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Equity in Education

*Country Analytical Report
Norway*



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Preface

The topic of this report is equity in education. The term «equity» is used in an increasing number of policy documents, analytical reports and in media debates. Part of the discussion 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 Education systems. A Set of Indicators» (Socrates, 2003). The publication comprises a report of a two-year study on the issue equity in the education 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». Nine countries are contributing with similar Country Analytical Reports.¹ The OECD has developed a set of «General guidelines for the country analytical reports» (OECD, 2003), and accordingly the reports are intended to provide an in-depth analysis of context, key factors and policy developments in each specific country. The report is prepared within a common framework to facilitate comparative analysis and to maximise the opportunities for countries to learn from each other's experiences. CAR also includes a data annex containing a set of tables as prescribed by the OECD (OECD, 2003). The tables in the data annex have been constructed by Statistics Norway.² The object of the data requested is to provide support to the conclusions of the analytical report. The report follows the prescribed structure:

Section I: National Context

Section II: Opportunities and Outcomes

Section III: Policies, Programmes, and Initiatives

Section IV: Causes and Explanations

Section V: Conclusions

Section I describes relevant aspects of the Norwegian context, including a description of the education system and a discussion of the concept of equity in education. In Section II the profile of equity of education in Norway is pre-

1 At the present time ten countries are 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 Geir Nygård has had the main responsibility for constructing the tables.

sented. The purpose is to identify key educational equity challenges that have the most important long-term implications and is based on statistics presented in a separate data annex. In Section III (comprising Chapters 3 and 4) policies, programmes and initiatives bearing on equity are presented. Chapter 3 includes a presentation of the active policies of the education system; Chapter 4 presents some central non-educational policies that may affect outcomes in the educational sector. Section IV consists of Chapters 5 and 6. In this section we discuss the causes and explanations of inequity in education. In Chapter 5 evidence from longitudinal studies is used in a discussion of how and when inequities arise and accumulate throughout the lifecycle. The causes of inequity in education are discussed in Chapter 6 on the basis of four types of obstacles or barriers: institutional, economic, motivational, social and cultural. Conclusions and final comments based on the previous discussion are given in Section 5.

The report has two objectives: first to provide an overview of equity and inequity in all levels of the education system, and secondly to describe the policy on equity in the education 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, it is necessary to describe the present system. However, the limitations of the report do not enable a description of all parts of the education system including all policies and regulations connected to various branches of the system to be given. Thus, some inequities may be found even in this report. In-debt information of some of the different aspects of the Norwegian education system may be found in reports and evaluations presented by 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 of looking 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 of participation in pre-primary education, as well as performance and

outcome in compulsory education and upper secondary education, have consequently received most attention in this report. Nevertheless, the inequities that may arise in the early part of the education system are seen in relation to policy regarding opportunity and outcome in later phases of educational participation, including tertiary and adult education.

Currently there are ongoing activities of research, evaluation and policy development that may contribute to the discussion and issues raised in this report. During the spring of 2004 the Ministry of Education and Research presented a new policy covering both compulsory and upper secondary education (UFD, 2004). During 2003 a strategic plan on language minorities was launched (UFD, 2003b). This plan outlines the policy for improving learning and participation among minority language children, youth and adults in all levels of the education system – from pre-primary to tertiary education. The future will show the effect of the recent policy changes and the new measures. In the present report some ongoing evaluation and research as well as recent policy changes will be discussed.

A reference group has been appointed in the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD) including representatives from several departments in the Ministry; : The 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. A reference group was also established 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 necessarily reflect those of the Ministry of Education and Research.

Oslo, November 2004

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

Table of contents

Preface	3
List of Acronyms	11
Section I: Context	
1 Country' Context and Current Equity Situation	13
1.1 Definition and discussion of equity in education	13
1.1.1 Limitations and analytical scope	16
1.2 The Norwegian context	17
1.2.1 Indigenous people, national and language minorities	18
1.2.2 The immigrant population	19
1.3 Cultural and political context around equity in education	20
1.3.1 History at a glance	20
1.3.2 Current political context	23
1.4 The present education system	25
1.4.1 Pre-primary education	26
1.4.2 Compulsory school	26
1.4.3 Upper secondary education	29
1.4.4 Tertiary education	30
1.4.5 Folk high schools	32
1.4.6 Adult learning	32
Section II: Opportunities and Outcomes	
2 Profile of Equity in Education	34
2.1 Participation rates	34
2.1.1 Pre-primary education	34
2.1.2 Primary and Lower Secondary Education	35
2.1.3 Upper Secondary Education	35
2.1.4 Tertiary education	37
2.1.5 Adult learning and workplace learning	39
2.2 Completion rates	40
2.2.1 Completion rates in compulsory education	40
2.2.2 Completion rates in upper secondary education	40
2.2.3 Upper secondary completion rates among the age group 50–54	40
2.2.4 Upper secondary graduation rates	41
2.2.5 Completion rates in tertiary education	41
2.2.6 Completion rates in tertiary education among 50–54 year olds ..	43
2.3 Labour market outcomes	44
2.4 Survival rates in tertiary education	45
2.5 School performance in compulsory education	46
2.6 Drop-out rates among secondary and tertiary education students ..	46

2.7	Evidence from tests of cognitive skills	47
2.7.1	PISA	47
2.7.2	TIMSS	50
2.7.3	IALS/SIALS	51
2.8	Evidence that outcome inequities are growing or shrinking in the country?	52
2.9	Earnings over the life cycle	53
2.10	Sources of data	54
 Section III: Policies, Programmes, and Initiatives		
3	Active Educational Policies Bearing on Equity	56
3.1	Reform 94: Upper secondary education reform	56
3.1.1	The follow-up service	57
3.1.2	The evaluation of Reform 94	58
3.2	Reform 97: The Compulsory School Reform	59
3.2.1	The evaluation of Reform 97	60
3.3	The Competence Reform	61
3.4	The Quality Reform in Norwegian Higher Education	63
3.5	Policy affecting pre-primary education	64
3.5.1	The cash benefit scheme	64
3.5.2	The pre-primary education agreement (<i>Barnehageforliket</i>)	65
3.6	Policy in comprehensive school	65
3.6.1	The Differentiation project (<i>Differensieringsprosjektet</i>)	65
3.6.2	The «Pupil inspectors» (<i>Elevinspektørene</i>)	66
3.7	Policy aimed at indigenous people and language minorities	66
3.7.1	Indigenous people	66
3.7.2	Language minorities	67
3.7.3	Government strategic plan: «Equal education in practice»	70
3.8	Policy aimed at pupils with special needs	71
3.9	Financial assistance to students	72
3.10	Looking into the future: Forthcoming policy changes in the education system	74
4	Non-educational Policies that Affect Outcomes in the Education Sector	76
4.1	Policy on combating poverty	76
4.1.1	Vocational rehabilitation (<i>attføring</i>)	77
4.2	Policy on integration of persons with disabilities	78
4.3	Policy on integration of immigrants	78
4.4	Policy towards combating racism and discrimination	79

Section IV: Causes and Explanations

5	Longitudinal Transmission of Inequality	81
5.1	When do inequities arise?	81
5.2	Accumulation of inequities throughout the lifecycle?	82
6	Understanding the causes of inequity	84
6.1	Definitions of barriers	85
6.1.1	Institutional barriers	85
6.1.2	Economic barriers	85
6.1.3	Social and cultural barriers	85
6.1.4	Motivational barriers	85
6.2	Barriers in pre-primary education	86
6.2.1	Institutional barriers in pre-primary education	86
6.2.2	Economic barriers in pre-primary education	87
6.2.3	Social and cultural barriers or motivational barriers in pre-primary education?	88
6.3	Barriers in compulsory education	89
6.3.1	Institutional barriers in compulsory education	89
6.3.2	Pupils with immigrant and/or language minority backgrounds ..	90
6.3.3	Institutional barriers explaining gender differences?	92
6.3.4	Economic barriers in compulsory education?	93
6.3.5	Social and cultural barriers in compulsory education	94
6.3.6	Motivational barriers in compulsory education	96
6.4	Barriers in upper secondary education	98
6.4.1	Institutional barriers in upper secondary education	98
6.4.2	The counselling services	99
6.4.3	Economic barriers in upper secondary education	100
6.4.4	Cultural and social barriers in upper secondary education	101
6.4.5	Cultural and social barriers explaining gender differences?	102
6.4.6	Motivational barriers in upper secondary education	103
6.5	Barriers in tertiary education	103
6.5.1	Institutional barriers in tertiary education	103
6.5.2	Economic barriers in tertiary education	103
6.5.3	Social and cultural barriers in tertiary education	105
6.5.4	Gender differences in student choice – an equity issue?	105
6.5.5	Relationship between gender differences and social inequalities?	107
6.5.6	Motivational barriers in tertiary education	107
6.6	Barriers in adult learning	107
6.6.1	Institutional barriers in adult learning	107
6.6.2	Economic barriers in adult learning	108
6.6.3	Social and cultural barriers in adult learning	109
6.6.4	Motivational barriers in adult learning	109

Section V: Conclusions

7 Conclusions and Comments	110
7.1 The Norwegian paradox	110
7.2 Main challenges	110
7.3 Equity in education: A question of policy?	112
References	114
Data annex	128

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 (læringssenteret)
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

1 Country' Context and Current Equity Situation

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

1.1 Definition and discussion of equity in education

This report is part of a broader OECD review of equity in education in several OECD countries. 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 the creation of a ‘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 by the education system, but it also concerns the actual results of the various educational choices and performances of different groups of pupils and students through the education system. Within the definition of equity in education lies a concern that pupils and students are different along several dimensions which can have an impact on their need for learning and follow-up in the education 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 there are individual differences between pupils and students as well as differences in the learning re-

sources they may have obtained through their family and environment, their individual need for training will vary. What these differences are and how they may be minimised by educational policy are central questions for researchers and policymakers. Differences in personal or family resources may affect the pupil's or student's perception of the education system and the need for information. These differences highlight a range of dilemmas and discussions when analysing equity in education. To what extent is the education 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 immigrants, minorities and so forth?

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

Analysing equity in education should also include a discussion of *why* different demographical groups perform and achieve differently in the education system. Why does socioeconomic 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 education 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 of pupils and students (i.e. among parents, family and neighbourhood), and characteristics of the education system includes a discussion of how school culture and economic resources allocated to the different parts of the education system have an impact on equity in education. Thus, inequity in education may be caused by structural and economic differences within the education system, and may be caused by differences between pupils and students.

The educational performance of each individual pupil or student is naturally influenced by stimuli from the parents and the environment. Thus, analysing equity in education requires an insight into how the education system deals with these differences. Do all pupils and students encounter equal opportunities when they enter the education system? Is the education system constructed to ensure an 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 education.⁴ When analysing equity in education, what are we looking for? Are there some characteristics of the education system that have proven to enhance equity in education? What knowledge do we have about educational policy which has a positive impact on equity in education? A simple answer to this question could be to look at the statistical difference between the demographic groups at the different levels of the education system and to assume that low differences are indicators of equity in education. But are large statistical differences always indicators of inequity in education, or should we distinguish between demographic inequality and inequity in education? What kind of differences can we accept and what differences should the education 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 education system? In Norway the value of equality is strong, and the traditional educational policy may be seen emphasizing equal opportunities in education and establishing universal arrangements in the education system. Treating all pupils and students equally and not developing targeted policy for particular groups of pupils or students has been the dominant policy. Nevertheless, one discussion related to this policy may be to consider whether the value of equality has overshadowed the existence of inequalities among different groups of pupils in school, and moreover a consideration of the need for introducing different approaches to various 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 affect learning? The Norwegian education system is designed 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 into

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

the comprehensive school. With a low number of private schools and a high transition rate from compulsory to (voluntary) upper secondary education, virtually all Norwegian pupils participate in the comprehensive school for a total of thirteen years (basic education – 10 years, plus upper secondary education – 3 years). One question related to such a policy may be to what extent an all-inclusive school 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 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 substitute any other concerns. On the contrary, citizens today demand both efficiency and equity as well as freedom to choose schools (Socrates, 2003). But is it possible to maintain equity in education *and* a high quality education for all? We will return to these questions.

1.1.1 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 soon becomes manifest. In the following chapters several of the points and dilemmas briefly mentioned above will be elaborated. Nevertheless, analysing all relevant points and perspectives related to equity in education is a major task. To limit the analytical scope of the report it has been necessary to focus on particular perspectives at the expense of others. Those topics which have received most attention are related to a policy of reducing inequity in education among pupils and students that are overrepresented among the weak learners; i.e. groups at risk. This includes policies on integration of pupils and students with immigrant and language minority backgrounds, policies on integration of students with special needs, and policies 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 the extent to which different forms of policy on inclusion and integration have been successful. Further, what barriers are encountered by different groups of pupils within the Norwegian education system?

1.2 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 in the OECD countries (OECD, 2000). 74 per cent of the population live in towns or built-up areas; the remainder comprise the dispersed rural population. The fact that many people live in remote rural areas serves to emphasize 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 belong. 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 'the Norwegian Parliament and comprises 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 stand 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 government) 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 administration of schools, the building and maintenance of school buildings, and appointing teachers. The responsibilities of the municipalities for providing compulsory education also apply to adult pupils. 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; a few are privately sponsored.

In general, Norway has a highly educated population. Few countries spend more resources on education than Norway. The Norwegian education budget accounts for 6.7 per cent of the gross domestic product, while the average for OECD countries is 5.2 per cent (OECD, 2003). 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 teacher/pupil ratio is higher in Norway than in other OECD countries (UFD, 2003).

1.2.1 Indigenous people, national and language minorities

Norway is generally regarded as a homogeneous country with a small, scattered population speaking the same language and belonging to the same culture. Nevertheless, like almost every other country it has always consisted of an ethnic and cultural combination of peoples. In addition to the majority population, the Norwegian population includes groups of indigenous minorities, 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 *Skogfinn* (people of Finnish descent living in southern Norway) (KRD, 2001b; KRD, 2004a). Since ethnic origin is not included in the national statistics, the knowledge of these peoples is scant and any statistical comparison between national minorities and majorities are limited.

Language minorities include groups who have lived in Norway for a long time as well as groups of more recent immigrants, including refugees and im-

migrants. 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 shorter or longer period need specially adapted tuition in the Norwegian language (UFD, 2003b). It does not include the entire immigrant population as is the case for data from Statistics Norway. 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.

1.2.2 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, three times as many as 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 of the immigrant population (83 per cent) consists 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. Of all first generation immigrants 48 per cent have a refugee background.⁵

After the Second World War many refugees immigrated from Eastern Europe. Later, 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 amounted to almost 100,000, equivalent to 29 per cent

⁵ The definition 'refugee' refers to persons resident in Norway, who have come to Norway because of flight (from war areas, political persecution, etc.). Children of refugees born in Norway are not included.

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, accounting for 22 per cent of the population of 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.

1.3 Cultural and political context around equity in education⁶

1.3.1 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 education 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 the enlightenment 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

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

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 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 1981,⁷ 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 kinds of opportunity 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 obligatory schooling was increased from 7 to 9 years, and the availability of upper secondary education was extended throughout the rural districts. A national curriculum with minimum requirements was introduced into the compulsory school in all subjects 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 1970s- (Haug, 2003). The goal was to have an inclusive education system with an emphasis on adapted learning.⁸ In order to ensure that salaries and working conditions for

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 overall majority in the Parliament in the 1981 elections. Since that time, minority and coalition governments have been the rule.

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, distributed throughout all 19 counties. The mergers have lead to larger and fewer institutions, but as the locations of the former institutions were being used to run the activities of the new ones, very little 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 is concerned with 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 choice, increased private spending, and growing social disparities. However, during 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 1980s 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 taking place during the same period. The trend is to reduce the detailed steering by the state and thus increase in the autonomy of the municipalities.⁹ The reforms propose to provide more flexible

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.

and individually tailored services for users and a more efficient use of resources in the public sector, including both the education 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 increases the possibilities for local schools to design programs and activities better adapted to the needs of the local community. However, the reforms may also lead to an increase in 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 an analysis and discussion of the impact of public reforms and policy in several parts of this report.

During the same period, and particularly during the last decade, the education system of Norway has undergone several major reforms. These reforms are presented and discussed in Chapter 3. The reforms may be said to represent a shift in educational policy from equality to efficiency. While the previous focus had been on reducing disparities in access to education and to increase equal opportunities, the focus is now on efficiency. This shift was not limited to the Norwegian system: both economic circumstances, including the recessions 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 greater cost-effectiveness.

1.3.2 Current political context

In Norway the traditional policy may be regarded as emphasizing equality in opportunity before equality in results. The main policy includes increasing 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. However, in recent years the question has arisen concerning the extent to which learning actually is actually adjusted to the individual's needs. Is this a policy centred in theory rather than practice? Is the comprehensive school capable of both recognizing the diversity of the pupils and to ensure adapted learning for all? Or has the universal system of the comprehensive school only benefited some groups of «average» pupils while others have not been provided with the learning they need?

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

Such questions have been supported by comparative studies indicating several weaknesses in the Norwegian education system.¹⁰ The learning achievements among 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 education system both with respect to social differences and gender differences. Naturally these studies have aroused both political concern as well as resulting in 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 education system; i.e. low capacity to pass on useful skills to the pupils and students.

In the latest White Paper from the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD, 2004) the present policy for 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 tired of 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 through strengthening of the teacher's competence and skills. 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 the 4th and 10th grades 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 by the recent changes in responsibility for teacher's salaries. In January 2003 the responsibility for negotiating salaries and working conditions for teachers was

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

transferred from the state to the employers (municipalities and counties). The new regulations 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 means to increase quality. Through a new Independent Schools Act¹¹ from 2003, the opportunity for parents to establish alternative schools has been significantly simplified. This trend is also evident 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 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.

1.4 The present education system

The Norwegian education 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 courses 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 courses in tertiary education are flexible (Aamodt, 1996). In the following sections the Norwegian education 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.

1.4.1 Pre-primary education

Early childhood education and day care institutions (in Norwegian called «*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. 48 per cent had a full time place while 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 these are managed according to goals set by the state. 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.

1.4.2 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 have a right and an obligation to participate and complete compulsory education. In the autumn of 2003 more than 617 000 pupils were registered in 3209 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 secondary.¹⁴ Each class is kept together as one unit from the 1st to the 7th grades 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

12 In 2003 an 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.

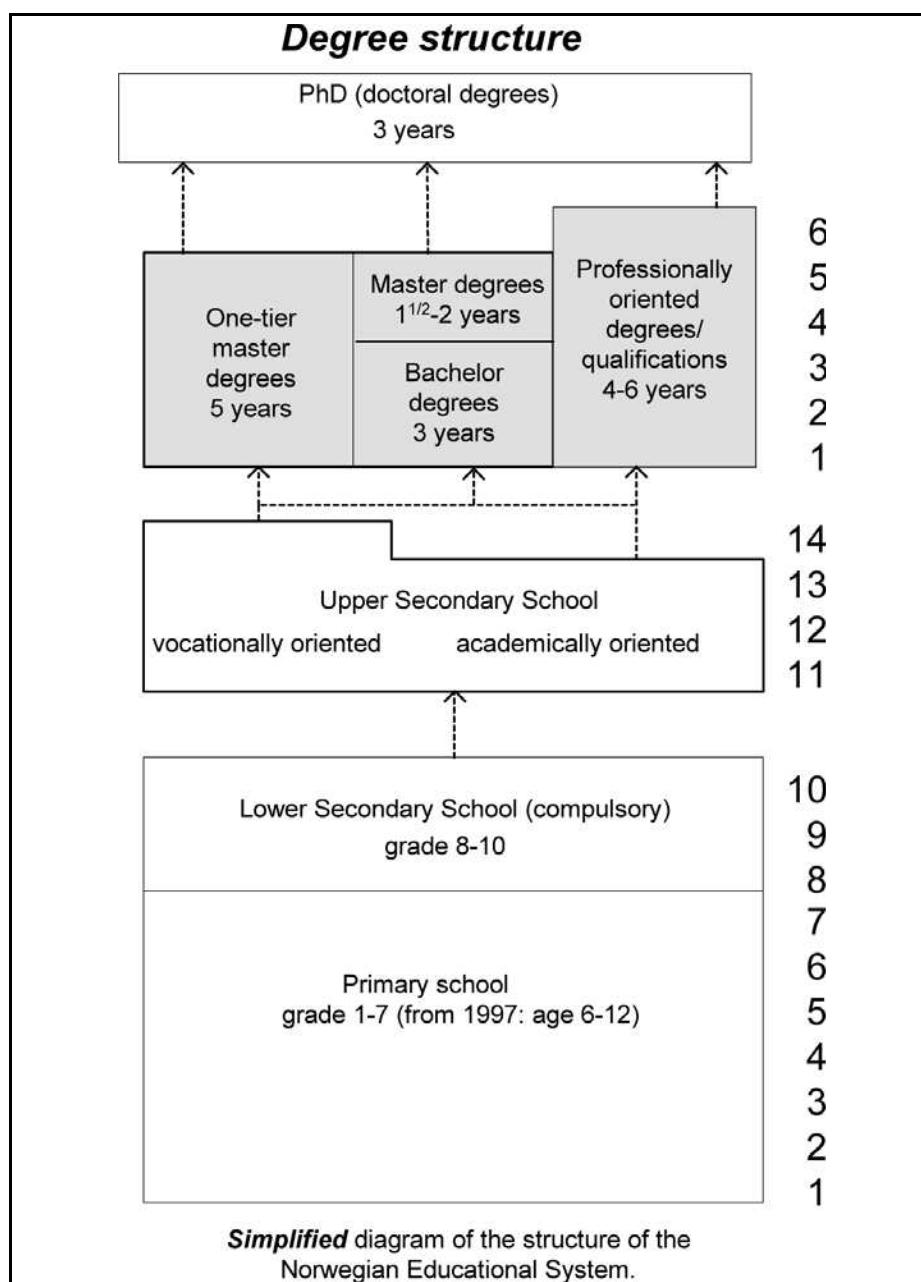
children of different ages are taught in the same classroom. Around 25 per cent of these schools are totally ungraded, i.e. all the pupils are brought together in one and the same classroom (but taught individually). At the lower secondary stage, most of the schools are larger, with 2 or 3 parallel classes 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 act 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. Of the 88 private schools in the school year 2000/01, 25 were Steiner and 8 Montessori schools. 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.

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 for school children (*Skolefritidsordningen, SFO*) is an outside-school-hours service available to 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.



Figur 1.1 Structure of the education system in Norway

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*). Source: NOKUT

1.4.3 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 qualifications for proceeding 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 in recent 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 courses.¹⁵ 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 there are insufficient apprenticeships 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 which 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).

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

- 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 service.¹⁶ The counselling service consist of two parts; one providing counselling for students who have problems with learning, social or psychical difficulties, and another mainly consisting of career guidance supplying information about choice of education and possibilities on the labour market. A project has been 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, are 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.

1.4.4 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 administration of student welfare activities. Private higher education institutions ask tuition fees from their students depending on the level of state funding.

¹⁶ The counselling services are also offered to adults.

Between twenty and thirty private colleges provide recognized higher education courses. 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 distributed throughout all 19 counties. The decentralisation of higher education has contributed to establishing a large university college 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 education, or five years of work experience, or a combination of education and work experience/training. After the implementation of the Competence Reform (see Chapter 3), admission can be granted on the basis of a combination of formal, informal 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 who had commenced a study programme prior to autumn 2003. The established university college degree of two years is retained (*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 musical performance and the 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).

1.4.5 Folk high schools

The folk high schools are colleges comprising 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. October 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 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 program.¹⁷ 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 fees, 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.

1.4.6 Adult learning

Adult education programmes are offered within the formal education system as well as by a number of voluntary organizations, both within and outside the workplace, including distance education.¹⁸ Courses are offered in a wide variety of subjects, ranging from recreational activities to higher education exams.¹⁹

The large variety and number of institutions offering adult learning and workplace learning programmes makes it more complicated to grasp and de-

17 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.

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

scribe this part than the previous parts of the education system. Separating education and leisure activities may be difficult. In addition, adult learners comprise 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» in their previous basic education. The other group consists of adults taking further education, often over and above their current educational level. The two groups differ on several counts. There are mostly women and people in vocational rehabilitation (*attføring*) who participate in primary education for adults. In contrast to other groups of adults participating in further education, this group generally has a low level of education and frequently a low socio-economic background (Svensen, 2000). (See Chapter 4 for more on the system of vocational rehabilitation.

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 came into force in 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 were receiving special education (Statistics Norway, 2003f).

19 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 an examination. Of those who were given the option of a public examination, 9 000 were at a higher level, while 7 500 were at upper secondary level.

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 education 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.

2.1 Participation rates

2.1.1 Pre-primary education

Table 1 shows participation rates in pre-primary education for children aged 1–5 (6) in the years 1980, 1992, 1997 and 2002 (see the data annex).²⁰ During the period 1980 to 2002 Table 1 indicates 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)²¹ 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 a language or cultural minority background²² 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.

20 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.

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

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

2.1.2 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).

2.1.3 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 number of years living in Norway, and that immigrants from non-Western countries who have arrived recently are particularly at risk when it comes to participation and completion of upper secondary education (Støren, 2002b). However, the relatively low participation rate in 2002 could be coincidental and should not be interpreted as a trend, since most statistics point towards a general increase in the participation rates among youth with immigrant backgrounds during this period. The low participation rate among Western immi-

grants 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 eliminated and the participation rate was 78 per cent both among girls and boys. However, the gender differences become more evident when referring to Tables 3a and 3b. In these tables participation rates in general/academic programmes (ISCED 3A) and in vocational/technical programmes (ISCED 3C) are 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 choose health and social care studies, arts, crafts and design studies, hotel and food-processing trades and also sales and service more frequently (Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). In the general courses there is greater balance between the genders.

Tables 3a and 3b illustrate several differences in participation rates between the general/academic and vocational/technical programmes. While the participation rates in the former 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. Distinguishing between the general and vocational tracks also reveals geographical differences. While students living in urban districts have the highest participation rates in the general courses, students living in rural districts dominate in the vocational courses. Among students with immigrant backgrounds the participation rates are generally higher in the general courses. 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 courses in 2002 (see Tables 3a and 3b). Among the descendants of immigrants from non-Western countries the participation rate was 63 per cent in the general courses and only 27 per cent in the vocational courses.

2.1.4 Tertiary education

Table 4 in the data annex presents participation rates in tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6) by population sub-group. 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. Between 1982 and 2002 the participation rate has increased in all age groups.

Table 4 shows that the participation rate differs according to the student's socio-economic background. Students with parents having higher education have a higher participation rate than students with parents having no education beyond compulsory school. However, whether or not the differences have increased, decreased or stayed stable during the report period, may be a matter of discussion. In 2002 the participation rate among students with parents having 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 respectively. The percentage increase for students with parents having higher education was 54 per cent in the period, while students whose parents had no education beyond compulsory school showed a 167 per cent increase. However, measured in percentage points students with parents with higher education have had an increase of 14 per cent, while students with parents with no education beyond compulsory school have 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 having no education beyond compulsory school are «catching up» on the students with parents having higher education.

Turning to the student's geographical background, the statistics indicate a trend towards a balance between students in higher education 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 this difference was almost eliminated; 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 an important 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 for both men and women. In 2002 the participation rate for men was 20 per cent and 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, compared to about 20 per cent of the women. As for the proportions 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 men and approximately 3 per cent of women had completed a long tertiary education (Statistics Norway, 2003c).

Compared to the majority population the immigrants have a lower participation rate in higher education. This is particularly apparent among first generation immigrants. In 2002 the participation rate among the non-immigrant population was 25 per cent; among first generation immigrants 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.

Tables 5a and 5b in the data annex show participation rates in higher education by type of higher education institution.²³ Comparing participation rates in Tables 5a and 5b these shows that most students enter a public higher education

²³ The tables do not distinguish between students enrolled in independent private and state-subsidised private higher education institutions. Most private institutions receive government funding. In Norway the majority of students are enrolled in tertiary education type A (OECD 2003). The low proportion of the students enrolled in tertiary-type B education makes it less meaningful to divide this group in population sub-groups.

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 institutions were 8 and 1 per cent respectively. This is equivalent to the proportion of students in private higher education institutions of 13 per cent. In 2002 the proportion 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 as indicated in Table 4.

2.1.5 Adult learning and workplace learning

Table 6 in the data annex shows percentages of adults aged 35–59 enrolled in all levels of education (ISCED 36), by population sub-group. The table shows that the participation rates among adults increased during the period 1982–2002. For instance, only about 2 per cent of the age group 35–39 were 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. Nevertheless, in the age group 50–54 about 2 per cent were enrolled in education. The participation rates include all participating at different levels in the education system and does not distinguish 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 not part of the education system is not included in Table 6.

Looking at differences in participation rates between different sub-population groups Table 6 indicates many of the similar trends expressed in Table 4. Higher socio-economic groups have higher participation rates compared to those from lower socio-economic groups, and women have a higher participation rate 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 limited 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 Chapters 3 and 6.

2.2 Completion rates

2.2.1 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 age.

2.2.2 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-group. The table shows an increase in the proportion 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; 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 parents having no education beyond compulsory school had completed upper secondary education in 2002, the completion rate was 95 per cent among those with parents having higher education.

2.2.3 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-group. 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 by 2002 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 parents having no education beyond compulsory school had completed upper secondary education in 2002, the completion rate was 98 per cent among those with parents having higher education.

2.2.4 Upper secondary graduation rates

Tables 10 and 11 show graduation rates in upper secondary education at typical age of graduation, by population sub-group. While Table 10 show the graduation rates in the general/academic programmes, Table 11 shows the graduation rates in vocational/technical programmes. The general/academic programmes are usually of 3 years 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 level.²⁴ This implies that changes in graduation rates depend 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 displays 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 caused both by an increase in the total number of graduates in the general/academic programmes during the period covered and by a decrease in the size of the population at typical graduation age. The graduation rates in vocational/technical programmes displayed in Table 11 follow a slightly different pattern. Here, the graduation rate 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 vocational/technical programmes. However, Table 11 shows a strong increase in the total number of graduates in the vocational/technical programmes between 1982 and 1997.

2.2.5 Completion rates in tertiary education

Table 12 shows percentages of the age group 30–34 who have completed tertiary education, by population sub-group. 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 by more than 7 percentage points among the 30–34 year olds.

Table 12 displays an obvious relation between the completion rates and students' socio-economic backgrounds. Students with parents having higher edu-

²⁴ The construction of the tables corresponds to Table A1.1 in Education at a Glance (OECD, 2003).

cation have a higher completion rate than students with parents having 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 having higher education was 66 per cent, and 13 per cent among students with parents having 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 displays a clear difference in completion rates 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 the 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, and now women had the highest completion rates; 25 against 22 per cent. In 2002 this gap had increased from 3 to 9 percentage points; at this point men 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 to 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 com-

pletion rates than the immigrant population from non-Western countries. This must be seen in relation both to the reason for immigration (labour, asylum seekers, etc.), as well as to differences in the education system in the immigrant's country of origin. While most immigrants from Western countries have well developed education systems in their country of origin, a higher proportion of immigrants from non-Western countries arrive from countries without properly developed education systems and without a sufficient level of education to enter tertiary education in Norway.

2.2.6 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-group. 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 having 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 means 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, and 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.

2.3 Labour market outcomes

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 shows the labour market participation by type of upper secondary education completed, by population sub-group –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 displays a relatively 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 have been reduced during the last 20 years, largely because of an increase in women's participation in the labour market from 69 per cent in 1982 to 77 per cent in 2002.

Table 15 shows the labour market participation by type of tertiary education degree (ISCED 5A, 5b and 6), by population sub-group. In general, 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 backgrounds 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 shows the percentage of 15 to 24 year olds who are not in education or work, by population sub-group. Both in 1997 and 2002, 7 per cent of this group are reported to be neither studying nor employed. Among this group socio-economic background does seem to have an impact. The percentage being neither 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 as opposed to 4 per cent respectively 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.

2.4 Survival rates in tertiary education

Statistics Norway does not assemble 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 undertaken on a regular basis in the 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 university colleges graduate according to the study schedule more frequently than students at 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 significantly 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 education system and many are delayed by one or two years (Markussen & Aamodt in Statistics Norway, 2003a). Low graduation rates are possibly the price of having a flexible system of higher education which allows temporary breaks in studies

and a change of study programmes. 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.

2.5 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 achieve a higher average grade compared to those with parents having lower levels of education. Girls have a higher average grade than boys in all school subjects except gymnastics. First generation immigrant students have noticeably grades compared to ethnic Norwegian students, while second generation immigrants have grades not markedly lower on average than the majority students.

2.6 Drop-out rates among secondary and tertiary education students

The drop-out²⁵ 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 makers (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 were still enrolled in upper secondary education. Girls were more likely than boys to complete on time with a 10 percent higher rate (Statistics Norway, 2004b).

²⁵ Drop-out is defined as having left the education 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).

The statistics reveal major differences in completion rates 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. 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, it is the policy to reduce drop-out in higher education as well as in upper secondary education, expressed in the Quality Reform in Higher Education (see Chapter 3).

2.7 Evidence from tests of cognitive skills

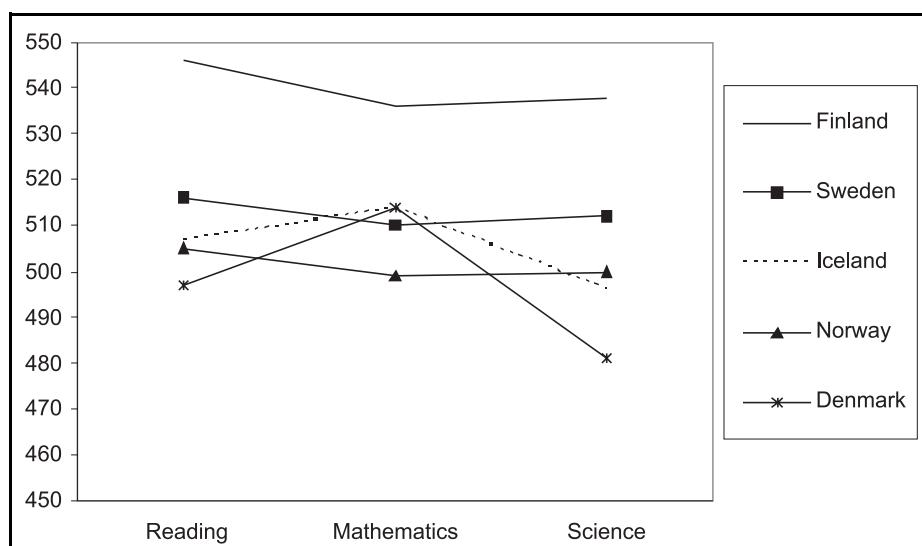
As previously mentioned the results from international surveys have been diverse; while some place Norway in a high position, other international surveys and studies of cognitive skills place Norwegian schools in an average position. The results of these studies have received considerable attention in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

2.7.1 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 well 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).

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 higher and strongly outperform their Nordic peers. In fact, in reading, 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).



Figur 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.

Tabell 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 education 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*

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 where girls ‘out-perform’ boys are generally broader in Norway than in the OECD. This gender difference has emerged during the latest years. Previously boys out-performed girls in mathematics and natural science (Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). The reasons of these gender differences as well as the changes will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The PISA-study has been the subject of public debate 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 concerning the quality 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 a new policy will shortly 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).

2.7.2 TIMSS

TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study), is designed to help countries throughout 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 school.²⁶ 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.

²⁶ Prior to 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 cultural explanations have been put forward to explain these results. One focuses on the Nordic emphasis on education for all, with high participation rates 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 during the first years are examples of this. Even more significant is probably the fact that formal grades are not given in the primary school at all. Furthermore, repeating grades does 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 largely reflects 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 the gender gap in Norway is much wider than differences seen internationally.

2.7.3 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 uses the term «literacy» rather than 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 achieved 2nd, 3rd and 4th place in the three tests respectively. Not unexpectedly the most important predictor of literacy competence is education. People with higher education achieve 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 scores high in an international perspective, approximately 30 per cent scored 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 low compared to other countries, it nevertheless implies that a significant proportion of the Norwegian adult population have low literacy competence.²⁷

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

Several studies have analysed changes in social inequality in the education 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 backgrounds²⁸ where both parents are employed two full-time have higher school achievements than other pupils. Between 1992 and 2002 this difference in school achievement has increased. Parent's professions are also important in explaining school achievement, but when using parent's profession as an indicator of social background rather 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 the 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 so-

²⁷ 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 will be published winter 2005.

²⁸ 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.

cial background may have different explanations. For example, 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. Taking 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 been the subject of much debate in Norway focussing on 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 statement the Ministry of Education and Research (UFD, 2004, presented in Chapter 3).

Studies in 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, with long prestigious education programs in medicine, law, etc., social inequality has not declined (Hansen, 1999).

2.9 Earnings over the life cycle

Studies comparing earnings over the life cycle among people with different level and type of education generally show a low rate of return to education in Norway (Pedersen, 1995; Raaum, 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 substantial 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 to 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? But measuring the cost-benefit of education is complicated and involves more than just earnings

over the life cycle. When taking into account the non-monetary outcome of education, and the cost of not having any education beyond compulsory education, the benefits of education may then be considered to 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 proportion 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).

2.10 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 at an individual level. The numbers of children participating in the comprehensive schools is registered annually in the Comprehensive school information system (GSI).²⁹

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 according to the most relevant population sub-groups. The Register of the Population's Highest Level of Education (BHU Register) encompasses persons registered as resident in Norway aged 16 and above 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 in differences between those choosing general theoretical education and vocational training in upper secondary education. Using the Norwegian

²⁹ The register provides aggregated information using several indicators, including numbers of pupils in ordinary education, numbers of pupils in special education and numbers of pupils from language minority backgrounds. In addition, numbers of lessons provided for these different groups of pupils are registered.

National Education Database (NUDB) students' progress throughout the education system can be traced. This includes retention, completion, and drop-out rates, as well as delays and changes of tracks in higher education.

Statistics related to the adult education area are rather fragmented (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 education system, adult education associations, study associations, folk high schools, distance education institutions and other private institutions as well as in the workplace. The national statistics give information of the numbers 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 the numbers 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.

3 Active Educational Policies Bearing on Equity

Since the beginning of the 1990s the education system of Norway has undergone several major reforms. The reforms have affected both the structure and the content of all parts of the education system. This section describes the major educational reforms during the last decade and discusses 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.

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).

3.1 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 education 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 13 areas of study.³⁰ 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.

3.1.1 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 of 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).

The primary objective of the service is to encourage these young persons 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 combination of these strategies is found to be effective. The service is managed at the county level: some are linked closely with the Educational-Psychological Service; others with the

³⁰ The number of foundation courses was increased from 13 to 15 areas of study in the year 2000. It is currently a proposal from the Ministry to reduce the number from 15 to 11 (UFD 2004).

counselling services in the upper secondary schools; yet others 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 youths who are contacted receive enough attention, or attention adjusted to their needs and a majority still drop out of education, either to start working or take up other activities. The low proportion 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 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 education 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 are 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 of the follow up service so far is that it is an important and necessary service. A new project conducted by The Norwegian Board of Education³¹ (LS) aims to improve the performance of the follow-up service (see also SOS 2002).

3.1.2 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 education 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.

³¹ 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 into the Directorate.

The major successes identified were:

- An improvement in the progression and completion rate in the vocational courses. Among the students who entered a vocational course 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 (KUF 1999b). Among the students with statutory rights 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 (labour market).

Some of the weaknesses were:

- A decline in adult education caused by the statutory right afforded to young people. However, the improvement of the Norwegian labour market in the years after 1994 might explain the decline in adults' application to enter upper secondary education (OECD, 2000).
- 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 courses.
- Variations between the upper secondary schools.

The OECD study «What Works in Innovation in Education?» 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, the motivation and qualification of teachers, and student motivation through participation and activation in the planning process.

3.2 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 equipped them to meet the challenges of the future and to grow up in an environment that generates self-confidence and security. Different to Reform 94, Re-

form 97 was planned for several years before it was launched in 1997. Four areas of reform were defined:

- 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 child reform which give the school a responsibility to contribute by providing rich stimuli for 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 would be integrated in the school's everyday activities.

3.2.1 The evaluation of Reform 97

Following the reform a comprehensive 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 challenges facing the 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 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 schools, in the way schools are experienced and in the results achieved in schools in many fields. These differences exist between counties, municipalities, schools, classes, teachers, pupils and parents. There are vast differences between schools when it comes to 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, among others. 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*», having negative impact on the pupils' learning in schools, 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 per-*

form 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 evaluation focuses 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.

3.3 The Competence Reform

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 state. 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 commenced in 2000 with a budget of NOK 50 million, and by 2004 the programme had received more than NOK 310 million (about 38 mill euros) 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, disseminate 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 education system. This has been achieved through collaboration between the parties in working life, the education system, study associations and private providers of education (UFD, 2003c). Since 2001 adults have been able to enter higher education on the basis of evaluation of non-formal learning (*realkompetanse*). In 2002 the number of students applying for higher education based on their documented non-formal learning was equivalent to 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 this; 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 with supporting 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.

3.4 The Quality Reform in Norwegian Higher Education

The Quality Reform was implemented at all higher education institutions in the autumn term 2003.³² The basis of the reform was to provide 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's higher education structure 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 in terms of 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 by the Ministry) is at the same time counter-acted 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 is an independent government body, and commenced its activities on 1 January 2003 NOKUT will be the

³² The Quality Reform was debated in Parliament and decisions were made in 2001, the necessary legislative changes were introduced as from 1 July 2002. Some changes were implemented in 2002.

main authority for accreditation and approval of institutions and educational courses.

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 students at the University of Oslo during the academic year 2002/3 (*Universitas* 2004). While the drop-out rate among new students was 19.5 per cent in 2002, it fell by only 2.5 per cent to 17 per cent in 2003. At the University of Bergen, however, preliminary results display a noticeable improvement in graduation rates.

The Quality Reform is currently undergoing an evaluation.

3.5 Policy affecting pre-primary education

3.5.1 The cash benefit scheme

The cash benefit scheme was introduced in 1998/1999.³³ 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 institutions 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.

Public reaction to the scheme was 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.

³³ The scheme was first introduced for 1 year old children, and later for 2 and 3 year olds.

Evaluation of the cash benefit scheme showed 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 largely explained by a correlation between parent's (especially mother's) educational level and their participation in the labour force. The general impression from the evaluation was 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 effects on the parents' and particularly the mother's participation in the labour market has been pointed out.

3.5.2 The pre-primary education agreement (*Barnehageforliket*)

In June 2003 the Norwegian Parliament determined the structure of finance and management in pre-primary education for the period 2004–2005. The main essence of this policy was to increase the number of places in pre-primary education to reach full coverage during 2005 and to lower the cost for the parents by introducing a price cap on parental payment for pre-primary education.

3.6 Policy in comprehensive school

3.6.1 The Differentiation project (*Differensieringsprosjektet*)

The Differentiation project (1999–2003) was a national project initiated by the Ministry of Education and Research and financed by the governmental. 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 ensure, as far as was possible, 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 took place during the project period. The project has been evaluated (Dale & Wærness, 2003) and shows that while half of the teachers find the projects in their school interesting and useful, the other half find the differentiation projects unclear regarding criteria and goals. The evaluation report points out that both school leaders and teachers must be able to 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).

3.6.2 The «Pupil inspectors» (*Elevinspektørene*)

The «Pupil inspectors» is a national project initiated by the Ministry of Education and Research and financed by the government. The project is designed 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 means of. 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).

3.7 Policy aimed at indigenous people and language minorities

3.7.1 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 to Norwegian in the education 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 se-

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.

3.7.2 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 cannot be given by appropriate 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 language³⁴ (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 2004.³⁵ The changes have the intention of giving the municipalities more flexibility in deciding how they will provide suitable tuition (UFD, 2003b).

³⁴ Special education in the Norwegian language is normally provided as the subject Norwegian as a second language (*norsk som andrespråk*).

³⁵ 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.

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 for 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 assistance.³⁶ 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.

An introductory course in Norwegian language and society is required to be held by the municipalities for adult immigrants (Statistics Norway, 2003f). Immigrants are selected for A-level or B-level courses 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, 2003 approximately 16 700 or 55 per cent of adult immigrants who were receiving Level-A training; approximately 13 700, or 45 per cent, were receiving Level-B training (Statistics Norway, 2003f).

From 1 January 2004 new rules apply as to who can attend free language and society courses. 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 training.³⁷ However, asylum seekers under the age of 18 and people with a residence permit living in reception centres while waiting for settlement, can receive free language training (KRD, 2004b)³⁸.

36 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 with the Ministry of Education and Research.

37 The right to language and social studies courses for asylum seekers was removed from 1 January 2003. The argument was 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 criticism. Some asylum seekers spent a long time waiting in the reception centres. Since they do not receive any Norwegian language and civilization training during this time, they are not able to prepare themselves 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).

There are several challenges related to integrating language minority and immigrant children in the education system. The group is very heterogeneous, 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 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 Education³⁹ 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 social studies for adult immigrants, and literacy training material for adult immigrants.

The increase in immigration has led to a growth in the number of language minorities pupils. 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 education system. Most schools are not adequately prepared to respond, lacking the basic understandings, structures or

38 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 residence 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).

39 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 into 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.

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 include the extent and quality of education in mother tongue training or bilingual education that they are receiving, how to improve participation and performance at all levels of the education system among this group, and how to increase the participation among immigrant students in vocational studies in upper secondary education and some sectors of tertiary education (i.e. teacher education).

3.7.3 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, schools and in 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 education system. Those from language minorities – whether they were born and grew up in Norway or have immigrated during compulsory school years – 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 schemes for children with immigrant backgrounds in pre-primary education is among the 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.

3.8 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. Whenever possible, pupils with special needs are integrated into 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 indicates 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 rather than 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, special education which 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 indicates 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 is not always 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 over-representation 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 found 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» who closely followed-up on students had better performance and lower drop-out compared to upper secondary schools with more excluding practices 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 allocated 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 used 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).

3.9 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 needs-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 study period, 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 pupils and apprentices obtaining a student loan during upper secondary education is lower, but some have already accrued considerable loans already at this stage in their education 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 into 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 major restructuring. The main changes are: an increase in the total amount of support;⁴⁰ an increase in the student's maximum income level 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 grant were removed; and 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 in costs for the state due to the increase in total amount of annual support and the increase in the student's 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.

⁴⁰ Annual support rose from NOK 69 500 in 2001 to NOK 80 000 in 2002. In 2004 the maximum support is still NOK 80 000.

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

In spring 2004 the Ministry of Education and Research presented 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 actions aimed at increasing motivation and performance in compulsory and upper secondary education. The Ministry has announced the policy proposals as a system change in school management from one of regulation to one of 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 places 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:

- Keeping the statutory right to special education.
- Increased funding for research, method development and the dissemination of experiences connected with adapted education.
- Increased funding for competence development to prevent and deal with problem behaviour.
- Improved coordination of the work done by various bodies concerning adapted education.
- Continued 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 strengthening this.
- Universal design of equipment and teaching aids and educational resources a priority.
- Undertake an evaluation of 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 Parliament supported in general 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 from 2005 will be conducted in four grades during primary and secondary school. These are 4th, 7th, 10th, and 11th grades (the first year in upper secondary education). The 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*)⁴¹.

There has been some political opposition to introducing national tests for all pupils. There is a concern over what intentional and unintentional effects will be had on the school system by introducing the national tests as well as publishing the test results by school and educational level. One fear is that the tests will lead to a ranking system of schools and thus attract negative media attention on low performing schools. There are different factors that are involved 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 by the municipalities). This should be considered when interpreting the results from the national tests. The opposition argues that publishing national test results are not necessary, as a sample involving only a percentage of the pupils (5–10 per cent) would be sufficient for obtaining a picture of the situation and quality in schools (*Aftenposten* 2004). In addition, there is a fear that introducing national tests will lead to a test-driven kind of school 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.

41 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.

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

The educational sector is linked to other sectors of society in several ways. In this chapter we focus on two main groups of policy: 1) policies towards increasing integration in 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-inclusive labour market. 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 and training is often used as a means to re-engage 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 the labour market), policy on integration of persons with disabilities, policy on integration of immigrants, and policy towards combating racism and discrimination.

4.1 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 live under conditions defined as below the poverty level. In 2002 The Ministry of Social Affairs presented a White Paper to Parliament outlining 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 affects 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 work. Both the welfare services as well as the social support system shall be targeted towards reaching this goal. Vocational rehabilitation is an education oriented policy which is used in order to bring unemployed people back into the labour market.

4.1.1 Vocational rehabilitation (*attføring*)

The system of vocational rehabilitation is one strategy used in order to encourage disabled persons to re-enter the labour market through vocational training and education. The rules and regulations of the system are expressed in the National Insurance Act (*Folketrygdloven*).

Vocational rehabilitation is first and foremost a policy intended to encourage those unable to function in their work, to re-enter 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 recent years. In 1994 the number of students in higher education on vocational rehabilitation was 14000; by 2002 the number had almost doubled with 26000 students on vocational rehabilitation (*Aftenposten*, 2003). When so many finance their studies in higher education through vocational rehabilitation, the question arises of how well this policy is targeted towards the intended group of receivers. Along with the increasing number of people on vocational rehabilitation, costs are increasing. In order to reduce the costs and increase the targeting, the vocational rehabilitation policy has become more restrictive in recent years.

At the beginning of 2003 a restriction on how costly the education can be while being on vocational rehabilitation was introduced. In 2004 the right to support was limited to three years' 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, and then to be followed by upper secondary education. Naturally, both these changes have reduced the costs of vocational rehabilitation. However, the extent to which changes in the rules of vocational rehabilitation have increased the targeting of the policy has not been analysed.

4.2 Policy on integration of persons with disabilities

Persons with disability are a heterogeneous group consisting of those with different forms of physical and/or mental disability. As a group they are recognized by a high level of unemployment and a high rate of dependence on social welfare, largely because of lack of integration in the labour market. It is the 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 Parliament describing a policy on the integration of people with disabilities (SOS, 2003). It is recognized that people with disabilities face barriers both in the education system and in the labour market. Moreover, national and international studies report the situation on the labour market to be far from satisfactory.

A survey conducted by Statistics Norway finds that 46 per cent of those 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 these have previously been in employment. The indication of barriers to entering or even remaining in the labour market for those with disabilities is emphasized by a recent report comparing the labour market in 40 countries. This reveals that Norway has one of the most restricted labour markets for persons with disabilities (*Dagens Næringsliv*, 2004).

4.3 Policy on integration of immigrants

The integration policy of immigrants is based on the principles of equal opportunity; the acceptance of difference and shared responsibilities.⁴² A main key to integration and inclusion in society is to be included in working life. In order to maintain a decent standard of living and to prevent poverty, it is crucial that people are able to provide for themselves and their family through an income. This is the main element in the social policy, both at the national and international levels. The policy on integration of immigrants focuses on increasing participa-

⁴² 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 relatives and students. As a general rule, students are only granted temporary residence. The other categories may, dependent on the circumstances, be granted either permanent or temporary residence.

tion in the labour market by this group, reducing poverty and social exclusion, and on combating racism and discrimination.

Nevertheless, some of the practices used to integrate newly-arrived immigrants can 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' (UDI) regional offices. The director of operations is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the reception centres 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 that asylum seekers stay in the reception centres are discussed. The White Paper points out the broad variation in 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 improved, 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 due to the length of time it takes to process applications and the difficulties in settling those whose applications for asylum have been approved in the municipalities. Research shows that the residents find the waiting process the worst aspect (KRD, 2001a). Both the uncertainty regarding the outcome of the application for asylum and the subsequent wait to learn where they will be living in the future make life in a reception centre difficult. 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.

4.4 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 strengthening legal protection against ethnic discrimination and racial 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). A follow-up mechanism of the plan of action has been established, 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 rates among immigrants have 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 development in reducing racism and intolerance. 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 in teacher training. It recommends that the Norwegian authorities monitor the quality control of textbooks produced by publishers and the individual schools. It encourages the Norwegian authorities to strengthen the human rights dimension of school curricula and to pursue efforts to enhance recruitment of teachers from minority groups (ECRI, 2004).

5 Longitudinal Transmission of Inequality

The empirical work on this topic using longitudinal data is limited in Norway. No longitudinal studies following students through the entire education system exist, nor through the lifecycle. A number of longitudinal or cohort studies do exist where pupils and students have been followed through parts of their educational career. A number of these studies 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); others follow them through higher education (Aamodt, 2001; Opheim, 2001; Næss, 2003). The evaluation of the reform in upper secondary education, Reform 94 (see Chapter 3), includes a number of studies following student's progression through upper secondary education (KUF, 1999c).

When studying the student flow through the education system, the focus is often on transitions between the different stages in the education system, the «branching points» (Boudon, 1974). At each branching point some students choose to continue their education while others leave the education system. The transition from lower to upper secondary education and the transition from upper secondary education are considered as central branching points. The branching point between lower to upper secondary education in Norway is not so much a question of whether continue the education or not, as most do continue; it is more a question of which course 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 focuses on social inequality and sub-population groups with a generally low educational attainment including language minorities and students with immigrant background.

5.1 When do inequities arise?

Recent national research shows significant differences between different groups of student attainment at the end of compulsory education (tenth grade). Gender, social and immigrant background have a significant impact on grades. Girls have higher average grades than boys in the three basic subjects, although differences are small in mathematics and larger in Norwegian and English. Having parents with higher education (high social background) increases average gra-

des compared to those having parents without any education after primary school. Students with immigrant backgrounds have lower average grades in all basic subjects than majority students (Arnesen, 2003).

The strong correlation between school performance and family background suggests that processes outside the education system are important for school achievement and that such inequalities are present from the 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 fewer opportunities for success in school compared to children from more resourceful homes. These inequities are not eliminated by the education system. But whether or not the inequalities are reduced or strengthened is difficult to establish.

5.2 Accumulation of inequities throughout the lifecycle?

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

Other studies confirm the reinforcement of social inequities by the education 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 to differences in the transition rate between compulsory and upper secondary education and in the proportions who have 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.

Taking into account the inequities that arise during compulsory education, in choice of courses in upper secondary education, in transition to higher education and in choice of higher education, one could hope that the social differences did not continue after graduation from higher education. Nevertheless, 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 the labour market among graduate candidates is small, but significant. Graduate candidates from high social backgrounds have a slightly lower rate of unemployment and a 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 an informal networks (social capital) made through their parents (Try, 2002).

The system of national assessment and monitoring performance levels in primary and lower secondary education has recently been established,⁴³ 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 education system (longitudinal studies).

⁴³ The system of national assessment and monitoring of performance levels was established in spring 2004, and consists of several elements in addition to the national tests and the internet site «skoleporten.no».

6 Understanding the causes of inequity

While Chapter 2 included 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 of the education system. Many of these studies have been carried out as evaluations of the reforms in the education 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 a general cause of inequity existing in a number of countries both within and outside the OECD. In 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 following section the four types of barrier is presented and defined. Following this, each level of the education system is discussed separately where we discuss the extent to which different types of barriers account for inequities at each educational level.

6.1 Definitions of barriers

6.1.1 Institutional barriers

Institutional barriers are defined both as structural barriers and entry barriers. While structural barriers may consist of dead-end courses in the education system, or courses that do not qualify for further education, entry barriers are more linked to qualifications and certificates. 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, entry barriers will be high.

6.1.2 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 parts of the education system. Both forms of economic barrier will be discussed in relation to the different levels within the education system.

6.1.3 Social and cultural barriers

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

6.1.4 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 ex-

plain inequity in education we may distinguish between these different types of motivation. While motivational barriers, as defined here, mostly involve the student's inner drive or interest, external factors influencing motivation – the «pull»-factors – are 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 concentrate on how motivational barriers may cause inequity in education, as well as how other types of barriers may influence motivation among different groups of students.

6.2 Barriers in pre-primary education

As described in Chapter 2, Norway has had a low rate of participation in pre-primary education for many years. In this section we will discuss possible explanations to the low participation rate in general, and particularly the low participation rate among children from language and cultural minority backgrounds.

6.2.1 Institutional barriers in pre-primary education

While some parents choose for their children not to partake in 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 number of places in pre-primary educational establishments is an institutional barrier for those living in areas with a high demand and a low supply for pre-primary education. In this respect, the institutional barriers to pre-primary education are a form of entry barrier as some parents may not be offered a place for their child (or children) because the demand exceeds 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 to all four- to five-year-olds produced some improvements in language development and integration of minority language children and their families during the project period (Nergård, 2003).

However, groups that may have the greatest need for integration and educational training that emanates 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 demand and supply (OECD, 1998). To increase the supply of pre-primary education is a central goal in the new pre-primary education agreement (*Barnehageforliket*) (see Chapter 3). But the goal of providing the family with real choice in selecting their preferred type of care for their children has not yet been accomplished.

6.2.2 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 and the 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 concerning finance and management in pre-primary education sector for the period 2004–2005 (*Barnehageforliket*). The main content of the 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 to eliminate 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 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 with children in pre-primary education at the expense of 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 the extent to which the maximum price cap has an effect on reducing economic barriers to access in pre-primary education. Have fees been reduced for all – or only for parents with the highest income, i.e. those who previously paid the highest fees? Almost half of the pre-primary institutions have income-dependent fees. Among the pre-primary institutions with income dependent fees there are a majority of public institutions. In these institutions low income households pay a reduced rate 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 future will prove to what extent the pre-primary education agreement has fulfilled 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 whose children (aged 0–3) do not attend (or attend part-time) a public or private approved pre-primary educational establishment. 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.

6.2.3 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 especially among parents with immigrant or minority backgrounds who have little knowledge of the Norwegian society. However, very limited research on motivational barriers and social and cultural barriers in access to pre-primary education has been done.

6.3 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 these differences in performance in compulsory education explained?

6.3.1 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 is streaming of pupils during the 10 years of compulsory school. The policy has been to combine an inclusive education 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 on the extent to which the policy on 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 leads to some groups not achieving 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 existing 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).

6.3.2 Pupils with immigrant and/or language minority backgrounds

In Chapter 3 the main policy on language minorities and pupils and students with an immigrant background is presented. The main goals of the policy on language minorities in the education 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 education system do not function according to intention. Many of the challenges in integrating pupils from minority language backgrounds into the education system are recognized by the Ministry of Education and Research and described in the strategic plan on language minorities (UFD, 2003b).

One of these 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 effect of 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 termed «Norwegian as a second language» (*norsk som andrespråk*) and which is intended to function as a temporary arrangement before the pupil has acquired the proficiency so as to be able to follow the normal teaching in the Norwegian language («Norwegian as a first language»).

Research has indicated weaknesses in the practice of this policy. 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 Nor-

wegian language during their entire time in school and were 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 reverse effect.

There may be several reasons why some pupils are never transferred. It could be that they have a need for the special language education throughout compulsory education and never acquire the proficiency to enable them to follow normal courses. 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 receives extra funding based on the number of pupils with a 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: no national unified system of evaluation of the individual pupil's needs exists for such special education. The evaluation is undertaken 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 terms of 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 to remove the special class education of «Norwegian as a second language». Instead of a 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 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 to the importance of providing special language education for pupils with immigrant backgrounds and who have poor Norwegian language skills. Despite the critique concerning how the education is provided and who receives such special education, special education in the Norwegian language for many does function according to intention (Lødding, 2003).⁴⁴

Another issue related to equity in education among pupils with immigrant backgrounds concerns the group of first generation immigrants who have not completed compulsory education (see Chapter 2). This group consists of mainly children who have immigrated to Norway during the compulsory education age range. Data indicates that some of these children and youths are not integrated in education (Støren, 2002). Including all immigrants within the education 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, regarding school performance, cultural and language background, and the need for learning assistance. Thus, recognizing the diversity within this group is a requirement 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).

6.3.3 Institutional barriers explaining gender differences?

As presented in Chapter 2, the PISA survey shows larger gender differences in favour of girls in Norway than in the OECD, something which has emerged during recent years. The main question therefore is what has happened in the school system which can explain the changes in gender differences during the latest years? Does the structure of the school system favourite girls? If so, what elements of the school system are the cause of gender differences and how may they be reduced?

Causes of 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 are based on the assumption or hypothesis that girls and boys are brought up differently and that this has

44 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 educational policy with the integration policy in other areas of the society, such as the labour market (Lødding, 2003).

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 education 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). This theory is strengthened by later studies finding that girls in upper secondary school spend more time on homework 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 education system but also the social and cultural features of society leading to a gendered upbringing.

6.3.4 Economic barriers in compulsory education?

All public compulsory education in Norway is free (or financed by tax funding); it is the municipalities which 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 particular. 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, 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 amounts 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 education.⁴⁵ The research conducted on the relationship between econo-

⁴⁵ There are a number of factors contributing to determining 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 is 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 pupils with special needs, pupils with disabilities and pupils with language minority backgrounds in each school also influence the school budget.

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

While compulsory schooling has no direct cost for the parents, 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 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 association between family economy and participation in day-care facilities.

6.3.5 Social and cultural barriers in compulsory education

In Norwegian and in international sociological research social and cultural barriers have received considerable attention. A large body of research and several theories exists on the correlation between social background and school performance. Social and cultural barriers, including the influence of the parents and the environment to which the pupil or student belongs, are recognized as important factors in explaining school performance and educational outcome. Social inequity in education is a stable phenomenon, even if it appears with different strength in different countries. 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* emphasizes 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 process where education is of low value. This results in low motivation for school work, low school achievement and lowers educational aspiration. Among those from higher social backgrounds education is of high value. Through socialisation these children are socialized to high achievement and motivated to continue in the education system and pursue a higher education.

The *cultural theory*, on the other hand, focuses on social differences in school performance and on how these differences are the result of the school structure and school culture. The basis of this theory is that pupils from higher social backgrounds feel more comfortable at school and have an advantage compared to pupils from lower social backgrounds as it is the culture of the higher social classes that dominate teaching in the school. While some pupils arrive at school

feeling at home, others 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 education system and in consequence they succeed more than pupils from lower social backgrounds.

The *social position theory*, more so than the other theories, is based on economic theory as it explains social inequities in education based on cost-benefit analysis. The theory was originally developed by Boudon (1974) where he argues that educational choices are rational, and that social inequities are a result of social differences in the costs and benefits 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 largely due to the lower social positions of their parents. Thus, they have less 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 distinguishes between a primary and a secondary effect of social background on student's choice. The primary effect is described as a cultural difference between parents with different social positions which affects childrens' 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 education system (see Chapter 5). The primary and secondary effects of social origin thus cause youths from different social backgrounds to make different choices in the education system, and due to the secondary effect the differences increase at every branching point in the education 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 education system. The theories provide different explanations as to how social and cultural barriers cause social differences in school performance, in participation rates and completion rates at the various levels of the education system. Thus, the theories are not necessarily competing; they may just as well be complementary.

Relating these theories to the previous discussions on barriers in compulsory education, social and cultural barriers may be seen in relation to other forms of barriers in the education 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 points out the rigidity of the school and states that the schools have 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? Do boys face 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 in order to fully explain what causes these differences and how they affect gender differences in later levels of the education system.

Concerning the differences in school performances between pupils with immigrant backgrounds and pupils with majority backgrounds, the conclusions from research are slightly more conspicuous. The evaluation of Reform 97 indicates that some immigrant children face 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 pay 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 policies directed towards 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 minority language pupils both among school leaders and teachers.

6.3.6 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», one of the central policies is to improve school motivation (UFD, 2004). Results from the PISA-study indicate a generally 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 those groups with the lowest school performance face the greatest barriers to motivation. 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 as having a 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 of immigrant background spend more time on average 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 is largely 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 understand how school motivation may be increased, also the relationship between motivation and school performance.

6.4 Barriers in upper secondary education

6.4.1 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 education 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 to entering upper secondary education.

After Reform 94 there are few dead-ends in upper secondary education (see Chapter 3). The drop-out rate in vocational courses has been reduced and most vocational courses 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 course, or to continue into 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 course.

The flexibility in upper secondary implies increasing the number of theoretical subjects in the vocational courses. 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 courses is higher than in general courses. This must be seen in relation to the group of students and apprentices entering the different courses. The level of entry grades among those commencing a vocational course is generally lower than among those entering the general courses. 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 education system as well), structural and motivational barriers are interwoven.

As a part of Reform 94 the foundation studies in all vocational courses became more theory-based than was the situation prior to the reform. Among students with low motivation for theoretical school work, entering a vocational co-

urse 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, 1995). Low academic motivation may be a result 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 lower number 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 as to what is the ideal content of upper secondary education will differ between groups of students and between the education system, policy-makers and the employers. Theoretical learning may be a barrier for some students and not for others. Including more theory in the vocational courses has had several positive effects. The labour market and many employers 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 courses. The drop-out rate in the vocational courses was even higher before implementing the Reform 94, partly due to the dead-ends in the vocational courses and to the lack of apprenticeship. More discussion on how to reduce the drop-out rate yet further is required.

6.4.2 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 consists of two parts; one part that provides counselling for students with learning difficulties caused by social or psychical difficulties, and another consisting mainly of career guidance. Concern has been expressed, 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 takes up most of the resources allocated to this service, and that on average students receive only a few minutes of career guidance. It is also a concern that many of the teachers responsible for the counselling service had little or no training in the field (Hattlevik, 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 2000. During a period of three years a pilot project has been carried out in four counties. The project has been evaluated continually since its inception. The evaluation indicates an improvement in the quality of the counselling service in those counties participating in the project (Buland & Havn, 2003).

Lack of sufficient career guidance and information concerning possibilities in the education system and the labour market may be a structural barrier that could 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 education system. It is students who lack sources of information about the education system who will benefit most from the counselling service.

6.4.3 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, 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 needs-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 needs-based according to level of parental income the loan is given to the individual stu-

dent or apprentice. This has caused high loan burdens among some students even 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 those individuals who finish upper secondary education bearing 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 education system may prevent continuation in the education 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 in order 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 to the individual student or apprentice.

6.4.4 Cultural and social barriers in upper secondary education

Theories explaining social and cultural barriers in compulsory education mentioned above, also apply 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 an apprentice position may be a cultural and social barrier to continuing and completing upper secondary education; thus, this may be one explanation of the low completion rates among students with immigrant backgrounds displayed

in Chapter 2. Increasing the retention of minority students in upper secondary education and training is a priority in the present educational policy (UFD, 2003c).

6.4.5 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 to differences in choice of study programmes or study fields. As described in Chapter 2, gender segregation in the vocational courses 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 socialization theories, the importance of role models, rational choice and discrimination theories. These theories are often similar to those used to explain social inequities in the education system presented above, but instead of focusing on how the social environment may have a different impact dependent on social background, they focus on how the social environment may have different impact on boys and girls. Socialization theory involves theories of how traditional gender patterns affect the way in which parents raise 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 the household and raising children. Or it could be rational to chose 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 in the labour market may reduce girls' motivation for choosing an untraditional education both in upper secondary and in higher education.

6.4.6 Motivational barriers in upper secondary education

The motivational barriers discussed in compulsory education are also relevant in upper secondary education. Motivational barriers are recognized as more relevant in explaining gender differences and social inequities in the education 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 in compulsory and upper secondary education (UFD, 2004).

6.5 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 inequity 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 rates in tertiary education among first generation immigrants compared to the participation rate among those without immigrant backgrounds (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.

6.5.1 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 university 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).

6.5.2 Economic barriers in tertiary education

The public education system is developed as an open system with low costs of participation, no tuition fees and high geographical distribution of institutions. Students only pay a fee to the student welfare organisation (*Studentsamskipnaden*)

den) (Eurydice, 1999).⁴⁶ Thus, the economic cost of entry to higher education is low. Still, the largest cost of studying is probably the loss of income during studies. This cost may be particularly high for those returning to the education 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 (approximately 90 per cent) of Norwegian higher education students takes out a loan to cover living expenses while studying (Lyngstad & Øyangen, 1999; Eurydice, 1999). It may still be necessary to discuss the extent to which the current system of student finance contributes to reducing education inequalities. Several studies indicate that students from high social backgrounds take up larger 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 the market rate,⁴⁷ but the student loan still has advantages over 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 constraints 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 may be reluctant to take up a large student loan?

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

47 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.

Recently the student support system has undergone changes. One of these changes is that all student support is now given in the form of a student loan that may be partly transferred into a 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 their academic ability become discouraged by this model? Or are the changes an effective measure to increase study progression among the students and thus increase the efficacy of higher education? When comparing the student support system in Norway with other countries having high tuition fees and less developed support system, and where the parents are expected to cover the expenses of their children's education, one might argue that Norwegian students are less dependent upon their parents' «financial capacities» than students in most other countries. Further discussions could clarify 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 student's social background would thus involve an evaluation on how 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).

6.5.3 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 are more due to social and cultural barriers or motivational barriers and less to structural and economic differences. Again, traditional sociological theories explaining social inequities presented earlier in this chapter are often used in studies of social inequities in higher education.

6.5.4 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? Taking into account the economic return

to different types of education, the central question related to equity is perhaps why women choose female dominated education such as social- and health-studies, teaching, humanities and social science even if the monetary rate of return within these fields of education is 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 primarily determined by the economic return to education.

Both the Norwegian labour market and the education system are characterised 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 sciences and technical sectors (Støren & Arnesen in Statistics Norway, 2003a). Research indicates that some of these gender differences are the result of 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 their 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 for instance, may explain motivational barriers among women against choosing an untraditional education and working within a male-dominated work place, but discrimination theory also describes social and cultural barriers. Research indicates that some 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 a minority background.

6.5.5 Relationship between gender differences and social inequalities?

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 lower social backgrounds. One explanation for 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 explain both social inequities as well as gender differences in choice of education.

6.5.6 Motivational barriers in tertiary education

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

6.6 Barriers in adult learning

As described in Chapter 1, adult learners may be divided into two quite different groups of students. One 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 supplementary to the education they already have. In the following sections we will discuss how the policy on adults in the education 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 education system?

6.6.1 Institutional barriers in adult learning

In 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, persons not having completed secondary school were able to enter higher education based on documented non-formal competence (*realkompetanse*).⁴⁸ The change in the rules of access to

higher education is part of the Competence Reform presented in Chapter 3. Increasing the possibilities for entering tertiary education may contribute to equity in education as it reduces the institutional barriers to 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 education system qualifying 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 co-operation between employers, employees and the government (see Chapter 3). However, as statistics indicate, it is employees who have already attained high levels of education who also benefit 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 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 workplace learning.

6.6.2 Economic barriers in adult learning

One element of the Competence Reform policy measures have 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 as 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 level of support is reduced. Thus, the student is allowed to have a higher income than hitherto (NOU, 2003).

48 The Norwegian term 'realkompetanse' includes the total sum of a person's formal, non-formal and 'unformal' 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.

6.6.3 Social and cultural barriers in adult learning

Some of the adults with an immigrant background who have not completed compulsory education or upper secondary education may face cultural and language barriers which prevent them from entering the education system. Lack of knowledge of the Norwegian education system is a barrier to entering the education 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.

6.6.4 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, and 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 education 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 discourage re-entry into the 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 education system, despite policy on reducing structural and economic barriers. Overcoming motivational barriers may be tough for those who have previously failed in the education system.

Both research and practical experience shows that those adults who are perhaps most in need of it are reluctant to continue 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.

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 education system and for different groups of learners.

7.1 The Norwegian paradox

In general the Norwegian education system may be said to be a well functioning system where equity in education is an overriding concern in the national education 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 facing the Norwegian education system.

The Norwegian education 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 education system both with respect to social differences and gender differences. Norway belongs to that group of countries where there is greatest variation in reading skills between pupils. This would seem to indicate the weakest pupils in particular are not benefiting sufficiently from their schooling. Even though the main educational policy in Norway is to ensure education adapted to the needs of the individual pupil, schools have not been successful in ensuring equity in education among all groups of students regardless of their background.

7.2 Main challenges

The main challenge facing the Norwegian education system is related to integration of all groups of pupils and students, and increasing the learning outco-

me among all pupils and students, especially slow 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 starts at an early stage in the education 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 Chapters 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 seems to be a need for strengthening the follow-up of this group of pupils with multiple disadvantages from an early stage in the education system. The low school performance among these groups indicates that although policy and regulations are vital in order to secure the rights for the weaker groups in the education system, the policy and measures developed are not sufficient to reduce inequity.

Although evaluations of the school reforms during the last decade have generated a number of studies containing information about the education system, specific knowledge of the success or failure of the various policy and measures is absent. There is a need for a more systematic knowledge of the effect of policy and measures introduced into the school system. There is a special need for knowledge of the causes of the large social differences revealed in the PISA study, and for explaining the high rate of weak performers in the Norwegian education 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 amounts and types of information about the education system and of the costs and benefits of education which may influence their «risk perception». Thus, in order to increase equity in education, one may need to change the «risk perception» among groups of pupils and students with low participation rates in the education system. This may include students with im-

migrant and language minority backgrounds and students from low socio-economic backgrounds. In addition, it may be relevant in order to reduce 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 therefore contribute to the increase in equity in education.

7.3 Equity in education: A question of policy?

The challenges in the Norwegian education system may be a question of developing and improving the educational policy, alternatively the challenges may be related to how the education system is constructed. The policy of inclusion instead of segregation of pupils with special needs in ordinary classes implies that the Norwegian school system includes 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 over 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 action in order to reduce inequities in the education system is recognized at the political level (UFD, 2003b). The inequities in the Norwegian education system may be reduced by developing new policies 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 resources and competence. While a 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 firstly strengthen and further develop the teachers' professional and pedagogical expertise, and secondly to motivate for improvements and changes is both central to the recent policy of the Ministry (UFD, 2004).

Increasing local autonomy and allowing 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 aim is to encourage greater crea-

tivity and commitment in the schools by allowing greater freedom and 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 a move towards schooling where more local variations are allowed. The shift is now towards a new policy where equity is attained through diversity rather than an emphasis on standardization and uniformity.

The question now is to what extent the increasing local autonomy will produce 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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Data annex

Table number	Table title	Extent to which the data have been provided		
		All or most data provided	Some data provided	No data provided
1	Participation rates in pre-primary education (ISCED 0) in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 0. 1980, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
2	Participation rates in Upper Secondary Education (ISCED 3) in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 3 programmes and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
3a	Proportion of upper secondary enrolments in general/academic programmes (ISCED 3A), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
3b	Proportion of upper secondary enrolments in vocational/technical programmes (ISCED 3C), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
4	Participation rates in Tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6) in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 5 and 6 programmes and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
5a	Participation rates in Tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), public institutions, in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 5 and 6 programmes in public institutions and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
5b	Participation rates in Tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), private institutions (government-dependant), in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 5 and 6 programmes in private institutions and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
6	Percentage of adults aged 35–59 enrolled in all levels of education (ISCED 3–6), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	

Table number	Table title	Extent to which the data have been provided		
		All or most data provided	Some data provided	No data provided
7	Survival Rates in Tertiary Education – proportion of an entry cohort who graduate at ISCED 5 or 6.			x
8	Percentage of 25–29 year-olds who have completed at least upper secondary education (ISCED 3–6), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
9	Percentage of 50–54 year-olds who have completed at least upper secondary education (ISCED 3–6), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.		x	
10	Upper secondary (general – ISCED 3A) graduation rates, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.	x		
11	Upper secondary (vocational – ISCED 3C) graduation rates, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.	x		
12	Percentage of 30–34 year-olds who have completed tertiary education, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.	x		
13	Percentage of 50–54 year-olds who have completed tertiary education, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.	x		
14	Labour market participation by type of upper secondary education completed and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.			x
15	Labour market participation by type of tertiary education completed and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.			x
16	Average annual earnings by level of education attainment.			x
16	Average annual earnings by level of education attainment.			x
17	Percentage of 16 to 24-year-olds not in education or work, by population sub-groups. 1997 and 2002.		x	

Table 1: Participation rates in pre-primary education (ISCED 0) in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 0. 1980, 1992, 1997 og 2002.

	2002 ¹ ISCED 0 ²	1997 ISCED 0 ²	1992 ISCED 0 ²	1980 ISCED 0 ²
<i>Pupils in pre-primary education (ISCED 0) and non-ISCED institutions, by typical ages of enrolment</i>				
<i>Population, by typical age of enrolment in ISCED 0 and non-ISCED programmes</i>				
0 years	1085	1580	1098	749
1 years	17078	18723	9538	2549
2 years	30357	29776	16975	4484
3 years	46113	40794	29025	10256
4 years	50098	45012	34741	14683
5 years	52906	47691	37051	18930
6 years	625	660	33631	25494
7 years ³	a	a	466	1044
<i>Portion (%) of pupils in ISCED 0 and non-ISCED programmes, by age</i>				
0 years	1,95	2,65	1,83	1,51
1 years	29,81	30,57	15,62	5,10
2 years	50,63	48,95	27,71	8,96
3 years	76,61	67,32	48,70	20,74
4 years	84,16	74,48	59,98	28,18
5 years	86,54	77,91	67,79	34,43
6 years	1,00	1,06	62,89	43,56
7 years ³	a	a	0,89	1,74

¹ From 1999, children in open kindergartens (ISCED 0 institutions) are not included in the total number of children in kindergartens.

² Children 0–2 years participate in non-ISCED programmes, older children participate in ISCED 0 programmes.

³ From 1997, theoretical starting age at ISCED 1 was set to 6 year, excluding all 7 year-olds from ISCED 0.

Table 2: Participation rates in Upper Secondary Education (ISCED 3) in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 3 programmes and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Pupils in upper secondary education (ISCED 3), by typical ages of enrolment</i>				
16 years	51870	49688	49601	50037
17 years	49647	49600	50817	46627
18 years	45537	46926	48908	36989
19 years	21010	22188	22049	13850
Total 16–19 years	168064	168402	171375	147503
<i>Population, by typical age of enrolment in ISCED 3</i>				
16 years	55036	52603	54520	67703
17 years	53795	53024	57418	67125
18 years	53254	53395	61066	67099
19 years	53188	53619	62580	65830
Total 16–19 years	215273	212641	235584	267757
<i>Portion (%) of pupils in ISCED 3, by age</i>				
16 years	94,25	94,46	90,98	73,91
17 years	92,29	93,54	88,50	69,46
18 years	85,51	87,88	80,09	55,13
19 years	39,50	41,38	35,23	21,04
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	79,54	80,66	77,70	71,43
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	78,88	79,66	73,57	57,24
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	66,70	70,85	61,06	40,13
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	56,39	72,35	39,92	41,97
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	76,85	78,30	75,62	a
Rural	80,40	80,73	65,02	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	77,92	78,59	72,77	52,62
Female	78,23	79,82	72,72	57,65

Table 2 (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	79,75	80,04	73,43	55,44
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	53,24	61,27	48,32	27,12
of which:				
Western countries	43,32	45,44	39,93	22,92
Non-western countries ²	54,51	64,44	50,82	31,02
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	73,46	73,21	67,88	53,51
of which:				
Western countries	67,68	72,33	69,61	56,35
Non-western countries ²	74,09	73,33	67,31	44,63

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 3a: Proportion of upper secondary enrolments in general/academic programmes (ISCED 3A), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Pupils in upper secondary education, general/academic programmes (ISCED 3A), by typical ages of enrolment</i>				
16 years	22544	24888	25849	23092
17 years	19487	21688	25865	23676
18 years	28626	28336	29996	23942
19 years	4997	6448	6078	4225
Total 16–19 years	75654	81360	87788	74935
<i>Population, by typical age of enrolment in ISCED 3A</i>				
16 years	55036	52603	54520	67703
17 years	53795	53024	57418	67125
18 years	53254	53395	61066	67099
19 years	53188	53619	62580	65830
Total 16–19 years	215273	212641	235584	267757
<i>Portion (%) of pupils in ISCED 3A, by age</i>				
16 years	40,96	47,31	47,41	34,11
17 years	36,22	40,90	45,05	35,27
18 years	53,75	53,07	49,12	35,68
19 years	9,39	12,03	9,71	6,42
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background for pupils enrolled in ISCED 3A</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	61,88	67,35	56,57	53,38
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	34,61	38,96	32,25	27,26
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	28,52	28,14	17,16	12,15
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	48,65	52,12	30,41	22,04
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional) for pupils enrolled in ISCED 3A</i>				
Urban ³	48,41	51,73	40,55	a
Rural	35,36	39,70	28,22	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	39,08	42,22	32,68	24,07
Female	51,27	54,59	42,04	32,05

Table 3a (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	44,35	47,93	37,52	28,16
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background of which:	53,24	55,99	26,70	13,29
Western countries	59,65	58,28	23,10	13,65
Non-western countries ²	52,58	55,67	27,77	12,95
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents of which:	63,11	59,07	42,83	33,87
Western countries	60,41	59,57	47,70	35,45
Non-western countries ²	63,37	59,01	41,26	28,93

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 3b: Proportion of upper secondary enrolments in vocational/technical programmes (ISCED 3C), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Pupils in upper secondary education, vocational/technical programmes (ISCED 3C), by typical ages of enrolment</i>				
16 years	29326	24800	23752	26945
17 years	30160	27912	24952	22951
18 years	16911	18590	18912	13047
19 years	16013	15740	15971	9625
Total 16–19 years	92410	87042	83587	72568
<i>Population, by typical age of enrolment in ISCED 3C</i>				
16 years	55036	52603	54520	67703
17 years	53795	53024	57418	67125
18 years	53254	53395	61066	67099
19 years	53188	53619	62580	65830
Total 16–19 years	215273	212641	235584	267757
<i>Portion (%) of pupils in ISCED 3C, by age</i>				
16 years	53,29	47,15	43,57	39,80
17 years	56,06	52,64	43,46	34,19
18 years	31,76	34,82	30,97	19,44
19 years	30,11	29,36	25,52	14,62
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background for pupils enrolled in ISCED 3C</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	30,32	26,33	21,12	18,05
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	51,58	48,63	41,32	29,98
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	47,67	50,91	43,90	27,98
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	28,95	34,64	23,77	19,93
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional) for pupils enrolled in ISCED 3C</i>				
Urban	39,65	37,80	35,06	a
Rural	51,97	48,68	36,80	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	47,47	45,41	40,09	28,55
Female	38,12	36,25	30,67	25,60

Table 3b (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	44,38	41,67	35,91	27,28
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	24,89	26,96	21,62	13,84
of which:				
Western countries	17,48	18,95	16,83	9,27
Non-western countries ²	25,85	28,57	23,05	18,07
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	27,10	29,96	25,04	19,64
of which:				
Western countries	26,80	29,25	21,91	20,90
Non-western countries ²	27,14	30,06	25,83	15,70

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 4: Participation rates in Tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6) in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 5 and 6 programmes and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Pupils in tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), by typical ages of enrolment</i>				
19 years	7241	7644	8859	3513
20 years	15245	15253	13606	6400
21 years	18244	18198	16287	8695
22 years	18780	18741	15997	9650
23 years	17335	18427	15785	9303
24 years	15366	16264	13214	7744
25 years	12670	13380	10427	6123
26 years	10885	10178	8457	4986
27 years	9402	7798	6673	4228
28 years	8171	6429	5326	3315
Total 19–28 years	133339	132312	114631	63957
<i>Population, by typical age of enrolment in ISCED 5 and 6</i>				
19 years	53188	53619	62580	65830
20 years	54389	52956	65471	65005
21 years	54045	55385	66552	65477
22 years	54679	58332	65769	65283
23 years	55364	61857	69030	66543
24 years	55735	63509	68877	66209
25 years	55147	66580	67725	66098
26 years	57864	67824	68400	66967
27 years	60775	67247	67718	65886
28 years	64334	70379	67208	64634
Total 19–28 years	565520	617688	669330	657932
<i>Portion (%) of pupils in ISCED 5 and 6, by age</i>				
19 years	13,61	14,26	13,08	5,33
20 years	28,03	28,80	20,78	9,85
21 years	33,76	32,86	24,47	13,28
22 years	34,35	32,13	24,32	14,78
23 years	31,31	29,79	22,87	13,98
24 years	27,57	25,61	19,18	11,70
25 years	22,97	20,10	15,40	9,26
26 years	18,81	15,01	12,36	7,45
27 years	15,47	11,60	9,85	6,42
28 years	12,70	9,13	7,92	5,13

Table 4 (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	40,20	38,14	35,92	26,25
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	18,00	17,47	14,21	9,64
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	7,87	7,16	5,66	3,41
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	12,32	15,21	12,46	7,51
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	23,57	22,00	19,60	a
Rural	21,87	18,82	9,21	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	19,94	19,01	16,04	9,94
Female	27,32	23,91	18,27	9,50
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	24,75	22,07	17,52	9,85
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background of which:	11,39	10,33	9,04	4,83
Western countries	10,87	8,41	9,91	4,71
Non-western countries ²	11,55	11,13	8,74	4,99
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents of which:	23,27	21,07	21,73	12,46
Western countries	26,32	23,14	22,03	14,04
Non-western countries ²	22,80	20,28	21,14	8,92

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

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Table 5a: Participation rates in Tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), public institutions, in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 5 and 6 programmes in public institutions and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Pupils in tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), public institutions, by typical ages of enrolment</i>				
19 years	6478	7042	8000	3280
20 years	13138	13554	11953	5777
21 years	15335	16012	13992	7573
22 years	15699	16406	13737	8314
23 years	14724	16417	13722	8084
24 years	13341	14741	11562	6726
25 years	11188	12246	9172	5341
26 years	9750	9381	7459	4304
27 years	8418	7176	5843	3596
28 years	7108	5912	4638	2779
Total 19–28 years	115179	118887	100078	55774
<i>Population, by typical age of enrolment in ISCED 5 and 6</i>				
19 years	53188	53619	62580	65830
20 years	54389	52956	65471	65005
21 years	54045	55385	66552	65477
22 years	54679	58332	65769	65283
23 years	55364	61857	69030	66543
24 years	55735	63509	68877	66209
25 years	55147	66580	67725	66098
26 years	57864	67824	68400	66967
27 years	60775	67247	67718	65886
28 years	64334	70379	67208	64634
Total 19–28 years	565520	617688	669330	657932
<i>Portion (%) of pupils in ISCED 5 and 6, public institutions, by age</i>				
19 years	12,18	13,13	11,81	4,98
20 years	24,16	25,59	18,26	8,89
21 years	28,37	28,91	21,02	11,57
22 years	28,71	28,13	20,89	12,74
23 years	26,59	26,54	19,88	12,15
24 years	23,94	23,21	16,79	10,16
25 years	20,29	18,39	13,54	8,08
26 years	16,85	13,83	10,90	6,43
27 years	13,85	10,67	8,63	5,46
28 years	11,05	8,40	6,90	4,30

Table 5a (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	35,24	34,61	32,02	23,46
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	15,30	15,56	12,19	8,28
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	6,44	6,39	4,87	2,90
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	10,57	13,51	10,55	6,77
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	20,10	19,61	17,01	a
Rural	19,82	17,48	8,39	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	16,99	16,94	13,72	8,57
Female	23,84	21,63	16,25	8,38
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	21,44	19,83	15,30	8,59
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background of which:	9,68	9,38	7,82	4,34
Western countries	9,07	7,67	8,63	4,35
Non-western countries ²	9,87	10,11	7,54	4,33
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents of which:	16,46	16,86	17,65	10,70
Western countries	22,19	20,61	18,65	12,06
Non-western countries ²	15,59	15,44	15,67	7,64

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 5b: Participation rates in Tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), private institutions (government-dependant), in percentage of relevant cohorts enrolled in ISCED 5 and 6 programmes in private institutions and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Pupils in tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), government-dependant private institutions, by typical ages of enrolment</i>				
19 years				
	763	602	859	233
20 years	2107	1699	1653	623
21 years	2909	2186	2295	1122
22 years	3081	2335	2260	1336
23 years	2611	2010	2063	1219
24 years	2025	1523	1652	1018
25 years	1482	1134	1255	782
26 years	1135	797	998	682
27 years	984	622	830	632
28 years	1063	517	688	536
Total 19–28 years	18160	13425	14553	8183
<i>Population, by typical age of enrolment in ISCED 5 and 6</i>				
19 years				
	53188	53619	62580	65830
20 years	54389	52956	65471	65005
21 years	54045	55385	66552	65477
22 years	54679	58332	65769	65283
23 years	55364	61857	69030	66543
24 years	55735	63509	68877	66209
25 years	55147	66580	67725	66098
26 years	57864	67824	68400	66967
27 years	60775	67247	67718	65886
28 years	64334	70379	67208	64634
Total 19–28 years	565520	617688	669330	657932
<i>Portion (%) of pupils in ISCED 5 and 6, government-dependant private institutions, by age</i>				
19 years				
	1,43	1,12	1,27	0,35
20 years	3,87	3,21	2,52	0,96
21 years	5,38	3,95	3,45	1,71
22 years	5,63	4,00	3,44	2,05
23 years	4,72	3,25	2,99	1,83
24 years	3,63	2,40	2,40	1,54
25 years	2,69	1,70	1,85	1,18
26 years	1,96	1,18	1,46	1,02
27 years	1,62	0,92	1,23	0,96
28 years	1,65	0,73	1,02	0,83

Table 5b (forts.)

<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	4,95	3,52	3,90	2,79
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	2,70	1,91	2,02	1,36
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	1,31	0,77	0,78	0,51
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	1,76	1,70	1,78	0,74
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	3,47	2,40	2,59	a
Rural	2,04	1,34	0,82	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	2,94	2,07	2,32	1,37
Female	3,49	2,28	2,02	1,11
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	3,31	2,24	2,22	1,26
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background of which:	1,71	0,94	1,22	0,49
Western countries	1,80	0,74	1,27	0,36
Non-western countries ²	1,68	1,03	1,20	0,66
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents of which:	6,81	4,21	4,08	1,77
Western countries	4,13	2,53	3,38	1,99
Non-western countries ²	7,22	4,84	5,47	1,27

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

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Table 6: Percentage of adults aged 35–59 enrolled in all levels of education (ISCED 3–6), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Pupils/Students, aged 35–59, in education (ISCED 3–6) by age-group</i>				
35–39 years				
35–39 years	20963	14752	15046	7553
40–44 years	16134	11013	10430	3726
45–49 years	11656	7115	6941	1928
50–54 years	6432	3771	2583	1122
55–59 years	2800	1175	900	498
Total 35–59 years:	57985	37826	35900	14827
<i>Population, aged 35–59 by age-group</i>				
35–39 years				
35–39 years	345262	319899	314395	311357
40–44 years	321560	314170	303917	222547
45–49 years	313106	302101	299104	192983
50–54 years	298319	294690	212206	207511
55–59 years	287875	207456	180954	226124
Total 35–59 years:	1566122	1438316	1310576	1160522
<i>Portion (%) of pupils/students, aged 35–59, enrolled in education (ISCED 3–6) by age-group</i>				
35–39 years				
35–39 years	6,07	4,61	4,79	2,43
40–44 years	5,02	3,51	3,43	1,67
45–49 years	3,72	2,36	2,32	1,00
50–54 years	2,16	1,28	1,22	0,54
55–59 years	0,97	0,57	0,50	0,22
Total 35–59 years:	3,70	2,63	2,74	1,28
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	8,77	5,82	5,87	10,16
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	6,11	3,99	3,81	7,38
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	4,51	3,05	2,62	4,58
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	1,07	1,89	1,97	0,89
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	3,87	2,84	2,93	a
Rural	2,95	1,90	2,08	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	2,39	1,81	2,03	1,01
Female	5,07	3,48	3,48	1,55

Table 6 (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	3,65	2,51	2,66	1,25
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	4,35	4,43	4,31	2,07
of which:				
Western countries	4,00	3,08	3,29	1,95
Non-western countries ²	4,56	5,55	5,55	2,43
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	3,59	4,22	4,39	5,07
of which:				
Western countries	3,73	4,16	4,28	:
Non-western countries ²	3,22	4,38	4,76	:

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

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Table 7: Survival Rates in Tertiary Education – proportion of an entry cohort who graduate at ISCED 5 or 6, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

Statistics Norway does not compile data in a satisfactory way to estimate survival rates in tertiary education (m).

Table 8: Percentage of 25–29 year-olds who have completed at least upper secondary education (ISCED 3–6), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Persons, aged 25–29, who have attained at least upper secondary education (ISCED 3–6)</i>				
25 years	49810	59174	59092	51980
26 years	51771	59832	58997	51813
27 years	54632	58548	58165	50855
28 years	57968	61279	57332	48991
29 years	59454	61093	55299	49929
Total (25–29 year-olds):	273635	299926	288885	253568
<i>Population, aged 25–29</i>				
25 years	55147	66580	67725	66098
26 years	57864	67824	68400	66967
27 years	60775	67247	67718	65886
28 years	64334	70379	67208	64634
29 years	65825	70152	65071	64700
Total (25–29 year-olds):	303945	342182	336122	328285
<i>Percentage (%) of 25–29 year-olds who have attained at least upper secondary education</i>				
25 years	90,32	88,88	87,25	78,64
26 years	89,47	88,22	86,25	77,37
27 years	89,89	87,06	85,89	77,19
28 years	90,10	87,07	85,31	75,80
29 years	90,32	87,09	84,98	77,17
Total (25–29 year-olds):	90,03	87,65	85,95	77,24
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	94,87	99,67	96,19	94,26
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	93,23	90,24	90,79	85,32
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	81,74	80,34	79,65	67,25
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	38,93	43,92	50,57	49,52
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	89,58	87,30	86,03	a
Rural	92,66	89,52	86,26	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	90,03	87,76	84,83	77,52
Female	90,02	87,54	87,13	76,94

Table 8 (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	95,14	91,35	88,88	78,73
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	43,92	35,11	43,63	36,81
of which:				
Western countries	39,72	18,66	38,97	35,77
Non-western countries ²	45,40	42,41	45,43	38,28
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	86,14	85,74	82,63	74,37
of which:				
Western countries	92,15	87,40	83,33	75,46
Non-western countries ²	84,56	82,78	80,56	71,11

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

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Table 9: Percentage of 50–54 year-olds who have completed at least upper secondary education (ISCED 3–6), by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Persons, aged 50–54, who have attained at least upper secondary education (ISCED 3–6)</i>				
50 years	49922	47672	32517	21981
51 years	47627	49562	27498	21797
52 years	47787	44007	27750	22197
53 years	47622	41807	26451	21526
54 years	47517	36440	24827	21646
Total (50–54 year-olds):	240475	219488	139043	109147
<i>Population, aged 50–54</i>				
50 years	60549	63247	46998	40595
51 years	58097	65783	41229	40814
52 years	59373	58882	42572	42075
53 years	59638	56593	41437	41536
54 years	60662	50185	39970	42491
Total (50–54 year-olds):	298319	294690	212206	207511
<i>Percentage (%) of 50–54 year-olds who have attained at least upper secondary education</i>				
50 years	82,45	75,37	69,19	54,15
51 years	81,98	75,34	66,70	53,41
52 years	80,49	74,74	65,18	52,76
53 years	79,85	73,87	63,83	51,82
54 years	78,33	72,61	62,11	50,94
Total (50–54 year-olds):	80,61	74,48	65,52	52,60
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	97,83	96,17	92,10	78,95
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	92,19	89,02	83,69	69,21
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	76,38	68,87	59,18	34,76
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	76,47	72,87	64,86	52,81
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	82,09	76,62	68,20	a
Rural	76,09	68,32	58,52	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	81,43	76,09	68,10	56,36
Female	79,76	72,81	62,91	48,84

Table 9 (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	81,46	75,45	65,99	52,45
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	67,10	55,63	55,60	57,07
of which:				
Western countries	74,31	62,33	63,17	59,34
Non-western countries ²	61,25	45,13	41,27	46,63
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	87,50	81,94	88,00	54,55
of which:				
Western countries	86,60	79,03	86,96	33,33
Non-western countries ²	90,32	100,00	100,00	66,67

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

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Table 10: Upper secondary (general – ISCED 3A) graduation rates, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

Ratio of upper secondary graduates (ISCED 3A) to total population at typical age of graduation (multiplied by 100)	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Number of graduates from ISCED 3A</i>				
Total (all ages):	34225	32446	31269	24971
<i>Population at typical age of graduation from ISCED 3A (18-year-olds)</i>				
18 years	53254	53395	61066	65139
<i>ISCED 3A graduation rates, by typical age of graduation</i>				
Total:	64,27	60,77	51,21	38,33
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	78,28	73,78	71,44	67,23
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	53,11	51,71	44,93	37,74
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	58,43	56,63	29,22	18,38
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	119,07	103,53	81,36	56,80
<i>Location, urban or regional</i>				
Urban ³	67,08	63,59	54,14	a
Rural	54,06	51,89	42,64	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	51,19	48,29	44,04	32,67
Female	77,98	73,81	58,58	44,37
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	65,02	61,58	52,87	38,60
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background of which:	56,13	48,89	38,09	15,65
Western countries	55,04	50,61	24,81	21,94
Non-western countries ²	56,27	48,58	42,17	10,17
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents of which:	52,35	36,65	35,22	36,92
Western countries	77,78	81,82	62,32	30,39
Non-western countries ²	49,18	31,49	23,60	60,71

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 11: Upper secondary (vocational – ISCED 3C) graduation rates, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

Ratio of upper secondary graduates (ISCED 3C) to total population at typical age of graduation (multiplied by 100)	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Number of graduates from ISCED 3C</i>				
Total (all ages):	24449	29385	25179	14843
<i>Population at typical age of graduation from ISCED 3C (19-year-olds)</i>				
19 years	53188	53619	62580	63017
<i>ISCED 3C graduation rates, by typical age of graduation</i>				
Total:	45,97	54,80	40,23	23,55
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	17,57	19,82	20,10	13,36
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	50,41	53,48	42,37	21,89
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	131,14	130,79	66,01	27,07
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	147,85	251,75	69,90	94,59
<i>Location, urban or regional</i>				
Urban ³	41,14	49,67	37,01	a
Rural	60,10	68,01	47,61	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	48,09	69,01	55,07	37,63
Female	43,71	39,95	24,59	9,00
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	47,86	56,49	40,82	23,67
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background of which:	27,16	27,81	21,60	16,96
Western countries	42,47	35,63	31,55	21,21
Non-western countries ²	24,79	25,51	18,16	12,55
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents of which:	16,67	13,73	27,33	20,34
Western countries	16,67	23,53	48,33	23,08
Non-western countries ²	16,67	12,01	13,33	15,00

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 12: Percentage of 30–34 year-olds who have completed tertiary education, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Persons, aged 30–34, who have attained tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6)</i>				
30 years	24851	19736	14744	14749
31 years	24775	19149	14866	13990
32 years	23747	18524	14931	13799
33 years	24379	18181	15252	13345
34 years	23497	17095	15332	13206
Total (30–34 year-olds):	121249	92685	75125	69089
<i>Population, aged 30–34</i>				
30 years	68753	68879	63954	63757
31 years	69808	69363	63681	61417
32 years	69369	68683	63202	62783
33 years	71948	68007	63915	63130
34 years	71598	65615	63659	64661
Total (30–34 year-olds):	351476	340547	318411	315748
<i>Percentage (%) of 30–34 year-olds who have attained tertiary education</i>				
30 years	36,15	28,65	23,05	23,13
31 years	35,49	27,61	23,34	22,78
32 years	34,23	26,97	23,62	21,98
33 years	33,88	26,73	23,86	21,14
34 years	32,82	26,05	24,08	20,42
Total (30–34 year-olds):	34,50	27,22	23,59	21,88
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	65,60	59,29	54,94	64,73
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	31,08	25,74	23,95	32,69
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	13,25	11,82	10,04	13,52
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	20,47	15,48	21,31	13,79
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	37,63	30,39	26,76	a
Rural	21,66	16,08	12,94	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	30,39	25,07	22,29	24,00
Female	38,74	29,47	24,98	19,61

Table 12 (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	36,12	28,44	23,69	21,85
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	19,58	13,40	22,36	22,38
of which:				
Western countries	29,67	14,30	28,64	25,24
Non-western countries ²	15,56	12,99	19,31	10,27
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	39,08	29,46	24,35	32,37
of which:				
Western countries	43,09	29,05	26,03	29,25
Non-western countries ²	31,84	30,71	20,81	42,42

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

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³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 13: Percentage of 50–54 year-olds who have completed tertiary education, by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Persons, aged 50–54, who have attained tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6)</i>				
50 years	16793	14371	9231	4496
51 years	15721	14802	7297	4448
52 years	15495	12930	7493	4582
53 years	14934	12615	6922	4238
54 years	14524	10800	6439	4245
Total (50–54 year-olds):	77467	65518	37382	22009
<i>Population, aged 50–54</i>				
50 years	60549	63247	46998	40595
51 years	58097	65783	41229	40814
52 years	59373	58882	42572	42075
53 years	59638	56593	41437	41536
54 years	60662	50185	39970	42491
Total (50–54 year-olds):	298319	294690	212206	207511
<i>Percentage (%) of 50–54 year-olds who have attained tertiary education</i>				
50 years	27,73	22,72	19,64	11,08
51 years	27,06	22,50	17,70	10,90
52 years	26,10	21,96	17,60	10,89
53 years	25,04	22,29	16,70	10,20
54 years	23,94	21,52	16,11	9,99
Total (50–54 year-olds):	25,97	22,23	17,62	10,61
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>				
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	69,10	67,03	60,79	35,09
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	37,14	34,12	26,91	11,90
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	16,41	13,73	9,60	3,36
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	23,08	21,52	18,06	10,71
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>				
Urban ³	28,90	24,99	20,38	a
Rural	16,72	14,14	10,18	a
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	27,26	24,70	20,09	12,93
Female	24,62	19,67	15,11	8,29

Table 13 (forts.)

	2002	1997	1992	1982
<i>Immigration Status</i>				
Without immigrant background ¹	25,55	22,07	17,31	10,38
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background	32,43	25,22	24,07	17,40
of which:				
Western countries	41,55	29,07	26,88	17,13
Non-western countries ²	25,02	19,19	18,76	18,60
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	38,28	47,22	40,00	32,37
of which:				
Western countries	35,05	45,16	34,78	n
Non-western countries ²	48,39	60,00	100,00	n

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 14: Labour market participation by type of upper secondary education completed and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

Table 14 (forts.)

The percentage of the population, 25–64 years, who have attained upper secondary level education who are either employed or unemployed, broken down by general (ISCED 3A) and vocational (ISCED 3C) upper secondary education, and by population sub-groups									
	2002		1997		1992		1982		
	ISCED 3A	ISCED 3C	ISCED 3A	ISCED 3C	ISCED 3A	ISCED 3C	ISCED 3A	ISCED 3C	
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
of which:									
Western countries	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	
Non-western countries ²	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	

Notes about country data: Percentages refer to the number of employed persons with upper secondary education compared to the total number of the population with this education. The results are based on the Labour Force Survey (LFS), annual average.

⁰ Due to sample bias it is not possible to give any results on immigration status from the Norwegian Labour Force Survey (LFS).

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

Table 15: Labour market participation by type of tertiary education completed and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

The percentage of the population, 25–64 years, who have attained tertiary level of education who are either employed or unemployed, broken down by type of tertiary education (ISCED 5A/5B and ISCED 6), and by population sub-groups

Table 15 (forts.)

	The percentage of the population, 25–64 years, who have attained tertiary level of education who are either employed or unemployed, broken down by type of tertiary education (ISCED 5A/5B and ISCED 6), and by population sub-groups							
	2002		1997		1992		1982	
	ISCED 5A/5B	ISCED 64	ISCED 5A/5B	ISCED 64	ISCED 5A/5B	ISCED 64	ISCED 5A/5B	ISCED 64
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
of which:								
Western countries	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Non-western countries ²	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m

Notes about country data: Percentages refer to the number of employed persons with upper secondary education compared to the total number of the population with this education. The results are based on the Labour Force Survey (LFS), annual average.

⁰ Due to sample bias it is not possible to give any results on immigration status from the Norwegian Labour Force Survey (LFS).

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.

⁴ The total population in group ISCED 6 is 2000 persons, and all of them are in the labour force. Due to sampling error, this amount is too small to give significant results.

Table 16: Average annual earnings by level of education attainment and by population sub-groups. 1982, 1992, 1997 and 2002.

<u>Has not been possible to produce within the time limit by Statistics Norway (m)</u>

Table 17: Percentage of 16 to 24-year-olds not in education or work, by population sub-groups. 1997 and 2002.

	2002	1997
<i>Persons, aged 15–24, not in education or work</i>		
Total: 16–24 years	35 000	37 000
<i>Population, aged 15–24</i>		
Total: 16–24 years	488 000	504 000
<i>Percentage (%) of 15 to 24-year-olds not in education or work</i>		
Total: 16–24 years	7,2	7,3
<i>Socio-Economic Group, by parents' educational background</i>		
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 5 or 6	4,0	3,4
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 3 or 4	8,1	7,6
Mother or father or both have attained ISCED 0, 1 or 2	13,2	16,2
Unknown, when both parents have unknown educational background	19,6	23,4
<i>Location, urban or rural (regional)</i>		
Urban ³	7,3	7,4
Rural	6,7	7,5
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	6,8	6,5
Female	7,1	8,1
<i>Immigration Status⁰</i>		
Without immigrant background ¹	m	m
First generation immigrants without Norwegian background of which:		
Western countries	m	m
Non-western countries ²	m	m
Persons born in Norway with two foreign born parents of which:		
Western countries	m	m
Non-western countries ²	m	m

Notes about country data: Due to changes in methods and questionnaires, it is not possible to give comparable data for the years 1982 and 1992.

⁰ Due to sample bias it is not possible to give any results on immigration status from the Norwegian Labour Force Survey (LFS). To be in education or not is based on the main activity answered by the interviewed persons.

¹ Category also includes persons 'adopted abroad', 'foreign born with one parent born in Norway', 'born in Norway with one foreign parent', 'born abroad with both parents born in Norway' and 'unknown'.

² Non-western countries = Asia (Turkey incl.), Africa, South- and Central-America, East-Europe, stateless and not specified.

³ A hub of buildings shall be registered as an urban settlement if it is inhabited by at least 200 persons (60–70 dwellings). The distance between the buildings shall normally not exceed 50 metres. Deviations are allowed for areas that cannot/are not to be occupied, for example parks, sports facilities, industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers or arable land. Also included are agglomerations that naturally belong to the urban settlement with up to a distance of 400 meters from the centre of the urban settlement. Urban settlements are geographical areas with dynamic boundaries. Thus the number of urban settlements and their boundaries will change over time, depending on construction activity and changes of resident population. The delimitation of the urban settlements is independent of the administrative boundaries.