choosing education and work that may more easily be combined with household and raising children. Or it could be rational to choose a gender typical education to avoid the cost of losing the social environment, or as an aversion against being the minority gender (which will self enforce gender segregation). Discrimination theories focus on gender inequalities in the labour market, where women earn less than men and have less access to managing and leading positions. According to discrimination theories discrimination on the labour market may reduce girls' motivation for choosing an untraditional education both in upper secondary and in higher education.

Motivational barriers in upper secondary education

The motivational barriers discussed in compulsory education are relevant also in upper secondary education. Motivational barriers is recognized as more relevant in explaining gender differences and social inequities in the educational system, and less applicable in explaining low school performance among students with immigrant backgrounds. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, increasing school motivation is a central educational policy both in compulsory and in upper secondary education (UFD, 2004).

Barriers in tertiary education

The equity issues in tertiary education are connected both to social inequities and to inequities between students with majority and language minority or immigrant backgrounds. A stable phenomenon both in Norway and other countries is the social inequities in higher education. As displayed in chapter 2, students from higher social backgrounds have a higher participation rate in higher education compared to students from lower social backgrounds. The data annex commented in chapter 2 presents lower participation rate in tertiary education among first generation immigrants compared to the participation rate among those without immigrant background (table 4). Gender inequity in tertiary education is not so much about the participation rates, but rather about the horizontal gender segregation in the education system. In the following sections we discuss to what extent these inequities may be caused by institutional, economic, social and cultural or motivational barriers.

Institutional barriers in tertiary education

The university system in Norway is recognized for its high level of flexibility; students select different subjects and build up their degrees much to their own liking and studies in universities may be combined with studies in universities colleges. In order to avoid regional differences and geographical barriers in education the policy in higher education has for many years been dominated by decentralisation and a focus on regional development (see chapter 1).

Economic barriers in tertiary education

The public educational system is developed as an open system with low costs of participation, no tuition fees and high geographical distribution of institutions. Students are only paying a fee to the student welfare organisation (*Studentsamskipnaden*) (Eurydice, 1999)⁴⁷. Thus, the economic cost of entry to higher education is low. Still, the largest cost of studying is perhaps the loss of income during studies. This cost may be particularly high for those returning to the educational system after some time in the labour market.

To cover living expenses and expenses for study material (books, etc.), the State Educational Loan Fund provides financial support to students in the form of loans and grants. A high proportion (app. 90 per cent) of Norwegian higher education students takes out a loan to cover living expenses while studying (Lyngstad & Øyangen, 1999; Eurydice, 1999). Still, one might discuss to what extent the current system of student finance is reducing education inequalities. Several studies indicate that students from high social backgrounds take up higher loans than students from lower backgrounds, even when comparing students on similar courses of study (Fekjær, 2000; Opheim, 2002). One explanation for these findings could be that students from higher social backgrounds are "better" at maximizing the benefits in the study support system compared to students from lower social backgrounds. The student loans are free of interest while the student is studying. After graduation the interest rate increases from zero to a market interest rate⁴⁸, but still the student loan has advantages to ordinary bank loans (possibilities to reduce repayment in periods of low income, freezing of loan repayment when unemployed, etc.). These loans are not means-tested; thus, the system is universal and allows all students to take up a maximum amount of interest free loan. There are no restrictions on how the loan may be used.

Many students in Norway have large debts when entering the labour market after graduation. Student loan repayment may cause economic constrains in a large number of households, especially in the first years after finishing higher education (Opheim, 2000). To what extent this is an economic barrier may be discussed. Taking up a high student loan while in higher education may be considered to be an uncertain investment. This would especially be the case in periods of high unemployment or within sectors or fields where the monetary return to education is low (see chapter 2). Could it be that students who are uncertain about the cost of education, with a high risk aversion against taking up a student loan may be reluctant to take up a large student loan?

Recently the student support system has undergone changes. One of the changes is that all student support is now given in the form of student loan that may be partly transferred into grant provided that the student completes the exams. The question is to what extent this change may have an effect on the economic barriers. Could it be that students with low self-esteem regarding own academic abilities may be discouraged by this model? Or are the changes an effective measure to increase study progression among the students and thus increase the efficacy in higher education? When comparing the student support system in Norway with other countries with high tuition fees and less developed

⁴⁷ For autumn 2004 the fee to the student welfare organisation is NOK 410 (about 49 euro).

⁴⁸ Since 1997 the interest rate is determined according to the interest on government bonds which have three or five years until redemption. An additional one per cent per annum is charged to partially cover administrative costs and losses. The interest rate is set four times a year. The borrower may fix the interest for a period of three or five years. In the period 1997-2004 the interest has varied between 8.6 and 2.8 per cent. Because of the variations in the interest rate it may be difficult to estimate the cost of the student loan repayment.

support system, and where the parents are expected to cover the expenses of their children's education, one might argue that the Norwegian students are less dependent of their parents "financial capacities" than student in most other countries. Still, one discussion might be to what extent the system is constructed to meet the needs of all students, both those with high academic self-esteem and low aversion towards taking on a student loan, and those students who are more uncertain of the cost and benefits of higher education. Such a discussion of how the students' risk perception of taking up a student loan may differ according to the students' social background would thus involve a discussion of how both economic factors as well as cultural and social conditions act together as barriers in higher education. The effects of the changes in the student support system have not yet been evaluated, but will be part of the current evaluation of the Quality reform in higher education (see chapter 3).

Social and cultural barriers in tertiary education

With a flexible system of higher education and what is generally recognized as a generous system of student finance, one argument could be that educational differences is more due to social and cultural barriers or motivational barriers and to a lesser degree structural and economic differences. Again, the traditional sociological theories explaining social inequities presented earlier in this chapter are often used in studies of social inequities in higher education.

Gender differences in student choice – an equity issue?

During the last 20-30 years female participation in post-compulsory education has increased tremendously. Gender inequity in tertiary education is therefore not so much about the participation rates anymore, but rather about the horizontal gender segregation in the education system. Why do men and women choose gender traditional education? Taken into account the economic return to different types of education, the central question related to equity is perhaps: Why do women choose female dominated education like social- and health-studies, teaching, humanities and social science even if the monetary rate of return within these fields of education are lower compared to the rate of return within the traditional male dominated studies? The gender segregation in the education system illustrates that choice of education is not only determined by the economic rate of return to education.

Both the Norwegian labour market and the educational system are recognized by strong gender segregation. Women dominate among those employed in the health and social services and among teachers and school staff. Men dominate in the natural science and technical sectors (Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). Research indicates that some of these gender differences are caused by different motivations and preferences among girls and boys when choosing an education. While girls are motivated by being able to help others and working with people, boys report high salaries and career opportunities as important factors when deciding for education (Edvardsen, 1995; Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). This difference is reported in a number of studies and is regarded as a typical gender difference in motivation affecting both the choice of education as well as other areas under discussion (Imsen, 2003). Whether these gender differences are considered to be problematic or not may be a philosophical discussion. However, as far as gender differences in education are related to economic differences among men and women in the labour market, discussing how gender segregation in education could be reduced seems to be a relevant issue in order to increase economic equity between men and women in a lifecycle perspective.

Social and cultural barriers might explain the gender inequity in both upper secondary and higher education and why few men and women choose an untraditional education. Some of the theories mentioned earlier in the chapter when discussing gender inequity caused by motivational barriers, may also be relevant in this section. Discrimination theory may for instance explain motivational barriers among women against choosing an untraditional education and a male dominated work place, but discrimination theory also describe social and cultural barriers. Research indicates that some of the women working in male dominated parts of the labour market face sex discrimination (Kvande & Rasmussen, 1990; Hansen, 1993). Discrimination in the labour market may also be a barrier for other groups, for instance persons with disabilities and persons with minority backgrounds.

Relationship between gender differences and social inequalities?

However, gender differences and social inequalities in education may be seen in relation with each other. Several studies indicate that girls from high social backgrounds more frequently choose untraditional or male dominated study programmes in higher education (Hovland, 2000; Hansen, 1993; Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). Thus, the most traditional or gender stereotypical choices of education are found among the girls and boys from the lower social backgrounds. One explanation to this is the fact that the choice of a male dominated education is just as much a status choice as it is a traditional gender determined choice (Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). These gender and social differences in choice of education are often explained by the social and cultural barriers described earlier in this chapter. Socialization theory may for instance explain both social inequities as well as gender differences in choice of education.

Motivational barriers in tertiary education

Motivational barriers may be affected by both institutional structures of the educational system, economic barriers as well as social and cultural barriers.

Barriers in adult learning

As described in chapter 1, adult learners may be divided into two quite different groups of students. On the one hand, there is a group of adults who lack compulsory or upper secondary education and the other group consist of adults taking further education, often on top of the education they already got. In the following sections we will discuss how the policy on adults in the educational system may reduce inequities in education in a lifelong learning perspective. How is the policy on adult learning developed to reduce inequities in education? What barriers may prevent adults with low levels of formal education from returning to the educational system?

Institutional barriers in adult learning

During recent years, educational policy has been directed towards reducing the institutional barriers against participation in adult learning and workplace learning. From the start of the academic year 2001-2002, people without completed secondary school were enabled to enter higher education based on documented non-formal competence (*realkompetanse*)⁴⁹. The change in the rules of access to higher education is part of The Competence reform which is presented in chapter 3. Increasing the possibilities for entering tertiary education may contribute to equity in education, as it reduces the institutional barriers against access to education among a group of adult learners who may lack some formal qualifications, but who possess both motivation as well as qualifications from outside the formal educational system which qualify them for pursuing a higher education. The policy and practice of access to higher education based on documented non-formal competence will be further developed and evaluated in the years to come (NOU, 2003).

In addition, a number of measures (the KUP-projects) have been launched as part of The Competence reform to reduce the barriers against participation in adult learning by encouraging a co-operation between employers, employees and the government (see chapter 3). However, as statistics indicate, it is employees already having high levels of education that also receive and benefit the most from adult education (Tøsse in Statistics Norway, 2003). This syndrome has been described as the "Matthew Effect" – the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. In this sense, adult education may be contributing to increased inequity in education instead of minimizing the educational gap. It can be argued that

⁴⁹ The Norwegian term '*realkompetanse*' include the total sum of a person's formal, non-formal and un-formal learning. The concept of '*realkompetanse*' includes all kinds of knowledge and skills acquired through education, in paid or unpaid work (e.g. caring for own children), through active participation in society, organisations or other voluntary work or through other channels. Thus, '*realkompetanse*' is a broader concept covering more than just non-formal learning.

although measures to reduce the barriers in workplace learning may function as a general reduction of the barriers towards participating in adult and workplace learning, it may not necessarily reduce inequity in education. On the contrary, those with low levels of education who are excluded from the labour market have no possibility to take part in the workplace learning.

Economic barriers in adult learning

As one element of The Competence reform policy and measures has been developed to reduce the economic barriers against participating in adult learning. It is recognized that adults may have a need for more economic support in order to leave work to pursue an education compared to young students. Thus, the student support system has been changed partly to make it easier to combine (part-time) work and (part-time) education. The changes include an increase in the total amount of annual support and an increase in the student' maximum income limit before the support is reduced. Thus, the student is allowed to have a higher income than before (NOU, 2003).

Social and cultural barriers in adult learning

Some of the adults with immigrant backgrounds who has not completed compulsory education or upper secondary education may face cultural and language barriers which prevent them from entering the educational system. Lack of knowledge of the Norwegian educational system is a barrier against entering the educational system (KUF, 1997). Increasing information and reducing the barriers against participation in education among this group is recognized as an important political goal (UFD, 2003b). The low levels of education among this group may prevent them for entering the labour market and thus prevent them from being economic independent and integrated in society.

Motivational barriers in adult learning

In general, motivation is considered an important factor in order to increase participation in adult learning and workplace learning. Lifelong learning is generally understood as learning which generates new learning, which is made possible because motivation takes the form of an inner driving force, rather than being the product of an external goal or ambition (Egge, 1999).

Adults who lack compulsory education may face a motivational barrier towards re-entering the educational system. A majority of adults participating in primary education have negative experiences with the school system that explain why they never finished compulsory education. Having failed in the education system before, the risk of failing again may influence their motivation for re-entering the education system (Svensen, 2000). For this group motivational barriers may very well explain why some adults with low levels of education are reluctant to re-enter the education system. Thus motivational barriers may contribute to explaining why some adults are reluctant to re-enter the educational system, despite policy on reducing structural and economic barriers. Overcoming motivational barriers may be tough for those who have previously failed in the educational system.

Both research and practical experience show that those adults, who are perhaps most in need of it, are reluctant to seek continuing education and competence building – often due to bad school experiences earlier in life (Svensen, 2000; Tøsse in Statistics Norway, 2003a). Likewise, people with the poorest education are those who participate least in workplace competence development. So far, it has proved a challenge to motivate and stimulate groups with low education to make use of the various educational offers provided by the Competence Reform.

SECTION V: CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Comments

Based on previous parts of the report this chapter contains concluding remarks regarding the current situation of equity in education in the different parts of the educational system and for different groups of learners.

The Norwegian paradox

The educational system of Norway is overall a well functioning system where equity in education is an overriding concern in the national educational policy. Few countries spend more money and resources on education than Norway and the general level of education in the population is high. One of the main political priorities has been to reduce the geographical inequity in access to education by building a decentralised system of education; there is a widespread geographical distribution of both compulsory schools and upper secondary and higher education institutions. Policy is developed in order to ensure equity in education and integration of all groups of pupils and students, with a special focus on students and pupils with special needs, persons with disabilities, immigrants, and language and cultural minorities. Nevertheless, both national and international empirical studies indicate the existence of challenges in the Norwegian educational system.

The Norwegian educational system is in a sense facing a paradox that despite the high level of resources allocated to education, there are large differences in the pupil's learning outcome. The PISA survey (chapter 2) shows that there is a wide discrepancy in learning achievements in the Norwegian educational system both with respect to social differences and gender differences. Norway belongs to the group of countries where there is greatest variation in reading skills between pupils. This would seem to indicate that especially the weakest pupils are not benefiting sufficiently from their schooling. Even though the main educational policy in Norway is to ensure adapted education for all pupils, the school has not been successful in ensuring equity in education among all groups of students regardless of their background.

Main challenges

The main challenge in the Norwegian educational system is related to integration of all groups of pupils and students, and increasing the learning outcome among all pupils and students and especially the weak learners. These challenges are interrelated as lack of integration is associated with low school achievement.

When analysing equity in education in a lifecycle perspective it becomes evident that the challenge of integration start at an early stage in the educational system. As pointed out in chapter 6; pre-primary education is not compulsory in Norway and the policy does not function as an incentive for parents to integrate their children in pre-primary education. This may have serious consequences for later integration in school among children and groups at risk, such as pupils with immigrant background, language minority background and pupils with special needs.

Several studies indicate that among the pupils with low performance some groups are overrepresented. These groups include language minority pupils, pupils with special needs, pupils from low social backgrounds and boys (see chapter 2 and 6). However, some of these characteristics are correlated. There is an overrepresentation of pupils from low social backgrounds among both language minority pupils and pupils with special needs. There seem to be a need for strengthening the follow-up of this group of pupils with multiple disadvantages, from an early stage in the educational system. The low school performance among these groups of pupils and students indicate that although policy and

regulations is vital in order to secure the rights for weak groups in the educational system, the policy and measures developed are not sufficient to reduce inequity in the educational system.

However, although the evaluations of the school reforms during the last decade has generated a number of studies containing information about the educational system, specific knowledge of the successfulness (or lack of such) of the various policy and measures is missing. There is a need for more systematic knowledge of the effect of the policy and measures introduced in the school system. There is especially a need for knowledge about the causes and explanations for the large social differences revealed in the PISA study, and for explaining the high rate of weak performers in the Norwegian educational system (see chapter 2).

Performance and achievement are important factors influencing students' choice of education. Choosing an education should be made based on both interest and abilities. However, students' choice is also about having sufficient information of what choice to make. It should be recognized that students and pupils possess different amount and type of information about the educational system and of the cost and benefit of education which may influence their "risk perception". Thus, one key element in order to increase equity in education may be to change the "risk perception" among groups of pupils and students with low participation rates in the educational system. This may include students with immigrant and language minority backgrounds and students from low socio-economic backgrounds. In addition, it may be relevant for reducing the gender segregation in upper secondary and higher education. Gaining more knowledge of the factors contributing to the "risk perception" among different groups of pupils and students and how this may be changed may thus contribute to increase equity in education.

Equity in education: A question of policy?

The challenges in the Norwegian educational system may be a question of developing and improving the educational policy, alternatively the challenges may be related to how the educational system is constructed. The policy of inclusion instead of segregation of pupils with special needs in ordinary classes implies that the Norwegian school system include pupils with a more differentiated learning abilities and need for assistance than in many other countries where pupils with special needs are enrolled in separate schools. This policy of inclusion instead of segregation has proven successful in order to increase integration and performance among a group of pupils and students with special needs. At the same time this policy may contribute to the wide discrepancy in learning achievements among Norwegian pupils. However, there are a number of other factors also causing the inequities in school performance.

The need for more knowledge and more action in order to reduce inequities in the educational system is recognized at the political level (UFD, 2003b). The inequities in the Norwegian educational system may be reduced by developing new policy and measures. Still, policy is of little interest if it is not implemented and sustained in a national system. Ensuring a close relation between policy and practice is a challenge which requires both economy and competence. While lack of sufficient funding may reduce the schools' possibilities to fulfil their commitments, lack of competence will reduce their ability to carry out the tasks they have been given. To strengthen and further develop the teachers' professional and pedagogical expertise and to motivate for improvements and changes is central in the recent policy from the Ministry (UFD, 2004).

Increasing local autonomy and allow greater diversity is another key policy. By allowing greater diversity in the solutions and working methods chosen, the methods can be adapted and customised to the situation of each individual pupil, teacher and school. While the objectives and the framework conditions will be defined by the national authorities, the wish is to mobilise to greater creativity and commitment in the schools' by allowing greater freedom to accept responsibility (UFD, 2004). Thus, in many ways the new policy represents a shift away from the policy of a comprehensive unified schooling (see chapter 1), and towards a school where more local variations are allowed. From a

policy focusing on equity through standardization and uniformity the shift is towards a new policy where equity is attained through diversity.

The question now is to what extent the increasing local autonomy will have the desired effects. Will the policy changes improve quality and equity in the school system or will it increase the differences between the schools? Studying the impact of these recent policy changes and reforms will be essential topics for future research.

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Annex 1

The data annex is found in a separate document (Excel).