Education as a welfare matter?

Implementing national dropout policies in local institutional contexts

Nina Paarup Michelsen

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

Education as a welfare matter?

Implementing national dropout policies in local institutional contexts

Nina Paarup Michelsen
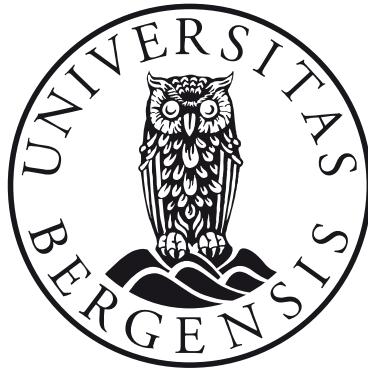
Thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
at the University of Bergen

Date of defense: 13.11.2020

Year: 2020
Title: Education as a welfare matter?

Name: Nina Paarup Michelsen
Print: Skipnes Kommunikasjon / University of Bergen

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been completed without the help, inspiration and patience from many people. I am immensely grateful to all of you and hope I have managed to express my gratitude throughout this process. I would first like to express deep gratitude to my supervisors for showing great confidence in me and always being supportive of my ideas and thoughts, even though my ideas were not always sensible. Anne Homme has guided me these last years with great encouragement and tirelessly commented on innumerable drafts. To Jacob Aars, thank you for always understanding what I was thinking, even when I did not. Thank you for your patience.

Also, a big thank you to all my colleagues at the Rokkan Centre/NORCE-force for an incomparable working environment and very entertaining lunches. I am very lucky to have had such an amazing working environment in what is usually known to be a lonely PhD existence. Tord Skogedal Lindén, my head of research, has provided vital input and support throughout all these years. Thank you Vibekke, Siren, Hilde, and Jeanette for providing the best administrative (and other) services. To my *Lost in Transition* colleagues and friends, Anne and Kristin, thank you for some amazing travels, dinners, wine and company. The two of you have been invaluable!

My very special thanks go to my outside-of-work support system. My amazing group of friends, especially Anja, Kristin, Inga and Gina, for lots of laughter and getting my mind off my work. I promise I will be more sociable now… To my parents—for your love, support and assistance throughout, and most of all for your babysitting services. Mamma, I could not have done this without your pedantic observance. Last but not least, my forever-greatest accomplishments, Jonas and Sofie, for all the love and perspective you provide. And to my best friend, Lars-Henrik, for always believing in me when I myself did not.

<div align="right">Thank you all!</div>

ABSTRACT

The overall focus of this thesis is the implementation of national policies at the intersection between welfare and education. My aim has been to further the connection between the field of education and welfare. A political issue incorporating both welfare and education is school dropout. The term *dropout* gained momentum when the right to upper secondary school was legislated in Norway in 1994, thus increasing the number of young people in upper secondary education. In line with Arnesen and Lundahl (2006), I see education as an integral part of the welfare state, as a means of inclusion and an investment in people and in the welfare state. This thesis relies on data from qualitative semistructured interviews and policy documents. The data gathered were collected in three counties and the largest municipality within each county. The three counties were selected based on the results obtained through a survey submitted to all the counties in Norway; this survey was performed at the start of the project period (Homme and Hope 2017). The counties were selected regarding dropout numbers. Additionally, the interviews were also performed at the national level of the government, both at parliament (*Stortinget*) and with relevant informants within two ministries and their underlying departments. In total, 51 informants were interviewed.

As an overall analytical framework for the three articles, I have used the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012: 229); the model includes a set of three main categories of variables: policy formulation, implementation process and implementation results, so the model as a whole focuses on the relationship between these three sets of variables. Accordingly, this framework served as my research design. For article 1, I wanted to study *policy formulation,* or how certain policies are put on the agenda. In article 2, my focus was on the *organisational and interorganisational practices* surrounding the implementation of a policy, while in article 3, I wanted to pursue *street-level bureaucratic behaviour* in schools. An abductive approach—which refers to a creative inferential process where what is studied is not given in advance—means having an overall

framework can be useful to systematise and lay the grounds for the overall topics that are to be covered in the articles. Having the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012) in mind, the sources of data and interviews to be conducted were already there within the model. Following this, I considered it necessary to interview the informants at different levels of government, at the municipal level, and at the school level.

As a theoretical framework, I argue in favour of combining two different theoretical points of departure that were constructed to examine the implementation of national policies at the intersection of welfare and education in local contexts. Examining the meso level, I relied on historical institutionalist theory, especially the works of Steinmo et al. (1992), Thelen (2003), Streeck and Thelen (2005) and Mahoney and Thelen (2010), along with the general assumption that institutions and social regimes change in certain ways over time. Historical institutionalism benefitted my analysis of two strong institutionalised sectors—education and welfare—and their correlating relationship and silo-influenced way of thinking. One of the key variables in the implementation process is street-level bureaucrats' and frontline workers' practice. As such, at the micro level, I relied on Lipsky's (1980) theory of *street-level bureaucrats*, with March and Olsen's (1998) concept of *logics of appropriateness* and *logic of consequences*. The two theories assisted my depiction of what happens when policies are encountered at the local level because both theories are grounded on the basic assumptions concerning how actors and individuals will act within a given institutional context. All the while, the two theories partly contradict each other and are at least partly based on different assumptions; hence, a combination of the two can prove to be beneficial for exploring street-level behaviour and actions. Based on both Lipsky's notion as well as the integrated implementation model, I argue that employees in both education and welfare sectors responsible for young people in danger of dropout, street-level bureaucrats, all play important roles when interpreting and implementing new

policies or initiatives determined by national authorities. Accordingly, the street-level informants all act in line with different logics and within different contexts.

LIST OF ARTICLES

1. Michelsen, Nina Paarup:
   'Looking through the policy window:
   How PISA temporarily changed the institutional structures in Norway'
   Submitted to Scandinavian Political Studies for review May 2020
2. Michelsen, Nina Paarup and Homme, Anne:
   'Implementing cross-sectoral policies: The importance of institutional context'
   Revised and resubmitted March 2020 in Scandinavian Journal of Public Administration
3. Michelsen, Nina Paarup:
   'Lærerrollen i Krysspress: Nye yrkesgrupper i møte med skolen som organisasjon'
   Published in: Nordiske Organisasjonsstudier (Nordic Organization Studies) Nr.1 2019

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

1. INTRODUCTION

The overall focus of the current thesis is the implementation of national policies at the intersection between welfare and education. My aim during the course of this thesis is to further the connection between the field of education and welfare by enlightening, what I see as a useful relationship in terms of welfare building, a neglected relationship between these two fields of both research and policy. A political issue incorporating both welfare and education is the matter of school dropout. The term *dropout* gained momentum when the right to upper secondary school was legislated in Norway, thus increasing the number of young people in upper secondary education. Through increasingly detailed educational statistics that took place throughout the late 1990s, the OECD[1] made it clear that dropout was a significant societal challenge for welfare societies (Karlsen 2014). Harold Wilensky (1975: 3) declares that 'education is special, therefore education should be seen, and analysed, separately from other parts of the welfare state because social policies, influence equality more directly than investments in education'. This verdict has arguably influenced the neglect of studying education as an aspect of both welfare research and as a welfare state organisation as a whole. In line with Arnesen and Lundahl (2006), I see education as an integral part of the welfare state, as a means of inclusion and an investment in people and the welfare state. The welfare state is considered 'a system of state and legal schemes that guarantee the individual member of society security for life, health and welfare' (Sejersted 2013: 293). Welfare policy is a comprehensive term that also includes areas such as taxes, housing and education; in general, welfare policy includes most areas of public policy that aim to influence the welfare of the population (Hjelmtveit 2009). By investing in education, welfare spending can be avoided later on. For example, about 80% of Norway's national wealth consists of human resources (The Norwegian Ministry of Finance 2013). As such, the

---

[1] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Norwegian working life is characterised by a high degree of professional participation and low unemployment.[2] It is argued that although equality of *access* to upper secondary education has been improved, the enduring significance of student dropout exposes the hidden educational inequalities of the *outcomes* in a social democratic welfare state (Halvorsrud 2017). There was great anticipation that introducing free education for children from all social layers, along with the 1889 laws on elementary schooling, would contribute to equality and promote social inclusion (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006). In Norwegian, the concept *folkeskole* (elementary schooling) meant a school for everyone and laid the grounds for *the unitary school system* (*enhetsskolen*), which arrived in 1936 (Tønnesen 2004). Later, the term for a unitary school system would stand as a vital image of equal rights and possibilities (Sejersted 2013) and a symbol of the Norwegian social democratic welfare state. The intention behind the unitary school system was to give all pupils opportunities to develop their skills in accordance with their hopes and ambitions (Sejersted 2013). From a social perspective, this represented a desire to give all children and young people the same opportunities to participate in the social asset that education was to represent. The unitary school system was to be the cornerstone of the social democratic project, with mixed courses and classes facilitated for a community to promote solidarity, togetherness and cooperation across all social and cultural divides (Sejersted 2013). Thus, education represents a means to secure individuals against general social exclusion and unemployment; as such, the unitary school system became an idea that had a socially equalising motive. Dropout can hence be seen as a particular challenge within a unitary school model because it weakens the school as an institution and as a social policy instrument. Not only does education provide the individual citizen with a certain level of predictability and social context, it also produces economic growth through the value of human capital. As such, dropout as a societal challenge has serious effects for the welfare state as a whole. Despite the connection between

education and welfare, the two topics have been infrequently connected in research. Some researchers have held Wilensky responsible for this, arguing for the negligence of education within research on welfare (Heidenheimer 1973, Esping Andersen 1990, Huber and Stephens 2001, Busemeyer and Nikolai 2010, Willemse and de Beer 2012, Mosher 2015, Di Stasio and Solga 2017).

1.1. General Theme and Research Questions

The current thesis is positioned within the field of political sciences, with an emphasis on historical institutionalism and implementation studies. Empirically, I will be drawing on welfare research, social policy and educational research. The main research question in the present thesis is the following:

- In what ways are national policies shaped at the intersection between education and welfare interpreted and implemented at the local level?

The overall research question is examined through three empirical articles with different levels of analysis that answer different aspects of the main research question. Figure 1 underneath illustrates the general theme of the current thesis as a whole. My intention is to move welfare and education research closer together and unite the four premises in Figure 1 throughout this introductory thesis, laying the groundwork for the three articles, which are enclosed in full after this introductory thesis. The implementation of policies, from the national level to local level, are placed at each end of the vertical line, and welfare and education are placed along the horizontal line. Together, they make up what I have chosen to call an implementation context, which is exemplified through dropout as a case of a policy at the intersection of welfare and education.

Figure 1: An overview of the implementation context examined.
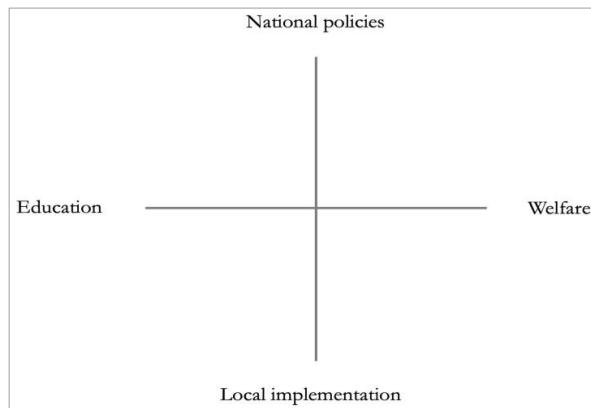
The articles specify and operationalise the main research question within
different empirical contexts. The three articles are all related to the
implementation of national policies, with an overall aim to prevent pupils from
leaving school. In line with Winter (2012), I see policy formulation as an essential
part of the implementation process, as illustrated in article 1, where I examine
how policies come to be and how they are influenced by international
organisations and different political circumstances. The article also examines a
period where the issue of dropout was put on the agenda in Norway. In articles 2
and 3, I look at how national policies or political guidelines have been interpreted
and implemented at the local level. Hence, my contribution to this field of
research entails an increased emphasis on the local implementation of national
incentives or policies initiated to prevent dropout. Articles 2 and 3 show how two
nationally designed policy initiatives are locally adapted. Wilson et al. (2011) and
Lillejord et al. (2015) claim that in cases where policies are not adapted to the
local institutional context, the risk of implementation failure increases. I see this
as an interesting argument to pursue in the thesis. It is important to note that my
main empirical point of impact is lower secondary school. Even though dropout

is an issue usually connected to upper secondary school[3], my focus is on lower secondary school and on initiatives implemented to prevent dropout later on. In 2020, the Norwegian Ministry of Education presented a white paper emphasising the importance of early efforts so that fewer pupils' dropout later on (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2020).[4]

> *A sustainable welfare society requires that more people participate in working life and continue working for a longer period. Therefore, this government is investing in education and knowledge for everyone. Early efforts and an including and close community are essential to ensure that all children and young people can achieve their dreams and aspirations.*
>
> (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2020: 9 my translation)

As such, I see early efforts as essential to prevent dropout later on.

1.2. Analytical and theoretical approach

As an overall analytical framework I have positioned the three articles within *the integrated implementation model* (Winter 2012: 291). The integrated implementation model attempts to integrate some of the most important variables in implementation research, placing them into a common framework of analysis (ibid).

---

[3] In Norway, 98% of all pupils start upper secondary school (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2019).
[4] The policies suggested to national authorities in Lillejord et. al. (2015) are pursued in (amongst others) the white paper: *Tett på – tidlig innsats og inkluderende fellesskap i barnehage, skole og SFO* (St.meld. no. 6 (2019–2020).

Figure 2: The integrated implementation model (Winter 2012: 230).
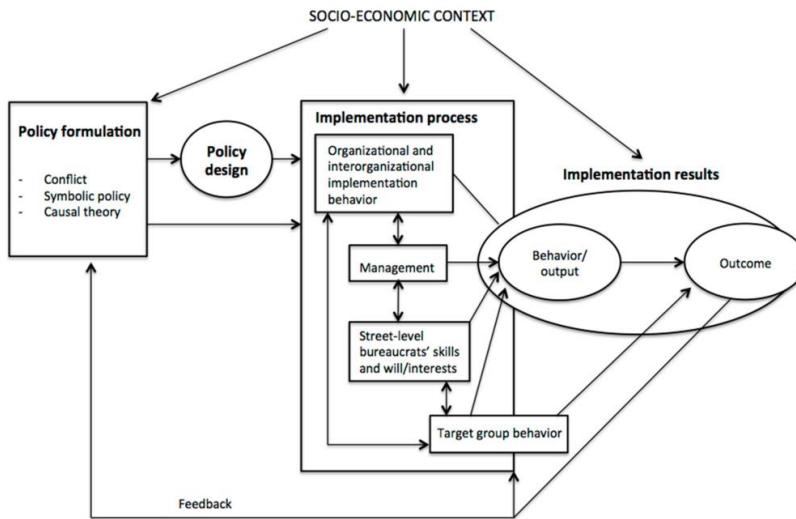
The model includes a set of three main categories of variables: policy formulation, implementation process and implementation results. Hence, the model as a whole, centres around on the relationship between these three sets of variables. Policy design serves as an intermediate variable. The model both focuses on implementation behaviours (output) and the outcomes in relation to official policy objectives (ibid). Consequently, I have focused on three of the implementation variables: policy formulation, organisational and interorganisational behaviour and street-level bureaucrats' skills and will/interests. The integrated implementation model provides an analytical framework for how to study the implementation of policies aimed at reducing dropout, or those policies at the intersection of education and welfare. According to the integrated implementation model, the *policy formulation* process and design is the first set of factors that affect the implementation process. The roots of the implementation problems can often be found in the prior policy formulation process (ibid: 230). As such, the policy formulation and design process emphasise the continuous and dynamic relationship between goals and means and between policy and action by recognising the formulation of policies

at different stages of the policy process (Ingraham 1987). The implementation process consists of both the *organisational and interorganisational* implementation behaviour, as well as street-level bureaucratic behaviour. The interorganisational implementation behaviour refers to different degrees of commitment and coordination (Winter 2012). Street-level bureaucrat behaviour is also included in the model because the integrated implementation model sees the behaviours of the street-level bureaucrats as crucial in the implementation of many public policies (ibid). The model provides a framework for the three research articles in the current thesis in accordance with the characteristics covered in the model.

Figure 3: The three articles in relation to the selected variables within the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012: 230).

1.	Looking through the Policy Window: How PISA temporarily changed the institutional structures in Norway	→	Policy formulation
2.	Implementing Cross- Sectoral Policies: The importance of Institutional Context	→	Organizational / inter-organizational behaviour
3.	The teacher's role in conflicting pressure: Non-teacher professionals and their encounter with schools as organizations	→	Street-level bureaucratic behaviour
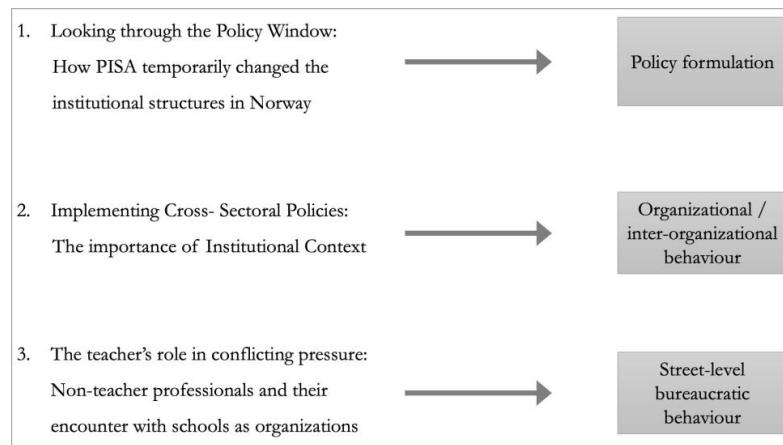
The integrated implementation model is a framework where the basic prerequisites are that in order to understand and explain implementation, a number of variables must be studied. Thus, I need a theoretical framework that can benefit my analysis of how to explain both policy formulation and how policies are implemented. I argue in favour of combining two different theoretical points of departure to examine these two areas in different ways. Examining the meso level, I rely on the historical institutionalist theory, especially the works of Steinmo et al. (1992), Thelen (2003), Streeck and Thelen (2005) and Mahoney

and Thelen (2010a), and the general assumption that institutions and social regimes change in certain ways over time. Historical institutionalism benefits my analysis of two strong institutionalised sectors—education and welfare—and their correlating relationship and silo-influenced way of thinking. Consequently, I consider that institutions change in accordance with social, political and economic conditions, which is in line with the historical institutionalists' perspectives, who see institutional outlooks and preferences as framed by the past rather than viewing human choice as influenced by static institutional constraints (Steinmo et al. 1992).

One of the key variables in the implementation process is street-level bureaucrats' and frontline workers' practices. As such, at the micro level, I rely on Lipsky's (1980) theory of *street-level bureaucrats*, along with March and Olsen's (1998) concept *logics of appropriateness* and *logic of consequences*. The two theories will benefit my depiction of what happens when policies are encountered at the local level because both theories are grounded on the basic assumptions of how actors and individuals will act within a given institutional context. However, the two theories partly contradict each other and are at least partly based on different assumptions. A combination of the two can prove to be beneficial to explore street-level behaviour and actions. Based on both Lipsky's theory and the integrated implementation model, I argue that employees in both the education and welfare sectors, responsible for young people in danger of dropout; the street-level bureaucrats, play an important role when interpreting and implementing new policies or initiatives determined by national authorities. Accordingly, the street-level informants all act in line with different logics and within different contexts.

1.3. Thesis Outline

The rest of the introductory thesis is structured as follows: In chapter 2, I provide more background and context as I present and deliberate on the concepts regarding the welfare state, education policies, governing the field of education

and dropout as both an issue and concept. In chapter 3, I present my theoretical framework. Chapter 4 emphasises the methods and sources of data I have used, with a focus on a case study method, qualitative interviews and document analysis. In chapter 5, I present a summary of the individual articles and a discussion of the empirical findings. Finally, chapter 6 presents the concluding remarks concerning the main research questions and the empirical and theoretical contributions the current thesis makes. The three articles will appear after this along with the appendix, which consists of interview guides and approval from the NSD[5].

[5] Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Education forms the basis for economic growth and value creation and for the individual's personal development and future opportunities. That is why it is also a goal for the government that it must be good access to education for the entire population, independently of social background and geographical affiliation. It is worrying that so many of the students drop out in upper secondary education, especially by the vocational fields of study.

The Norwegian Ministry of Education Meld. St. 13 (2011- 2012): 22 (my translation)

Research on both welfare and education is multifaceted and conducted by several fields of research with various angles and areas of focus. The main task of this chapter is to provide a context for the thesis as a whole and for the empirical analyses presented in the articles. First, I will introduce some ideas and theories on the Norwegian welfare state. Then, I will provide some further context for the implementation context (Figure 1) presented in chapter 1 by discussing national policies and local implementation.

2.1. The Norwegian Welfare State

The welfare state ensures that the state is responsible for securing citizens with some basic welfare needs (Esping-Andersen 1990). An important characteristic of the Norwegian welfare state as a whole is equality. This means small income differences and compared to other countries, low levels of poverty (Fritzell and Lundberg 2005). Often described as a social democratic welfare state regime (Esping-Andersen 1990), one of the most distinctive traits of Norwegian welfare policies is that public benefits are instituted as *social rights* (Kildal 2013). In principle, the schemes are *universal*, covering all residents, regardless of achievements or financial means. Already in the early twentieth century, the idea that the state was at least partially responsible for citizens economically and socially started to take root in Western European states (Kuhnle 2000: 209). From the 1950s and up until the 1970s, the citizens in Western Europe

increasingly demanded more social rights (Kildal 2013). This eventually led to a great expansion of national welfare programmes (Hatland 2011: 13-15), introducing child benefit for all families with more than one child (1946), sickness allowance for all income earners (1956), retirement pension for all (1957) and disability benefits to everyone of working age (1961). Widow and single mother's allowance was introduced in 1963, while the National Insurance Act (*Folketrygden*), which unified and coordinated all the welfare schemes as a whole, were introduced starting on January 1, 1967 (ibid). It is common to use the term social policy as a collective term for public health services, social care and various income protection schemes (social security, etc.). As mentioned, welfare policy is a more comprehensive term than social policy because it includes most areas of public policy that aim to influence the welfare of the population (Hjelmtveit 2009), such as economic policies, education and housing policy (Kildal and Kuhlne 2018). Hence, it appears even more peculiar that education has been overlooked within the field of welfare research. Applying Esping-Andersen's (1990) distinction, the Norwegian welfare state is classified as being representative of a social democratic welfare regime. The other two welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999) are, as a comparison, characterised by an emphasis on the market (liberal) or on traditional values and the family as a support system (conservative or traditional). Among the most prominent and costly welfare benefits in Norway are generous parental leave and arrangements for working mothers. The provision and subsidising of childcare institutions, such as both kindergarten and after-school care, have improved the possibilities for combining work and motherhood, explaining the high rates of female labour market participation. Among Western welfare states, the Scandinavian countries enjoy the highest rates of female employment, which is substantially larger than other European countries (Statistics Norway 2019). Labour market policies have been a cornerstone of the Norwegian welfare state, and a prerequisite for obtaining such welfare systems and benefits has been a political commitment to achieve *full employment for all*. In other words, an important element of the internal logic in these welfare states is the close relation between the institution

of welfare and the institution of work; the Scandinavian countries stand out as both 'strong welfare states' and 'strong work societies' (Kildal 2013: 91).

2.2. Education as Welfare Policy

Some researchers have tried to enhance education's position within social policy and welfare research. For instance, Busemeyer and Nikolai (2010) criticise Wilensky for sidestepping education as an area vital to the welfare state literature in his seminal work on *The Welfare State and Equality* (1975). In *Oxford's Handbook on The Welfare State*, Busemeyer and Nikolai write a chapter on education, referring to its seemingly forgotten role within the welfare state. They refer to Wilensky's idea that the inherent differences between education and social policies would necessitate an analytical strategy that could systematically distinguish between the two (Wilensky 1975). Wilensky claims that there are important differences between education and social policies associated with the different principals of social justice that the two policies serve, that is, equality of opportunities versus equality of outcomes (1975). Allmendinger and Leibfried (2003) argue the investments in education also create public benefits: a higher level of general education increases productivity and the economic well-being of a society, which can be an important social policy instrument for promoting the equality of opportunities and reducing social inequality. However, Busemeyer and Nikolai (2010) insist that considering the knowledge economy and the enhanced importance of human capital, this still seems increasingly inadequate.

Walther (2006) presents a classification of transition regimes that emphasise collective social responsibility, individual motivation and personal development as the characteristics of the Nordic universalistic regime of youth transitions. In line with Walter, other researchers have also argued for the inherent correlation between welfare, education and dropout (Jørgensen, Järvinen and Lundahl 2019, Helgøy, Homme, Lundahl and Rönnberg 2019, Alexiadou, Helgøy and Homme 2019). Jørgensen et al. argue that Nordic labour markets are increasingly inaccessible for certain groups of youth, such as early school leavers and migrant

youth, and the political discourse is marked more by ideas of employability and vulnerability than of personal development and citizenship (Jørgensen et al. 2019: 278). Similarly, Helgøy et al. (2019) analyse national policy measures intended to combat low upper secondary education completion rates in Norway and Sweden, which are often regarded as representing a social democratic welfare model and a universalistic transition regime; their analysis shows how national governance structures shape and influence policy design in the context of an increasingly diversified Nordic social democratic welfare state regime. Also, Alexiadou et al. (2019: 297) point towards a recognition of how transitions between stages of schooling and from school to postschool avenues are not always smooth; success in these areas is a reflection of the wider welfare arrangements that frame and regulate the within-education transitions and the intersections between education institutions, labour markets, family and social networks.

Accordingly, policy intervention in the field of education might be a more important determinant of equality than what is implied by Wilensky (Kaufmann 2003, Busemeyer and Nikolai 2010). Much like Wilensky, Esping-Andersen also has received criticism for not focusing enough on the educational aspect within the social democratic welfare state in his books (1990, 1996). He later asserts (2005):

> *It is a pretty safe guess that youth with poor cognitive skills or inadequate schooling today will become tomorrow's precarious workers, likely to face a lifetime of low wages, poor-quality jobs, and frequent spells of unemployment or assistance dependency* (Esping -Andersen 2005: 147).

In his chapter in *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries* (2005), he emphasises the importance of investing in children and the importance of early school efforts (147-163).

2.3. Dropout: An Issue of the Welfare State

The technical definition of dropout in Norway is not achieved academic or vocational qualifications within five years after starting upper secondary school (Directorate for Education and Training 2019a). This definition has been set by the Norwegian educational authorities as a measurement and management indicator, and thus, the definition sets the framework for what is considered the maximum time one can spend on upper secondary school (Markussen 2010a, Reegård and Rogstad 2016). This percentage also includes those who have actively left school, as well as pupils who have completed but failed one or more subjects, in addition to those who are still in upper secondary education but have taken more than five years to complete their education. By comparison, Denmark's official aim includes 95% of each birth cohort having completed their education within 25 years after leaving upper secondary school (Markussen 2010a, The Danish Ministry of Education and Science 2015). During the early years of 2000, the EU used the terms dropout and 'early school leaving' (ESL) synonymously (European Council 2000). However, in recent years, the concept of early school leavers from education and training has been preferred (Eurostat 2016b). The EU's official definition refers to a person aged 18 to 24 who has finished no more than a lower secondary education and is not involved in further education or training (Eurostat 2016b). In other words, the EU defines everyone in the 18–24 age range who has not completed more than secondary school as a dropout unless they are still in education. Included in the Norwegian definition is an implicit ideal that upper secondary education should be completed before starting any other full-time activity. However, a significant difference between the Norwegian definition and the EU's definition is that the Norwegian one includes young people who are still in upper secondary education, in the dropout category. The concept itself—dropout—has been much debated in both media and research (see Markussen 2010a) because it comes with some stigma and signifies a lack of accomplishment. Other terms have been suggested, such as *to deselect* to signify that leaving school also can be an active choice (Markussen 2010b). In line with this, national authorities in Norway have opted for the more positive term

increased completion₆ (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2014). In European research, the term NEET₇ (Eurofound 2012, 2014) is often applied.

However, some pupils go straight into work, for example, in the primary industries in Norway, and others need more time than the designated five years. Such changes are often not socio-economically favourable, but for the individual, this might be a liberation. Also, a pupil's reasons for not completing upper secondary school can be complex and multifaceted (Falch and Nyhus 2009, Høst and Michelsen 2010, Reegård and Rogstad 2016, Vogt 2017). A substantial part of the research on dropout concerns the socio-economic consequences of young people not finishing upper secondary education. As communicated through official documents, in Norway, it is an expressed political goal that as many people as possible should complete upper secondary school (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2016a, 2016b, 2017a, 2017b, 2020). Education is considered increasingly important to procure jobs in a knowledge-based economy (NOU 2014: 14). The risk of being unemployed, receiving social security benefits and being out of the workforce is more than twice as high for the group with lower secondary school as their highest education than for the group with completed upper secondary education (The Norwegian Ministry of Finance 2017). Historically, the total cost of dropout has been substantial, and in 2010 (Hernes 2010), the sum was estimated close to 5 billion for each age cohort. In political thinking about the social investment state (Morel, Palier and Palme 2012), countries obtain greater returns on public measures the sooner in the life cycle they are deployed. Therefore, early efforts are considered particularly important (Vik 2015). A report written by Falch, Johannesen and Strøm at the Centre of Economic Research at NTNU (2009) shows that if the number of pupils completing upper secondary school increases from 70%, up towards 80% completion rate, the socio-economic gain would be 5.4 billion NOK each year.

₆ In Norwegian, the term is '*bedre gjennomføring*'. The new dropout initiative was renamed 'increased completion of upper secondary education'.
₇ NEET is short for 'not in employment or education'.

2.3.1. What causes pupils to dropout?

The Norwegian education system has strong equalising and inclusive ideals. At the same time, research shows that social inequality is a contributing factor to dropout (Bakken and Elstad 2012). Both international and Norwegian research points to four main reasons for dropout: social background, earlier school performance, academic commitment and social commitment, in addition to other contextual variables (Lamb et al. 2004, Markussen 2010a, Traag and van der Velden 2008).

Dropout can be viewed as an issue influenced by families' perceptions of the school system and the values of education, as well as their social values. Some researchers argue that middle-class children are more committed to the values facilitated through education (Boudon 1974, Markussen 2010b, Mogstad and Rege 2009). Accordingly, Audas and Willms (2001: 31) report a clear link between early childhood experience and successful graduation from high school. Falch et al. (2010) report that the most important factor affecting whether young people dropout is the average grade level they receive from elementary school because this will influence how they handle upper secondary education. Also, Borge et al. (2011) state that social background, earlier school performance, academic commitment and social commitment cannot explain how and why there is such a variation in dropout rates between counties and regions in Norway; they point towards the importance of contextual variables such as the county municipalities' role as school owners.

One last influencing factor is the issue of mental health, which is often considered a major impacting factor as to why pupils leave school. One in four pupils who leave in the middle of the school year blame it on different psychological issues (Markussen and Seland 2012). In a survey for teachers, principals and school owners that was conducted by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training in 2014, half of the teachers stated that they did not have sufficient

competence to cater to students with mental difficulties, and about 30% stated that they lacked both the time and resources for facilitation. Furthermore, the respondents answered that there was a concern among many teachers that the attention paid to these matters took the focus away from school subjects (Holen and Waagene 2014).

From a socio-economic perspective, there is a need for competence acquired through education and for young people to enter the workplace to contribute to the community through paying taxes, thus contributing to the welfare system. At the same time, some researchers maintain that there is a need to view this from another perspective, too (Høst and Michelsen 2010, Høst 2011, Vogt 2017, Reegård and Rogstad 2016). For some, dropout might have serious consequences, while for others, it may represent a much-needed change of course (Høst and Michelsen 2010).

2.3.2. The Aftermath of the Reform of 1994

In Norway, the major reform of 1994 is seen as partially responsible for the debate concerning dropout. The reform is best known and criticised for introducing more theory into the vocational subjects (Hegna, Dæhlen, Smette and Wollscheid 2012: 24). It also standardised and restructured upper secondary education, which has received far less attention (Vogt 2017). This standardisation provided new opportunities to measure dropout, which was also partially due to the OECD providing comparative data through international tests (Grek 2009, Grek and Ozga 2009). Where there previously had existed a large variety of different educational courses and training practices, these were now subject to the same basic course with two years in school followed by two years in teaching (Michelsen, Olsen and Høst 2014, Vogt 2008). Accordingly, there are fewer pupils who complete vocational studies within five years than pupils who complete general studies. Among those who start vocational studies, just over half completed within five years (The Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training 2019). To have some perspective as to why these numbers are so high,

the vocational education programmes have a 'built-in structural barrier' after the second year (Markussen 2016: 39). The pupils are then dependent on getting an apprenticeship contract, and historically, this has proven difficult (The Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training 2019). In male-dominated occupations, where dropout numbers are highest, poor access to apprenticeships has been a particularly big problem (Vogt 2008).

2.4. Governing Education

Although Norwegian education has a strong unitary tradition, local autonomy is of vital importance. The municipalities have had various degrees of responsibility for basic education within state legal frameworks (Helgøy and Homme 2017) because the principle of local self-government is quite strong in Norway. However, the Norwegian government sets the goals and framework for the entire educational system. The county governors' offices8 are responsible for ensuring the link between central educational authorities and municipalities and counties. The primary and lower secondary schools are run by the municipalities, while the upper secondary schools are run by the county municipalities. Although both the municipality and county municipalities as local school owners have some leeway when it comes to the practical organisation of the schools, the Norwegian Ministry of Education has the overall responsibility for the schools. The municipalities and counties, being separate school owners, are responsible for implementing policies coming from the central government.

The definition of what the school is and should be has changed over time, from Christian confirmation preparations to educational institutions and from a civic education to providing the individual with opportunities to develop their abilities and talents (Homme 2008). The school is at the heart of the municipal tradition and the very basis for organising the local government (Bernt 2001). Over time, the state has given municipalities the responsibility to carry out new tasks, and

---

8 The county governors' offices are the national authorities' representative at the regional level – *Fylkesmannen*.

thus, the municipalities have grown in scope (Page 1991, Fimreite et al. 2007). Thus, the school's placement within the municipal organisation has changed, and the degree of governmental control has varied over the past 70 years (Homme 2008). This is because of the municipal organisation having grown but is also a result of multiple municipal reforms (Homme 2008). Several of the initiatives towards change and reform also within the educational sector have been initiated by the municipalities, hence showing how changes and reforms are not all because of strong governmental control. Still, the government has designed ad hoc laws that regulate the relationship between the local and central level, leading to the municipalities becoming organisational-style mirror images of the central state administration (Fimreite et al. 2007). This was particularly evident during a period after World War II—especially in the 1970s and 1980s—up until the Municipal Act of 1992 (Homme 2008). Accordingly, this sectorisation of the municipal level has been somewhat modified over the past 30 years; still, the social democratic development of the welfare state has been based on the municipalities being the central implementers of the welfare services (ibid).

2.4.1.   Implementing National Policies

A great number of policy initiatives have been instigated from the central government and from educational authorities to prevent dropout. Being on the receiving end designates schools as an important arena in preventive work, but also increases expectations as to what the teachers' mandates should contain. Early prevention and intervention are seen as vital, yet educational outcomes are increasingly an area of attention for management through objectives and results (Lægreid, Roness and Rubecksen 2006). The OECD provides an accumulative pressure towards educational authorities through testing regimes and comparative data. Under this pressure, Norwegian national authorities have introduced several promotions emphasising that young people without an upper secondary education can face increased risks of unemployment and social exclusion (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2011, 2017a, NOU 2019: 3). Criticism on the efforts against dropout have often centred on the fact that the

complexity surrounding dropout has not been acknowledged by national authorities (Hofgaard and Paulsen 2014). Hence, to further examine in what way national policies at the intersection between education and welfare are interpreted and implemented at the local level, I studied two government initiatives and how they were interpreted and implemented locally. The results are presented in articles 2 and 3. In the following sections, I present the two policies that served as the points of departure for my research.

2.4.2. The Mentor Scheme

In 2011, the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Families instigated a pilot called the mentor scheme (MS)[9]. The MS was a small-scale policy initiative implemented in a limited number of municipalities. The municipalities actively applied to the ministry to take part of this initiative. The aim was to strengthen school ties and further school achievement among young people aged 14–23 who were in danger of dropping out (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2011). The identifiable warnings were signs of marginalisation, such as poor school achievement and truancy. This initiative was aimed specifically at young people with complex needs and who needed extra attention provided by an adult and who could be managing the multiple services often involved, such as the Child Welfare Offices, educational and psychological counselling services (PPT) and so forth. The initial objective was that the mentor would provide close and personal guidance and counselling, with everyday issues such as wake-up calls, follow-up appointments, homework and so on. A characteristic feature of the initiative was how it was not initiated by the educational sector itself but still aimed to be implemented locally involving the schools, meaning it was initiated by one sector and implemented in another. Because the educational sector has been known to be somewhat autonomous, it was of interest to observe how the implementation process would progress.

[9] The mentor scheme is my translation of the name *Los-prosjektet*, in Norwegian.

2.4.3.　Introducing the Non-teacher Professional at School level

In 2009, a government committee initiated by the Norwegian Ministry of Education conveyed an increasing conflict between social and educational issues affecting teachers' time spent at school. The time spent on individual pupils' issues that were not educationally related were named as a major 'time thief', which again removed attention from providing proper education to the remaining pupils. In the following white paper (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2010), a suggestion was made for providing a team of non-teacher professionals[10] who could relieve the teacher and providing more time towards actual educational matters instead. Because of this, I chose to employ the term non-teacher professional as a general term to have a wide reach[11]. Emphasis was placed on the need to strengthen the interdisciplinary competence to meet these challenges by employing non-teacher professionals (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2009). Teachers should be given more time for the core assignments related to teaching, curriculum work and classroom management. Encouraging the use of non-teacher professionals in schools was an incentive initiated to free up teachers' time, helping them focus on teaching; hence, a designated person at school could attend to the psychosocial learning environment at school and, as such, perhaps prevent pupils from dropout.

Levels of satisfaction and motivation constitute an important basis for pupils' school life and performance (Wiborg et al. 2011). This designates the school as an important arena in establishing preventive work because both children and young people spend a considerable amount of their lives there. This, however, increases the expectations of the schools and teachers in terms of what to take responsibility for and what to put into force. Prevention and early intervention are perceived as important but are experienced as taking attention away from school subjects and learning objectives.

---

10 In the white paper, the non-teacher professionals are referred to as *andre yrkesgrupper i skolen*.
11 In Norwegian, the non-teacher professional I have focused on are called *miljøarbeider*. The term non-teacher professional is a more general term than others such as *milieu therapist* and *school care workers.*

2.5. Summing up

In this chapter, I provided some context and background information for the articles and thesis as a whole. My aim has been to illustrate the tensions between welfare and education, as well as along the national and local dimensions. Because education has been more or less disregarded within welfare research, I find it necessary to go into detail as to why I find education to be an essential component; this is illustrated by the issue of dropout. Moving on to the theoretical chapter, I will present my overall theoretical framework. However, I will also elaborate further on the challenges that can appear when implementing national policies at the local level.

3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Although the individual articles can be read and understood independently, the function of this theoretical chapter is to provide an overarching framework for the three articles. As I showed in the introductory chapter, the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012) provides an analytical framework for the three articles. The articles aim to illustrate three different variables within this model to provide a broader picture of the implementation process itself. However, in this chapter, I elaborate on the theoretical framework to further elaborate on my research question. I argue in favour of combining two different theoretical points of departure that are constructed to examine both the meso and micro levels of policy implementation.

The theoretical framework aims to serve two purposes:

  a) Contribute to the understanding of the link between two sectors initiating policies at the intersection between welfare and education
  b) Benefit the analysis of how national policies are modified and reshaped when encountering local contexts.

The combination of a street-level approach and institutional perspectives will further form the basis for an overall analysis of the three articles of the current dissertation, which collectively answer the overall problem. I commence this chapter by clarifying some concepts. Following this, I take on a historical institutional perspective to elaborate on the two strong institutionalised sectors prominent in the current thesis: education and welfare. Second, to understand what happens when policies are encountered at the local level, I use the concept of street-level bureaucrats.

3.1. A Clarification of the Theoretical Concepts Used

In the previous chapter, I elaborated on the distinction between social and welfare policies, as well as concepts such as the welfare state, the Nordic welfare model and dropout. Here, I briefly elaborate on some key theoretical concepts used in the present thesis.

First, *institution* is a key concept. I rely on Thelen et al. and follow the idea of an institution as collectively enforced expectations with respect to the behaviour of specific categories of actors or to the performance of certain activities (Streeck and Thelen 2005: 13). An institution includes both formal organisations and informal rules and procedures conducted by the organisational structure (Steinmo et al. 1992: 2). Also, the concept of *sector* needs elaboration. I follow the interpretation of a sector as the state's own division of society and a way for the state to organise its own attention (see Brekke et al. 2003: 15). Thus, the sector is part of the public political system linked to formal structures, laws and regulatory regimes within a field of law. The different parts of a sector have different tasks and partly different responsibilities, and they are part of a hierarchical superior and subordinate relationship (Homme 2008: 120). Formal changes in municipal legislation and in the state education administration have led to a greater integration of schools in to other sectors municipal sector (ibid). The welfare sector can be seen as more comprehensive, including employment, public benefits, health and family.

3.2. At Meso Level—A Historical Institutional Perspective

To understand and interpret national policies, I argue that institutions change in accordance with social, political and economic conditions and that different institutional contexts promote different policy outcomes. Following Thelen (2002: 92), most historical institutionalists would stress that institutions are important not just in how they constrain individual choices or affect individual strategies, but also in how they affect the articulation of interests, particularly the articulation of collective interests. Accordingly, historical institutionalism emphasises the way institutional processes unfold over time (Steinmo and Thelen 1992, Thelen 2003: 92). Returning to my analytical framework and the integrated implementation model (2012), the policy formulation or agenda setting is seen as occurring in a specific context marked by distinctive institutions and ideas (Sidney 2007: 84). In article 1, I employ Kingdon's (1995) agenda setting theory as an analytical framework to examine how policies can be put on the agenda. Agenda setting can enlighten how certain issues gain the attention of the government so that policy alternatives can be identified and examined (ibid). Consequently, policy alternatives are grounded in constraining policy paradigms, and political actors seek to frame alternatives in a coherent manner to sell them to the public (Béland 2005: 15). Following this stage in the public policy process comes the *policy formulation,* which involves recognising a set of policy alternatives to address a problem and narrowing that set of solutions in preparation for the final policy decision (Winter 2012). Institutional arenas, such as the welfare and educational sector, both have rules and norms. Accordingly, policy formulation takes place at a particular moment that is influenced by certain dominant ideas related to the policy issue; these ideas will influence actors' arguments in favour of particular solutions and their perceptions and preferences when they make specific policy decisions (ibid). In line with this, historical institutionalism considers that public policies are guided by existing and past arrangements; therefore, policy choices made in the past also shape the choices made today (Thelen 2004*)*. Political and administrative organisations are path dependent. Thus, radical changes in public administration are a hopeless

endeavour in such contexts. The main idea is that institutions seem to preserve the characteristics they received when they were established (Stinchombe 1965). Political inaction can stem from a process of *path dependency*, seeing as certain policies, once approved, may create obstacles that make them challenging to change (Mahoney and Thelen 2010b: 6). Theories on path dependency have, however, been accused of being better at explaining why change is not possible than at explaining when it is possible (Steinmo et al. 1992: 14). The understanding of institutional change as path dependent has been challenged by the theory of punctured equilibrium within historical institutionalism: long periods of stability that are interrupted by crises require fundamental change and the establishment of a new institution (Steinmo et al. 1992: 15). External shocks induce the puncture of the institutions' equilibrium.[12] The idea that institutions change over time while appearing to show stability has inspired a number of scholars to identify and describe the mechanisms of incremental institutional change. Thelen introduces, defines and develops a number of such mechanisms (e.g., Thelen 1999, 2003, Mahoney and Thelen 2010, Streeck and Thelen 2005). One of these mechanisms is *layering*. Thelen uses the concept to explain gradual institutional transformation through a process in which new elements are attached to existing institutions and so gradually change their status and structure. It is essential that the new does not replace the old but rather is added to it. Change can occur beneath the surface of apparently stable institutional arrangements, such as through processes of 'layering' or by 'conversion', which refers to a redirection of the institution to a new set of goals (Thelen 2003). Here, the concept of drift is based on how institutional constancy is not inevitable, meaning that institutions demand constant maintenance (Streeck and Thelen 2005). To endure, institutions need to be reassessed and renegotiated in response to political changes within society (ibid). Following Thelen, the Norwegian educational system is an institution shaped by various political regimes, but most of all, by its own history (Homme 2008). Formal rules have

---

[12] Other institutional theories argue that change only happens when social events that have been pillars of institutional regimes suddenly lapse (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

been laid out on top of each other, some have been changed, others have been retained, and new rules have been added. The educational sector has grown and progressed in accordance with certain social, political and economic conditions. However, instead of drastic change, the Norwegian strategy appears to have been a form of layering through restructuring over a long period (Helgøy and Homme 2003).

3.2.1. Understanding Institutional Contexts

Historical institutionalism is grounded in the assumption that a historically constructed set of institutional constraints and opportunities affects the behaviour of political actors and interest groups involved in the policy process (Steinmo et al. 1992: 2). In line with this, I have applied the concept of institutional context to clarify in what way the aspects of an institution constitute the context for implementation. I understand an *institutional context* as a confined space where actors cooperate according to accepted and recognised roles. Referring to Ikenberry (1988), Steinmo et.al. (1992: 2) argue that historical institutionalism represents an attempt to illuminate how political struggles 'are mediated by the *institutional setting* in which they take place'. Ikenberry (1988: 223) himself defines an institutional setting as 'the outcome of a confluence of historical forces that shape and reshape the state's organisational structure'. In line with this, the institutional context can be associated with the concept of institutional setting. I consider welfare and education as two separate institutional contexts; these two contexts contain separate institutional conditions that both shape the premise for policy initiatives. Actors are expected to comply with the rules, regardless of what they want to do themselves. Following this line of reasoning, I argue that a social regime defines the institutional context for implementing policy initiatives.

3.3. At Micro Level—The Frontline Workers

The behaviours of street-level bureaucrats are crucial for the implementation of most policies (Winter 2012: 232). Because the integrated implementation model is not a strict casual model, instead being a more dynamic framework, the purpose of the model was not to make a true synthesis between top-down and bottom-up perspectives on implementation (Winter 2012: 242). The aim was to include theoretical elements from various implementation research into an integrated model to understand how implementation works. Accordingly, some top-down researchers see street-level bureaucratic behaviour as a challenge towards implementation, while Winter (2012) and Lipsky (1980) do not. Lipsky (1980) incidentally sees street-level bureaucrats as the real policy makers.

The likelihood of local implementers or street-level bureaucrats deviating from centrally defined policy objectives stems from the pressures imposed on them and how they cope with these pressures. Street-level bureaucrats work within stressful and demanding working situations, often with few resources. Lipsky (2010) asserts that public policy implementation eventually comes down to the people who implement it. Street-level bureaucrats do their best under contradictory and strict conditions, and a strict hierarchical influence will only lead to more opposition (ibid). Therefore, street-level bureaucrats use their discretionary powers to modify policies to achieve the best possible policy outcomes. Having to cope with a substantial workload, street-level bureaucrats develop mechanisms such as creating shortcuts, which are often unauthorised. As Lipsky (2010: xii) asserts, 'The decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures effectively become the public policies they carry out'. With this in mind, the teachers, mentors, and non-teacher professionals employed in schools, who are the street-level bureaucrats in the current thesis, all take part when shaping and implementing new policies or initiatives in local contexts. As a result, the street-level informants all act in line with different logics that influence the ways they behave.

3.3.1.   Logics of Action

Because historical institutionalism focuses less on actors and action, I find it sensible to supplement it with another institutional perspective that can provide some insights into the relationship between institutions and individual/collective behaviour and action to understand why the street-level bureaucrats behave the way they do within their local institutional contexts. It is with this in mind that I employ the two following perspectives: normative and instrumental neo-institutionalism, which essentially illustrate the difference between habitual and deliberate action.

Normative neo-institutionalism is associated with the work of James G. March and Johan P. Olsen (Peters 2014). Here, both formal and informal institutions interact with actors on the grounds of a *logic of appropriateness*. This logic suggests that what appear to be neutral rules and structures involve values that determine the appropriate behaviour for the actors within given settings (March and Olsen 2007). It is argued that political institutions influence the behaviour of actors by shaping their norms, interests, identities and beliefs, which is similar to an institutional context. This means that to a large extent, the actors' preferences are characterised by the institutions to which they are affiliated. The policies are integrative in the sense that the actors seek to convince each other that their proposed solutions are consistent with common needs (March and Olsen 1995: 124). A normative approach does not connect policies to predetermined goals or values but rather considers them as dependent on the specific situation. As I will approach later on, this perspective highlights the formation and development of values and identities of the actors involved (March and Olsen 2007). Actors seek to fulfil the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions (March and Olsen 2007: 2). Inserted in a social role, the actors do what they see as right for themselves in a particular situation. The

appropriateness of the rules includes both cognitive and normative components (March and Olsen 1995: 30-31).

Instrumental (rational choice) new institutionalism has its roots in both economic theory (North 1990) and political science (Ostrom 1990, Scharpf 1999). Within this perspective, the actors act based on a *logic of consequences*, where their preferences are formed independently of the institutions. Following the logic of consequentiality implies treating the possible rules and interpretations as alternatives, and to act in conformity with the rules that constrain conduct is then based on rational calculation and contracts and is motivated by incentives and personal advantage (March and Olsen 2007: 23, also 1989). The ability of an individual actor to receive approval for their own interests depends on resources, threats or promises. Collaboration is a possibility, but normally, actors are most concerned with fulfilling their own needs. The chance of collaborating only occurs when an actor is unable to solve a problem alone. Solving complex societal issues requires some form of coordination; however, according to the instrumental perspective, actors will form horizontal cooperation, where their goals can be more easily and more effectively achieved (March and Olsen 1998). However, it is the institutions that set the framework for actions and define the scope and possibilities for action, but do not affect the action themselves (Ostrom 1990). Following this line of reasoning, the institutional contexts where the street-level bureaucrats do their work also influence how they behave and how they interpret national policies. Although there is some tendency for society to be divided into separate spheres, each one based primarily on either consequential calculation or rules, the two logics are not mutually exclusive (March and Olsen 1995). Nevertheless, the explanatory framework operates in an interaction and is considered supplementary and not at all mutually exclusive. All sorts of actions are assumed to involve elements of separate values.

Within local policy implementation, which entails various actors who use different logics for interaction as they calculate consequences and follow rules,

the relationship between the two logics is often understated. Political actors are constituted by their interests, by the ways in which they evaluate their expected consequences and by the rules embedded in their identities and political institutions (March and Olsen 1998: 951). Lipsky's street-level bureaucracy approach has often been connected to rational choice institutionalism and the logic of consequences because street-level bureaucrats are portrayed as playing 'coping games' to gain rewards or avoid sanctions in what are often underfunded and tension-ridden organisational environments (Rice 2019: 70). A wider set of cultural norms and administrative traditions have also been shown to play a role in street-level work (see Harrits and Møller 2014: 463). My view is that a combination of both logics when studying street-level bureaucratic behaviour can be useful, providing a helpful basis for understanding how actors modify policies within the different local institutional contexts.

3.4. Summarising the Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework has been constructed to explore and explain what happens when policies and policy tools at the intersection between welfare and education are implemented in local institutional contexts. Because the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012) serves as analytical framework, I have *policy formulation* following *implementation process* (organisational and interorganisational behaviour and street-level bureaucratic behaviour) as a point of departure. This will assist in the understanding of the meso and micro level within the studied two sectoral policy fields. Using historic institutional theory will benefit the interpretation of national policies and how different institutional contexts will provide different policy outcomes because institutions tend to be modified when within certain social, political and economic conditions. The two sectors—welfare and education—are both infused with rules and norms that influence both the way they formulate policies and are influenced by certain political agendas; this is in view of the fact that historical institutionalism views public policies as guided by existing and past arrangements and policies. Accordingly, at the meso level, historic institutionalism provides an opportunity

to explain and comprehend both stability and change. All the while, at the micro level, the theory on street-level bureaucratic behaviour will enable an understanding of the frontlines' influence on the implementation of national policies within different local institutional contexts. Street-level bureaucrats and their use of discretion are essential when understanding why the same national policies are interpreted and implemented differently in various local contexts. However, to explain street-level behaviour and actions within the implementation process, an additional neo-institutional perspective is beneficial. Because street-level bureaucracy focuses on the role of the street-level bureaucrats and their behaviour through policy implementation, this is another perspective that would be able to show why the street-level bureaucrats behave and act the way they do. Applying normative and instrumental neo-institutionalism can accordingly illustrate the difference between habitual and deliberate action among street-level bureaucrats, meaning how they chose to interpret and implement national dropout policies within certain institutional contexts. Because the historic institutional theory does not elaborate on the actors and their actions, applying the concepts of *logic of consequentiality* and *logic of appropriateness* will complement and expand the use of the historic institutionalist theory.

4. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Drawing from the theory of inference of philosopher Charles S. Peirce, I agree that abduction, rather than induction, should be the guiding principle of empirically based theory construction (Ba 2020). Abduction refers to a creative inferential process aimed at producing new hypotheses and theories based on surprising research evidence (Peirce 1955, Stark 2019). When using an abductive analytical approach, the researcher seeks to find the best explanation that elucidates surprising facts or puzzles and thus leads to new theoretical insight (Ba 2020: 12). Therefore, the current thesis has followed an abductive approach, where what is studied is not given in advance but appears in the research material, while the analysis of the material is done with an understanding and theoretical orientation in hand (Peirce 1955, Stark 2019). Thus, this thesis is explorative in nature because the analysis is mainly based on what appears in the material instead of empirically analysed with a predetermined theory (Peirce 1955). In this chapter, I elaborate on my methodological approach and my research design before moving on to the data I have chosen to use and why, as well as the analysis of those data. Finally, I tend to some methodological considerations.

4.1. A Case Study Approach

My aim is to examine the implementation of national policies in the local institutional context. I have argued for education and welfare research to be more intertwined by employing dropout as an overall case. Relying on Yin (2014), case studies are empirical inquiries that 'investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin 2013: 13). Although case studies have been criticised, Flyvbjerg effectively strikes back by claiming that 'good social science is problem driven and not methodology driven in the sense that it employs those methods that for a given problematic, best help answer the research questions at hand' (2011:242). Following Flyvbjerg, I see a case study as the most beneficial approach to illuminate my research question because case

studies allow for rich descriptions. Qualitative case studies contribute to capturing the information and factors one initially did not know about (Gomm et al. 2000). Because politics and policies are constantly changing, I want to apply a flexible and investigative approach to capture the dynamic interactions between welfare and education policies, as well as the implementation of national policies in local contexts.

4.2. Research Design

My thesis is a part of a larger research project financed by the Research Council of Norway's programme for research and innovation in the educational sector (FINNUT)[13]. The project is called 'Lost in Transition. Governance, Management and Organisation of Policy Programmes to Improve Completion of Upper Secondary Education', and the programme addresses the complexity of implementing policies to prevent dropout. The main project examines what works when translating educational policy objectives into practical action: which action is taken, how the policy measures are governed and implemented and how they function at the school level. With the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012) in mind, it was easier to identify the themes I wanted to pursue. Accordingly, this framework served as my research design. For article 1, I wanted to study *policy formulation* or how certain policies are put on the agenda. In article 2, my focus was on the *organisational and interorganisational practices* surrounding the implementation a policy, while in article 3, I wanted to pursue *street-level bureaucratic behaviour* in schools. An abductive approach, which refers to a creative inferential process where what is studied is not known in advance, means having an overall framework can be useful to systematise and can lay the grounds for the overall topics that are to be covered. In a sense, the sources of data and the interviews were already there within the model. Following this, I considered it necessary to interview informants at different levels of government, at the municipal level and at the school level.

---

[13] The project consisted of me as a PhD alongside three other researchers at Uni Research Rokkan Centre for Social Studies (now NORCE- Norwegian Research Centre Social Science).

4.3. Data Collection and Methods of Analysis

The current thesis relies on data from qualitative semistructured interviews and policy documents. The data gathered were collected in three counties and the largest municipality within the county. The three counties were selected based on the results conducted through a survey submitted to all the counties in Norway, which was performed at the start of the project period (Homme and Hope 2017). The three counties were selected based on their varying dropout numbers. Additionally, interviews were also performed at the national level of government, both at parliament (*Stortinget*) and with relevant informants within two ministries and their underlying departments. Here, I will account for the use of the two prominent sources of data—interview data and official documents—and how these two sources of data were analysed. The analysis was conducted using an abductive approach (Pierce 1955, Stark 2019), where topics were identified empirically, still the analysis was also directed by my preunderstanding of the topic. I have chosen to present the source of data and analysis for each article individually.

4.3.1. Article 1: A Qualitative Document Analysis

To study how policies are formulated or put on the agenda, I wanted to use a policy window as a point of departure. Therefore, the PISA shock (Waldow 2009, Sjøberg 2014, Niemann 2015, Volckmar 2018) and the aftermath of the policy window that appeared became the topic of this article. I wanted to perform a document analysis of relevant policy documents and secondary literature within this specific time frame. Thus, I applied a method of research in which I interpreted the documents to give meaning around a specific topic. All relevant political documents within a specific time frame and within the field of education had to be read and categorised accordingly. A logical starting point was the two official reports introduced in 2002 and 2003 (NOU 2002: 10, NOU 2003: 16), the first two important documents after the PISA shock. These two documents were

shaping what would be a new education policy (Tønnesen 2004, Bergesen 2006). The remaining documents were obtained through nonprobability sampling techniques (Petticrew and Roberts 2006), otherwise known as snowball sampling, using these two official reports to further retrieve documents to enlighten the political processes occurring around that period (Noy 2008). All the documents that were selected can be found in Table 1 underneath.

Table 1: Key policy documents between the years 1997 – 2015[14]

Year	OECD	The Norwegian Ministry of Education	Other key documents	The current government
1997			Bondevik I Political Platform: The Voksenåsen agreement	*Bondevik I:* Centre-right coalition
1998	Expert assessment of the Norwegian field of education			
1999	Country note 1999: *Early Childhood Education and Care Policy in Norway*			
2000	The first PISA results Education at a glance			*Stoltenberg I:* Social Democratic Party
2001			The Conservative Party's platform Bondevik II Political Platform: The Sem Agreement	*Bondevik II:* Centre-right minority coalition.
2002	PISA in the News in Norway. December 2000–April 2002 Reviews of National Policies for Education—Lifelong Learning in Norway	Official Norwegian Report 2002:10 - 'First Class, from the first Grade - Suggesting a framework for a national quality assessment system in Norwegian primary and secondary education'		
2003	PISA results	Official Norwegian Report 2003:16 – 'Enhancing the quality of education for all'. White paper no. 16 (2003-2004) 'A culture for learning'.		
2004	Attracting, Developing and Retaining Effective Teachers—Report on Norway			
2005	Education at a glance			*Stoltenberg II:* Red-Green Majority coalition
2006	PISA results Recognising nonformal and informal learning: Country Background Report—Norway	White Paper no. 16 (2006-2007) '… and no one left behind. Early efforts for lifelong learning'. *Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion*		
2007	OECD/CERI *Evidence in education: linking research and policy* Equity in Education Thematic Review Country Analytical Report—Norway	White Paper no. 31 (2007-2008); 'Quality Education'.	The Knowledge Promotion Reform	
2008		White Paper no. 11 (2008-2009) 'The teacher, the role, the education'.		
2009	PISA results	White Paper no. 19 (2009-2010) 'Time for learning'	Stoltenberg II Political Platform: The Soria Moria Agreement	
2010		White Paper no. 22 (2010-2011) 'Motivation, challenges and opportunities' White Paper No. 18 (2010–2011) 'Learning and sodality'		
2011	Reviews of National Policies for Education: *Improving lower secondary schools in Norway*			
2012	PISA results	White Paper no. 20 (2012-2013) 'On the right track'		
2013	Education at a Glance 2013—Country note Norway		Solberg I political platform: The Sundvollen agreement	*Solberg I:* Conservative-Right minority coalition.
2014	Education at a Glance: Country note Norway OECD Skills Strategy Action Report: Norway			
2015	Education Policy Outlook PISA Results	Official Norwegian Report 2015:8 'The school of the future' White Paper No. 28 (2015–2016) 'Subjects, specialization, and comprehension'		

I chose to categorise the different texts under the different labels, such as OECD, PISA, white paper, official reports and the relevant parties' political platforms. These documents were then organised under the five different government

[14] Table 1 is copied from article 1: 'Looking through the policy window: How PISA temporarily changed the institutional structures in Norway'.

constellations during the time between 1997–2015 before I reviewed both printed and electronically written material (see Bowen 2009). To perform a document analysis, I needed a systematic procedure for reviewing large amounts of documents. To do so, I provided a labelling system. In accordance with my framework, the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012), I focused on policy formulation. Accordingly, I found the use of concepts such as agenda setting and multiple streams could be beneficial (Kingdon 1995). Analysing the documents by way of the three streams proved to be effective when describing what happened within a specific time frame. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, a document analysis requires data be examined and interpreted to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin and Strauss 2008; see also Rapley 2007).

4.3.2. Article 2: A Qualitative Thematic Analysis of Interview Data

The aim of this interview study was to provide insights into a national policy on dropout initiated by the welfare sector and how it was interpreted and implemented. Because semistructured interviews are flexible, the respondents could reply however they wished, and the order of the questions were not essential, all depending on how the interview proceeded (see DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). The interviews for article 2 were conducted at the national level[15], as well as with representatives from a municipal department of education in one city municipality and from a second city municipality an urban district administration that coordinates municipal services such as social welfare, adolescence and local community. Table 2 shows how the different informants contributed to article 2.

---

[15] The informants at the national level were from the Norwegian Parliament's committee of education and research, the Norwegian Ministry of Education and the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Families, as well as underlying directorates, including the Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training and the Norwegian Directorate of Children, Youth and Family Affairs.

Table 2: Informants included in article 2

Article no. 2	Informants
Parliament	2
The Norwegian Ministry of Education	1
The Norwegian Ministry of Children and Families	1
Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs	2
City I:	
Municipal department of education	1
Principal	1
Teacher	1
Mentors	2
City II:	
Urban district administration	1
Principal	1
Teachers	2
Mentors	2
In total	17

In article 2, the informants consist of people who all have a connection to the mentor scheme (MS) either as politicians, bureaucrats, teachers or mentors. Relevant candidates were contacted personally by e-mail. This was also the case for the informants working directly on dropout policies within the Norwegian Ministry of Education and the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Families. This proved to be rather uncomplicated because no one denied the initial request for interviews. The interviewees were all explained by giving the background and purpose of the project, and consent was given vocally. As is common in semistructured interviews, an interview guide was prepared in advance, containing a list of topics, themes and questions to be covered during the interview. The interviews were all informal but followed the manual to make sure all the topics were covered[16]. The interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes. Three of the interviews I conducted alone, but usually, two or three of us researchers were together. The interviews focused on local practices and organisational factors when introducing and implementing the MS. The mentors

[16] The interview manual is attached in the appendix.

themselves were asked for collaboration routines both with schools and with other relevant actors. The informants were involved in different ways in the implementation of the policy initiative in the two cities. Because the two cities have different organisational settings, the relevant informants in the two cities varied. The interviews were all audio recorded and then transcribed. The transcribing was done by a select number of research assistants, all of whom were familiar with the routines and details acquired when transcribing the interview data. After a round of interviews were completed, I wrote brief summaries of the interviews conducted within the same organisation (school, municipality, etc.). This was done to preserve the impressions while they were 'fresh in mind'.

When analysing the data, I used a rather loose thematic analysis for identifying themes and patterns and exploring them (Thagaard 2013, Clarke and Braun 2013). The thematic analysis of both flexibility and systematics can provide a rich and detailed account of the interview material. Clarke and Braun (2013) point out that the methodological flexibility provided by a thematic analysis can create certain challenges in meeting with comprehensive data material. One of the challenges is the absence of clear, specific guidelines, which can be both a strength and weakness. To avoid these pitfalls, I followed Clarke and Braun's (2013) six steps to a thematic analysis:

1. Get to know the data
2. Generate introductory codes
3. Search for themes
4. Evaluate themes
5. Define themes
6. Produce written work

The themes I was looking for when analysing these interviews were the ones dealing with the interpretation and understanding of the MS itself. The interview transcripts were analysed through multiple readings and the construction of two tables of central themes and subthemes, one for each institutional context containing the keywords and citations from the interviewees.

4.3.3. Article 3: A Qualitative Thematic Analysis of Interview Data

The aim of this interview study was to provide insights into how a national policy initiative was interpreted and implemented at the school level. In article 3, the informants were from four lower secondary schools in four different cities. To find relevant and fitting schools, we asked the local municipalities for suggestions of specific schools that they knew paid specific attention to dropout-related problems. The selected schools all had a specific drop-related goal or profile or had embraced a (national or local) dropout initiative that made them noteworthy for examining the policies at the intersection between education and welfare. At the school level, an e-mail was written to the principal and the school's main e-mail address asking for permission to perform the interviews. In this e-mail, we explained how we wanted to interview a representative from the educational management, as well as a guidance counsellor, teachers, pupils and other representatives at the school involved in the schools' psychosocial learning environment or more specific measures aimed at preventing dropout. Table 3 shows how the different informants contributed to article 3.

Table 3: Informants included in article 3.

	Article 3				
	Informants				
	Suburb	Satellite city	Metropolis	Industrial city	In total
Educational management	1	1	4	2	8
Teachers	1	1	2	1	5
Counsellors			1	1	2
Non-teacher professional	1	1	1	3	6
Pupils	6	4	3		13
In total	9	7	11	7	34

Within these four schools, the informants were asked about the teachers and the school's collaborative practices involving the non-teacher professional. The non-teacher professionals were asked how they were met by the school and teachers and how they experienced working alongside the teachers. At each school, individual and group interviews were conducted with the principal, teacher, counsellors, health nurse and other informants in charge of activities related to improving the learning environment or to prevent young people from leaving school. The interviewed pupils all signed a declaration of consent to participate. Some interviews were conducted individually and some in groups. The interviews lasted between 30 and 120 minutes. A few of the interviews, however, I did not attend. These interviews were conducted in the 'industrial city' for article 3. The interviews were conducted by my colleagues within the project; however, I did receive a word-for-word transcription of these interviews to perform my analysis.

As in article 2, I used a rather loose thematic analysis as the method of identifying the themes and patterns and exploring them (Thagaard 2013, Braun and Clarke 2013) and followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six steps to a thematic analysis. The themes I was looking for here were related to collaborative practices, including the non-teacher professional at each school. The interview transcripts

were analysed through multiple readings and the construction of four tables, one for each school, and sorted central themes and subthemes, keywords and vital citations from the interviewees accordingly. Table 4 summarises the sources of data and the methodology of the three articles.

Table 4: Data and method used in the three articles.

	Article	Data	Qualitative method
1	Looking through the policy window: How PISA temporarily changed the institutional structures in Norway	Policy documents Secondary literature	Qualitative document analysis
2	Implementing cross-sectoral policies: The importance of institutional context	Case study Interview data	Thematic analysis Identifying recurrent themes
3	Lærerrollen i Krysspress: Nye yrkesgrupper i møte med skolen som organisasjon	Case study Interview data	Thematic analysis

4.4. Methodological Considerations

In my research, I wanted to understand how and in what way national policies are interpreted and implemented in different local institutional contexts. Throughout this chapter, I have provided a description of my research design and the motives behind the chosen procedures. As in all research, other procedures and research designs could have been relevant. However, I was after *thick descriptions* to understand how policies are met and interpreted at the local level (see Geertz 1973).

Regarding sensitive information[17] such as whether to anonymise the informants, the choice was made not to identify the names of the municipalities, schools and interviewees who appear in the material. This choice was made primarily for ethical reasons because I did not want to disclose the individual schools I intended to examine critically. Also, anonymity can have consequences for how openly the interviewees will respond to my questions, and thus, I would hopefully

---

[17] The Lost in Transition project and the project's data have been clarified by the NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data)

obtain richer empirical material. Thus, an assessment had to be made between transparency and the possibility of contextual analysis on the one hand and protection of the interviewers' integrity and the promotion of more sincere responses on the other hand. The semistructured interview format allows for the interviewees' individual backgrounds and traits and personal opinions to influence the interviews. Some interviewees were politicians or employees with a very specific job task; hence, the detailed descriptions could potentially make it difficult to anonymise them; however, this was made clear during the interviews. I also consistently tried to be aware of anonymisation when writing the articles.

4.4.1. Reliability, validity and transferability

Reliability relates to the consistency and trustworthiness of the interview material, the data used and the collection and processing thereof (Kvale and Brinkman 2015). In qualitative research, data are collected through conversations; thus, these data often depend on the context in which they are collected. My understanding and background as a researcher will influence the collection and interpretation of the data, and this is important to be aware of when performing interviews. To reliably secure the interviews and avoid leading questions, I instead used open formulations. I also used a digital recorder; this ensured the interviews were transcribed as accurately as possible. I always wrote summaries after the interviews so that I would remember the essence and main topics; hence, I could double check the transcripts afterwards. This was essential for the interviews I did not attend myself. *Validity* in qualitative interview research relates to whether the method used 'investigates what is intended to investigate' (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015: 246). For instance, this entails having a visible common thread that shows a consistent link between the research questions and the research's use of theory, methodology and data material. An important step in securing validity in the current work is making sure that the research questions are rooted in relevant theories and that the research questions have been transformed into practical interview questions that correspond to the research questions. I have aimed at transparency in the process

so that the reader can follow my choices and arguments and trust what I am aiming to convey. The use of an interview guide ensures that all the questions are asked. Validity in qualitative interviews also relates to the criterion of coherence, which refers to 'the consistency and internal logic of a statement' (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015: 246). The study's transferability relates to the findings of the study being transferable beyond that context that the findings have been mapped to. This is an important question, especially in research, where generalisation is an explicit objective. In certain case studies, transferability need not be a goal because the purpose may be to achieve knowledge that is limited to that specific case (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). Because the ambition of my research is to develop an understanding of how national policies are implemented in local contexts, a certain level of transferability is the intention. Thus, I will return to this in the concluding chapter of the current thesis.

5.

6. SUMMARY OF THE THREE ARTICLES

In this chapter, I present the three articles in more detail, particularly focusing on each of the articles' connection to the overall research question. The articles comprising the current thesis, illuminate different sets of categories within the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012) and will also be placed accordingly within the implementation context (Figure 1) that was presented in the introduction.

6.1. Article 1

- **Looking through the policy window: How PISA temporarily changed the institutional structures in Norway.**

The question raised in this article is how the institutional structures in Norway were affected by the first results of the PISA testing in 2000. This article takes on the *policy formulation* stage, from the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012). I argue that the Norwegian PISA shock (Waldow 2009, Sjøberg 2014, Niemann 2015, Volckmar 2018) was a case of punctuated equilibrium. This 'shock' can explain the fundamental shift in what was previously, an education policy known for its stability and incrementalism (Baumgartner and Jones 2009). Punctuated equilibrium can often occur after a time with path dependency and stability, leading to the opening of policy windows (Kingdon 1995). By joining Kingdon's theory on agenda setting (1995) with a historical institutionalist perspective, my focus was enlightening the dynamic interaction between institutional structures and their contexts. To change these institutional patterns, Béland (2005) argues the need to include factors related to *ideas* to complement the variables related to the legacies of public policies. Accordingly, Béland (2005) suggests a systematic attempt to bring *policy ideas* to the centre of historical institutionalism. Following this, agenda setting and policy formulation can be

viewed as the first two stages of public policy (Winter 2012, Sidney 2007). The first stage—agenda setting—is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public attention (Sidney 2007: 84). Following this is *policy formulation,* which involves recognising a set of policy alternatives to address a problem and narrowing that set of solutions in preparation for the final policy decision (Winter 2012: 230). Thus, formulating the set of alternatives involves identifying a range of broad approaches to a problem and then identifying and designing specific sets of policy tools that constitute each approach (Sidney 2007: 84). The applied method in this article consists of a selective analysis of public documents, political platforms, white papers, government official reports, evaluations and articles both from the Norwegian government and the OECD. The selection of documents was made through snowball sampling, using references as the sources for further research. The findings show that the PISA shock was only temporary, and the drastic changes made in its aftermath were modified to fit the inherent institutional structures within Norwegian society, illustrating a case of layering (Thelen 1999, 2003). The article also establishes how the issue of dropout came to be one of the main policy areas in Norway as a result of an increasing use of OECD data in Norwegian educational policy.

6.2. Article 2

- **Implementing cross-sectoral policies: The importance of institutional context**

In the second article, which was cowritten with Anne Homme, we used a case study approach to investigate the significance of institutional context when implementing a national policy initiative in two different local and institutional contexts. This article focuses on the *organisational and interorganisational behaviour* based on the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012).

The concept of institutional context is defined as a confined space where actors cooperate according to accepted and recognised roles. To illustrate this, we

examine a policy initiative called the Mentor scheme (MS), which was initiated by the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Families, and aimed at the educational sector to prevent dropout. The initiative was small in scale and was employed in limited municipalities across Norway. As a theoretical starting point, we used implementation theory and policy design. We combined selected variables within the integrated implementation model (Winter, 2012) to benefit the analysis of implementing national policies within the two institutional contexts, one in each of the two cities. Accordingly, we established six dimensions inspired by the integrated implementation model (2012) that furthered our analysis of the policy implementation within the two local institutional contexts.

We selected two larger cities in Norway that chose to allocate the managing of the policy initiative in separate ways. In one of the cities, the municipal department of education was given the responsibility for administering and implementing the MS with the goal of accomplishing a close relationship with the schools to achieve successful implementation. In the other city, the MS was located at the urban district administration, which is responsible for coordinating municipal services such as social welfare, adolescence and local community. Accordingly, in City II, the responsibility for the initiative was placed outside of the educational sector all together. Through this, we can illustrate how the relationship between the institutional context and implementation varies between cities and how nationally originated policy initiatives are implemented differently at the local level. In total, 17 interviews served as the foundation for the analysis. The informants were people who all had a connection to the MS at the national or municipal level, either as politicians, bureaucrats, teachers or mentors.

Our findings show how the implementation differed within the two institutional contexts alongside all six of the dimensions we constructed. For instance, various institutional contexts can impact how actors interpret the objective of the policy. As such, the location or organisational starting point of the policy initiative also affected how the policy initiative was implemented. Consequently, poor

implementation was not necessarily the reason for poor policy outcomes (Capano and Woo 2017). Educational policies that originated in different sectors than education can accordingly have difficulties adjusting to the local context because there might not be sufficient understanding of how educational policies are implemented and how the governing of educational policies work locally. Our findings indicate that to prolong a policy initiative after the trial period, the policy needs to be adapted to activities and initiatives already in place. However, even a successful implementation of a policy initiative does not guarantee a continuation of the initiative. It is seemingly a challenge regarding how policy initiatives fall apart when the funded trial period comes to an end. As such, the understanding of the educational sector and its institutionalised routines and institutional logics may not be straightforward and transferable. A policy needs a stable context, an organisational starting point from which to embark, to be successful. In light of this, our analysis illustrates the importance of local flexibility when implementing an initiative that originates at the national level.

6.3. Article 3

- **The teacher's role in conflicting pressure: Non-teacher professionals and their encounter with schools as organisations**

The third article addresses the importance of the schools' organisational context when introducing non-teacher professionals at the school level. This article examines *street-level bureaucratic behaviour* according to the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012).

In 2010, a white paper (The Norwegian Ministry of Education 2010) stated that teachers should be relieved of some of their non-teaching responsibilities, instead assigning these roles to other professionals. The goal was for teachers to have more time for teaching, curriculum work and classroom management, while other professions would facilitate their work by assuming the responsibility for

other time-consuming areas. The aim was that fewer pupils would drop out of school because they would have teachers focusing on educating and providing educational guidance, and the non-teacher professionals would guide them through other noneducational issues.

The research questions in this article were as follows:
1. In what way does the organisational context characterise how schools accommodate new professions?
2. How does the non-teacher professional shape his/her role within the various organisational contexts?

By developing a framework inspired by Weick's loosely coupled systems (1976, 2001) and Abbott's system of professions (1988), I elucidated on whether the organisational context has an impact on how non-teacher professionals are incorporated into schools. Based on my empirical findings and the concepts of loosely coupled systems (Weick 1976, 2001), I identified two different organisational contexts that characterise the local schools: teacher led and leadership driven. The teacher-led school is characterised by a large degree of teacher autonomy, tacit knowledge, less evident leadership and a staff less inclined to change. The leadership-driven school, on the other hand, has a clear leadership style, has a clear line of communication, is goal oriented and has staff more inclined to change.

By exploring the school as a system of professions (Abbott 1988), I illustrated how teachers and non-teacher professionals relate to each other in the two different contexts and what social processes would be initiated when the non-teacher professionals enter a new organisational (school) context. An ideal model (Abbott 1988: 71–78) is often represented by the role of the medical doctor, where there is a monopoly on clearly defined tasks, which is an example of *full jurisdiction*. A workplace, whether it is a hospital or school, is an arena where professional forces are in play; thus, the monopolies of the professions can be

confronted and must be defended. When the national authorities created new professions, non-teacher professionals, the previous legitimacy of the teachers was challenged, and the exclusive right to the full jurisdiction, a teacher hegemony, was challenged. The article is based on interviews with 34 informants at four lower secondary schools. The informants consisted of employees at the schools, such as the principal, other school leaders, teachers, public health nurses and the non-teachers' professionals. The findings show that teacher-led schools make it more challenging for the non-teacher professional to become integrated into the work environment. Also, the non-teachers' coworking relationships with the teachers were more beneficial and effortless at leadership-driven schools; perhaps, these schools were more prone to change. Using a categorisation inspired by loosely coupled versus tightly coupled systems can illuminate how different governing methods influence the school as an organisation in different ways.

6.4. Summarising the Articles

Table 5 presents an overview of the three articles and the research questions, methods and data, as well as the main findings within each article. Together, the three articles clarify the main research question of how national policies shaped at the intersection between education and welfare are interpreted and implemented at the local level.

Table 5: Summary of the three articles.

	Articles	Research question	Method and data	Theory	Main findings
1	Looking through the policy window: How PISA temporarily changed the institutional structures in Norway	How was the institutional structures in Norway affected by the first results of the PISA testing?	A selective analysis of relevant documents provided thorough snowball sampling	Historical institutional theory Agenda setting Multiple streams	The PISA results were a punctuated equilibrium; however, drastic changes were only temporarily. Instead, there was a case of layering. However, dropout was put on the agenda.
2	Implementing interdisciplinary policies: The importance of institutional context	In what way does institutional context influence the implementation of policy initiatives?	A qualitative study consisting of interviews with 19 informants in two cities in Norway	Historical institutional theory Implementation theory	Institutional context influences both implementation and the implementation process. The institutional context also impacts whether the policy initiative becomes permanent.
3	The teacher's role in conflicting pressure: Non-teacher professionals and their encounter with schools as organisations	To what extent does the organisational context characterise how schools incorporate new non-teacher professionals?	A qualitative study consisting of 35 interviews conducted at three lower secondary schools in three different municipalities	Historical institutional theory Loosely coupled systems Theory of professions	Leadership-driven schools are more positive towards change and, thus, also towards the inclusion of non-teacher professionals in their work environment.

Article 1 addresses national education policies and how they are developed, established and evolve, but also how the inherent institutional structures within Norwegian society continuously influence the development of new policies. This article also explores the policy formulation process in the framework of the integrated implementation model (Winter 2012: 229). The findings in this article indicate how drastic external shocks and punctuated equilibrium, after a while, become adjusted to the institutional practices already in place, resulting in a case of layering (Thelen 2003). In article 2, we focused on the implantation of a national policy initiative at the municipal level. Although the policy originated from the welfare sector, its main intention was preventing dropout through a close and personal relationship with young people. The MS was formulated nationally but implemented, shaped and adapted in the local institutional

contexts because this is where the policy actually progresses. Our findings show how the policy initiative needed to be adapted to activities already in place. The MS (City II), grew into the existing institutional structures, and thus, the new policies were adjusted and transformed together with the old, also indicating a case of layering (Thelen 2003).

Finally, article 3 concentrates on the school level and how non-teacher professionals are incorporated into two categories of organisational contexts, that is, teacher-lead and leadership-driven schools. In article 3, the analysis shows how teacher-led schools make it more challenging for non-teacher professionals to become integrated into the work environment and, intrinsically, how the non-teacher professionals were successfully integrated at the leadership-driven schools. The non-teacher professionals' coworking relationships with the teachers were also more beneficial and effortless at leadership-driven schools, perhaps because these schools indicated that they were more inclined towards change. The two policy initiatives in articles 2 and 3 are both examples of policies at the intersection between education and welfare. Article 1 illustrates how the increasing focus on the concept of dropout could be derived from an institutionalised notion of equality innate in Norwegian society. The key point has been showing how dropout actualises education and the school, as such, as a welfare state organisation. Figure 4 shows the tensions and conflict lines that occur when several sectors issue national policies that are made to solve the same political matter. Although all three articles have different purposes and show different levels of organisational contexts, each one focuses on policies shaped at the intersection between welfare and education.

Figure 4: The location of all three articles

National policies

1

Education ———————————|——————————— Welfare

2

3

Local implementation
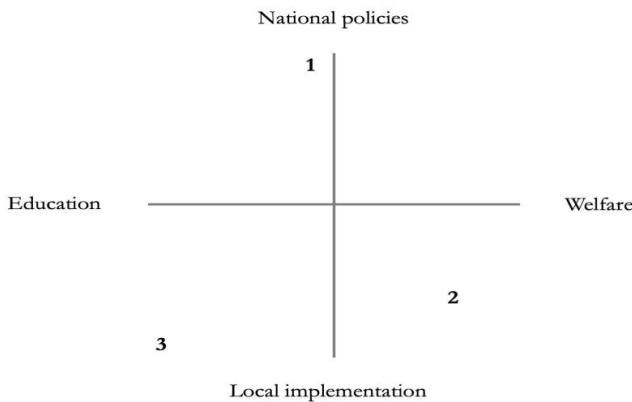
The figure illustrates the general theme of the current thesis as a whole. The themes explored in article 1 can be positioned at the top of the vertical line and illustrate the national level, exploring how policies are formulated and put on the agenda. Article 2 examines a policy initiative instigated by the welfare sector, involving a different approach but still with the same objective. Therefore, article 2 is located further towards welfare on the horizontal line and towards the middle of the vertical line because of its municipal affiliation. Finally, article 3, examining the micro level and street-level behaviour at the school level, is positioned far down the vertical line because street-level bureaucrats and their use of discretion are essential when understanding why the same national policies are interpreted and implemented in different local institutional contexts. Therefore, article 3 is positioned more towards education at the horizontal line.

7. CONCLUSION

The overall focus of the current thesis has been on implementation of national policies at the intersection between welfare and education. My aim has been to further the connection between the field of education and welfare by shedding light on a neglected relationship between these two fields of research. This has been illustrated through examining school dropout as a case. Using a qualitative abductive approach, I have investigated how national policies at the intersection of welfare and education are being shaped and implemented in local contexts. This has been explored and analysed in three different articles that have served as the empirical foundation for this thesis. The articles all aim to illuminate an implementation context represented in Figure 1 in the first chapter of the current thesis.

7.1. My Theoretical Contribution

In order to explore and explain what happens when policies and policy tools at the intersection between welfare and education are implemented in local institutional contexts, I found the need to establish a theoretical framework. The two sectors elaborated on in the current thesis—welfare and education—are both filled with institutionalised rules and norms; which influences the way policies are formulated within the two sectors. Historic institutionalism provides an opportunity to explain and comprehend both the stability and change that influence these institutionalised sectors through concepts such as layering, conversion and drift (Thelen 2003). My empirical findings show how stability has been more or less a constant within the educational sector in Norway, and that change mainly happens through layering. The foundation of the educational system stays consistent, still change happens but gradually through layering.

In article 1, which take on the national level, I have shown how the usual stability is challenged by a punctuated equilibrium. As conversion often is the result after

a punctuated equilibrium, I found instead that the reform, policies and initiatives instead were adjusted and incorporated in to the educational sector. Accordingly, the changes that occurred, happen through layering, when the new policies are integrated and put on top of the old. As I have indicated in article 2, the policy initiative's best chance of survival and prolongment is when it is attached to policies already in place. This is also evident in article 3, when I displayed how the most beneficial use of the non-teacher professional occurs when their role is attached to the existing institutional structures. The street-level bureaucrats and their use of discretion are essential when understanding why the same national policies are interpreted and implemented differently in various local contexts. By combining street-level bureaucratic behaviour with the logics of action, I wanted to explain and examine why the street-level bureaucrats such as the nonteacher professionals, teachers and mentors, behave and act the way they do. In article 2, I disclose how the mentors use discretion to negotiate the role and position of the mentor scheme within two different institutional contexts to fit their prerequisite demands and needs. Likewise, when examining the encounter between nonteacher professionals and teachers in article 3, the teachers within the different schools react differently to the use of the non-teacher professional. Their actions are influenced by whether or not they find the non-teacher professional useful, or just an unnecessary burden they have to accommodate to in addition to all the other work-related issues. Within the local institutional contexts, theory on street-level bureaucratic behaviour benefitted the understanding of the frontlines' influence on the implementation of national policies.

 Because historic institutional theory pay less attention on actors and their actions, I have drawn on the concepts of *logic of consequentiality* and *logic of appropriateness* to complement the use of the historic institutionalist theory. By combining these two ways of understanding action, I wanted to explain why the street-level bureaucrats (mentors and teachers) act in the ways that they do: they use discretion as a way to modify policies to achieve the best possible policy outcomes. The aim was to develop an understanding of the dynamics

surrounding the street-level bureaucrats and their actions and also what dilemmas and ambiguities characterise and influence an implementation process. In other words, they pay attention to their own needs in order to survive a hectic work situation, a sort of coping behaviour (Lipsky 1980). In doing so, they develop a form of local rationalism as a survival strategy for themselves, a logic of consequence focused mainly on self- interest. However, street-level bureaucrats are still moulded by what is appropriate within the different institutional contexts.

In the current thesis, I have illustrated how education and welfare constitute different institutional contexts with different innate and informal values and norms that influence the way the actors within the institution think and act. This also influences the way they understand policy initiatives. The two contexts contain separate institutional conditions that shape the premise of policy initiatives. Applying a historic institutional approach, my analysis shows that different institutional contexts can provide different policy outcomes because of the inherent institutional structures always resurfacing and infiltrating the implementation process and the street-level bureaucrats' actions. Similarly, the Norwegian educational systems' formal rules have been laid out on top of each other, some have been altered, and others yet have been maintained while new rules have been added on top.

The educational sector has grown in accordance with social, political and economic conditions which have resulted in a layering through restructuring over a long period of time. This sort of layering characterizes the national level, and also how new impulses of change are handled. This is illustrated by both OECD inputs and national policies on dropout. The OECD-related PISA shock caused a state of punctuated equilibrium that was only temporary and resulted in layering, where new policies were instead placed on top of the old ones. The sudden and drastic changes were modified by the inherent institutional structures. Thus, the endurance of new policy initiatives locally has relied on the adaptive practices of policies already in place. Hence, new policies have a better chance of continuing if

there are similar practices that the new polices can be tied to. This demonstrates how new local policies are often placed on top of older policy practices in order to endure.

Accordingly, institutional values shape the practices that take place between the street-level bureaucrats and the recipients of the policy. Thus, the analysis shows how street-level bureaucrats modify the implementation of the policy initiatives to fit local institutional contexts: the actors of an institution learn this appropriateness as they become members of the institution. Still, conflict arises when different institutional contexts meet, especially when different institutional 'logics of action' are challenged or put up against each other, as illustrated by the teachers and non-teacher professionals as analysed in article 3. Some of the teachers found that the non-teacher professionals were entering their jurisdiction as teachers and sought to defend their role and position. They saw the non-teacher professionals as entering into what historically has had been their terrain. However, in the schools where the non-teacher professionals were more included, the non-teacher professionals were seen as an asset and not a threat.

7.2. My Empirical Contribution

By having dropout as an overall case, I have highlighted the significance of linking education and welfare. In summary, I argue that the contributions and findings presented in the three articles point to the following contributions.

The first objective in the present thesis has been to stress the link between education and welfare when designing policies in the intersection between the two, such as for dropout. The school has a social mandate that begins with the individual pupils who will acquire knowledge, skills and procure employment to support themselves later in life. In addition to knowledge, skills and competences, the school helps pupils in developing attitudes and values that can be found in the statutory objective [1] and that mould the types of citizens the nation wants the

school to contribute to. In this way, the school's social mandate can be understood as both an individual project and a joint communal effort. The unitary school system promoted solidarity, togetherness and cooperation across all social and cultural divides. In the social democratic welfare state, education is a tool of social progress. Dropout can therefore be seen as a particular challenge within a unitary school model, because it weakens the school as an institution and as a social policy instrument. Education also produces economic growth through the value of human capital, thus underlining how dropout is a societal challenge with serious effects for the welfare state as a whole. Accordingly, policy intervention in the field of education might be a more important determinant of equality than what is implied by Wilensky (Kaufmann 2003, Busemeyer and Nikolai 2010).

The second objective has been to illuminate the importance of institutional context when implementing nationally constructed policies locally. The national educational authorities are responsible for formalising and implementing school policy decisions. The formulating of policies is done nationally, including how the school's social mandate is interpreted and what society the schools as such should help develop both now and in the future. The local institutional context, where the nationally initiated policies are implemented, are significant in terms of how the policy actually functions and evolves. It is within these local institutional contexts that the policy is actually shaped and formed. A policy's design is moulded throughout the different levels of implementation and, accordingly, national policies are reformulated in local institutional contexts, showing that what occurs during implementation is also part of the policy design. As such, my findings indicate how policies are generally not implemented as intended by the policy makers. National authorities design and approve the policies, but it is with the different local contexts that they are implemented and negotiated. Educational research has traditionally been concerned with policy and reform, and not with what actually happens when the policy is implemented in the different local contexts. All the while, local government is preoccupied with local needs and priorities, as they are constantly competing over resources across

sectors as well. If one were to consider the mentor scheme as purely educational or as a welfare policy alone, an essential dimension would be lost, as it is within the local contexts, and within the municipalities that the foundation for implementation is laid.

A difficulty seems to lie in the silo thinking of the educational sector when it comes to policy initiatives on dropout, which challenges the possibilities for a more comprehensive effort against dropout. While national policies are to a large extent shaped sector wise, the local institutional contexts are characterized by having to negotiate with other policy areas. Accordingly, the local institutional contexts are influenced by the various sectoral considerations they have to adjust to. Because dropout is both an educational and a welfare policy issue, research is weakened when only focusing on one area, thus making dropout merely a matter of economic growth or an educational matter.

As a final note, I would like to call attention to the importance of qualitative research. There has been an increasing demand for research on effects, or effect studies, especially within educational policy and implementation thereof. National educational authorities have over the last years increasingly focused on the effect certain policies have, on for instance dropout ratings. I believe that by merely focusing on the quantifiable effect policies have, an important dimension is neglected. This concerns how the policy is in fact received and implemented within the different local contexts. As polices are adapted locally, it is vital for policy makers to also include the local contexts when evaluating policies, and not just the effect they have on statistical ratings.

8. REFERENCES

Aasen, P. (2003) What happened to Social-Democratic Progressivism in Scandinavia? Restructuring Education in Sweden and Norway in the 1990s, in Apple, M.W. (ed.) *The State and the Politics of Knowledge.* New York/London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Abbott, A. (1988). *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labour.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Alexiadou, N., Helgøy, I. & Homme, A. (2019) Lost in transition – policies to reduce early school leaving and encourage further studying in Europe. *Comparative Education,* 55(3), pp. 297 - 307. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03050068.2019.1619327

Allmendinger, J. & Leibfried, S. (2003) Education and the welfare state: the four worlds of competence production. *Journal of European Social Policy* 13(1), pp. 63 - 81. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928703013001047

Arnesen, A. & Lundahl, L. (2006). Still Social and Democratic? Inclusive Education Policies in the Nordic Welfare States. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*. DOI: SCAND. J. EDUC. RES. 50. 285-300. 10.1080/00313830600743316

Audas, R. & Willms, J.D. (2001) *Engagement and dropping out of school: A life-course perspective.* Applied Research Branch, Strategic Policy. Human Resources Development Canada.

Ba, O. (2020). *States of Justice: The Politics of the International Criminal Court*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bakken, A. & Elstad, J.I. (2012) *For store forventninger?: kunnskapsløftet og ulikhetene i grunnskolekarakterer.* NOVA-report 2012.

Baumgartner, F.R. & Jones, B.D. (eds) (2002) *Policy Dynamics*. University of Chicago Press.

Béland, D. (2005) Ideas and Social Policy: An Institutionalist Perspective. *Social Policy Administration*, 39(1), pp. 1 – 18. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9515.2005.00421.x

Bergesen, H.O. (2006) x*Kampen om kunnskapsskolen.* Universitetsforlaget.

Bernt, J. F. (2001) Kveler velferdsstaten kommunaldemokratiet? in Fimreite, A.L., Larsen, H.O. & Aars, J. (eds) *Lekmannstyre under press*. Oslo: Kommuneforlaget.

Borge, L.E., Falch, T. & Strøm, B. (2011) Fullføring av videregående opplæring: Kan vi forklare variasjonen mellom fylker og regioner? *Samfunnsøkonomen* no. 5, 2011.

Boudon, R. (1974) *Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality: Changing Prospects in Western Society*. New York/London: John Wiley.

Bowen, G.A. (2009) Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*. 9(2). DOI: 10.3316/QRJ0902027

Brekke, O.A., Høstaker, R. & Sirnes, T. (2003) *Dimensjonar i moderne sosialteori.* Oslo: Det norske samlaget.

Brennan, G. & Buchanan, J.M. (1985) *The reason of rules: Constitutional Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. 10.

Brunsson, N. & Olsen, J.P. (1993) *The Reforming Organization*. London: Routledge.

Busemeyer, M.R. & Nikolai, R. (2010) Education, in Castles, F.G., Leibfried, S., Lewis, J.,

Obinger, H. & Pierson, C. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare state*. Oxford University Press.

Capano, G. & Woo, J.J. (2017) Resilience and robustness in policy design: a critical appraisal. *Policy Sciences.* Springer; Society of Policy Sciences, 50(3), pp. 399 - 426.

Christensen, T. & Lægreid, P. (2007) The Whole-of-Government Approach to Public Sector Reform *Public Administration Review*, 67(6), pp. 1059 – 1066. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.15406210.2007.00797.x

Clarke, V. & Braun, V. (2013) Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist*, 26(2), pp. 120-123. ISSN 0952-8229

Clemens, E.S. & Cook, J.M. (1999) POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONALISM: Explaining Durability and Change. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(1), pp. 441 - 466.

Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (2008) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications, Inc. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452230153

The Danish Ministry for Children, Education and Gender Equality (2015) *Profilmodel 2014 – Ungdomsuddannelser.* Styrelsen for IT og læring.

De Witte, K., Cabus, S., Thyssen, G., Groot, W., & van den Brink, H.M. (2013) A critical review of the literature on school dropout. *Educational Research Review*, 10(December), pp. 13 – 28. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2013.05.002

DiCicco-Bloom, B. & Crabtree, B. F. (2006) The qualitative research interview. *Medical Education,* 40(4), pp. 314 - 321.

DiMaggio, P.J. & Powell, W.W. (1983) The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review,* 48(2), pp. 147 – 160.

Di Stasio, V. & Solga, H. (2017) Education as social policy: An introduction. *Journal of European Social Policy*, ISSN 1461-7269, Sage, London, 27(4), pp. 313 - 319. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0958928717728712

Durose, C. (2011) Revisiting Lipsky: Front-Line Work in UK Local Governance. *Political Studies* 59(4).

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (ed.) (1996) *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptations in Global Economies.* London: Sage Publications.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999) *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2005) Education and Equal Life-Chances: Investing in Children, in Kangas O. & Palme, J. (eds) *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eurofound (2012) – *NEETs - Young people not in employment, education or training: Characteristics, costs and policy responses in Europe.* European Foundation for the Improvement of Working and Living Conditions. Available at: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2012/labour-market-social-policies/neets-young-people-not-in-employment-education-or-training-characteristics-

costs-and-policy

Eurofound (2014) *Mapping youth transitions in Europe.* Report 23 July 2014. European Foundation for the Improvement of Working and Living Conditions. Available at: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2014/labour-market/mapping-youth-transitions-in-europe

European Commission (2014). *Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures.* Luxembourg: Eurydice and Cedefop Report.

European Commission (2018) *The Education and Training Monitor.* Staff Working Paper. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

European Commission (2019) *Early School Leaving.* Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/school/early-school-leaving_en

European Council (2000) *Lisbon Conclusions.* Available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm

European Council (2010). *Conclusions.* EUCO 13/10. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/council_conclusion_17_june_en.pdf

Eurostat (2016a). *Early leavers from education and training by sex.* Available at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=t2020_40&plugin=1

Eurostat (2016b). *Glossary: Early Leaver from Education and Training.* Available at https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Early_leaver_from_education_and_training

Falch, T. & Nyhus, O.H. (2009) *Frafall fra videregående opplæring og arbeidsmarkedstilknytning for unge voksne.* SØF-report 07/09, Senter for økonomisk forskning AS.

Falch, T., Johannesen, A.B. & Strøm, B. (2009) *Kostnader av frafall i videregåendeopplæring,* SØF-report 08/09. Trondheim (p. 7).

Falch, T., Borge, L.-E., Lujala, P., Nyhus, O.H. & Strøm, B. (2010) *Årsaker til og konsekvenser av manglende fullføring av videregående opplæring,* SØF-report 03/10. Trondheim (p. 2).

Feldman, M. (1992) Social Limits to Discretion: An Organizational Perspective, in Hawkins, K. (ed.) *The Uses of Discretion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fimreite, A.L., Tranvik, T., Selle, P. & Flo, Y. (2007) Når sektorbåndene slites: Utfordringer for den norske velferdsmodellen, *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning,* 48(2), pp. 165 - 196.

Finn, J. D. (1989) Withdrawing From School. *Review of Educational Research,* 59(2), pp. 117 – 142. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543059002117

Flyvbjerg, B. (2011) Case Study, in Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research,* 4th edition, pp. 301-316. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fritzell, J. & Lundberg, O. (2005) Fighting Inequalities in Health and Income: One Important Road to Welfare and Social Development, in Kangas, O. & Palme, J. (eds) *Social Policy and Economic Development in the Nordic Countries.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Geertz, C. (1973) Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture, in Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* Basic Books.

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M. & Foster, P. (eds) (2000) *Case Study Method.* SAGE

Publications.

Gould, A. (1999) *Origins of Liberal Dominance. State, Church, and Party in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Grek, S. (2009) Governing by numbers: the PISA "effect" in Europe*. Journal of Education Policy,* 24(1), pp. 23 - 37. DOI: 10.1080/02680930802412669

Grek, S. & Ozga, J. (2009) Governing education through data: Scotland, England and the European education policy space. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(6), pp. 937 - 952. DOI: 10.1080/01411920903275865

Grek, S. & Lindgren, J. (eds) (2014). *Governing by Inspection*. London: Routledge.

Hall, P.A. & Taylor, R.C.R. (1996) Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies,* 44(5), pp. 936 - 957. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x

Halvorsrud, K. (2017) Student Dropout in Upper Secondary Education in Norway: A Challenge to the Principles of the Welfare State? *London Review of Education,* 15(2), pp. 302 – 316. DOI: https://doi.org/10.18546/LRE.15.2.12.

Harrits, G.S. & Møller, M.Ø. (2014) Prevention at the Frontline: How home nurses, pedagogues, and teachers transform public worry into decisions on special efforts. *Public Management Review* 16(4), pp. 447 – 480.

Hatland, A. (2011) *Veivalg i velferdspolitikken.* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Hegna, K., Dæhlen, M., Smette, I., & Wollscheid, S. (2012). «For mye teori» i fag- og yrkesopplæringen – et spørsmål om målsettinger i konflikt? *Tidsskrift for Samfunnsforskning*, 53(2), pp. 217 –232.

Heidenheimer, A. (1973) The Politics of Public Education, Health and Welfare in the USA and Western Europe: How Growth and Reform Potentials Have Differed. *British Journal of Political Science,* 3(3), pp. 315-340. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123400007894

Helgøy, I. & Homme, A. (2006) Policy Tools and Institutional Change: Comparing education policies in Norway, Sweden and England. *Journal of Public Policy*, 26(2), pp. 141 – 165. Published online by Cambridge University Press: 20 July 2006. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X0600050X

Helgøy, I. & Homme, A. (2017). Increasing parental participation at school level: a 'citizen to serve' or a 'customer to steer'? *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 3(2), pp. 144 - 154. DOI: 10.1080/20020317.2017.1343625

Helgøy, I., Homme, A., Lundahl, L. & Rönnberg, L. (2019) Combating low completion rates in Nordic welfare states: policy design in Norway and Sweden. *Comparative Education*, 55(3), pp. 308 – 325. DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2019.1619328

Henriksen, H. Z. (2018). One Step Forward and Two Steps Back: E-government Policies in Practice, in Gil-Garcia, J., Pardo, T. & Luna-Reyes, L. (eds) *Policy Analytics, Modelling, and Informatics: Innovative Tools for Solving Complex Social Problems.* Public Administration and Information Technology. Cham: Springer.

Hernes, G. (2010) *Gull av gråstein. Tiltak for å redusere frafall i videregående opplæring.* Fafo-report, 2010:03.

Hjelmtveit, V. (2009) Sosialpolitikk i et historisk perspektiv, in Stamsø, M.A. (ed.) *Velferdsstaten i endring. Norsk sosialpolitikk ved starten av et nytt århundre.* Gyldendal Akademisk.

Hofgaard, T.L. & Paulsen, G.E. (2014) *Noen må forstå når det er grunn til bekymring*. Aftenposten.no. Available at:
https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikk/i/MgbX5/noen-maa-forstaa-naar-det-er-grunn-til-bekymring. Accessed 11 December 2019.

Holen, S. & Waagene, E. (2014) *Psykisk helse i skolen: Utdanningsdirektoratets spørreundersøkelse blant lærere, skoleledere og skoleeiere.* NIFU-report 9/2014.

Homme, A. (2008) *Den kommunale skolen. Det lokale skolefeltet i et historisk perspektiv.* Doctoral thesis, University of Bergen.

Homme, A. & Hope, K.L. (2017) Innovative government initiatives to prevent upper secondary school dropout: organisational learning and institutional change at the local level. *International Journal of Innovation in Education*, 4(1), pp. 51 - 65. DOI: 10.1504/IJIIE.2017.086476

Huber, E. & Stephens, J. (2001) Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets. *Journal of Social Policy* 32(1), pp. 131 – 155. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279402216931

Hupe, P. & Buffat, A. (2014) A Public Service Gap: Capturing Contexts in a Comparative Approach of Street-Level Bureaucracy. *Public Management Review* 16(4).

Hupe, P., Hill, M. & Nangia, M. (2014) Studying Implementation Beyond Deficit Analysis: The Top-Down View Reconsidered. *Public Policy and Administration*, 29(2), pp. 145 - 163. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076713517520

Høst, H. & Michelsen, S. (2010) *Ungdom, lærlingordning og overgang til arbeidsmarkedet – endringer fra 1994 til 2008.* Søkelys på arbeidslivet, 3/2010.

Høst, H. (2011) *Disse ungdommene hadde nok ikke fullført: Evaluering av forsøk med praksisbrev.* Delrapport 2. NIFU-report 7/2011.

Ikenberry, G.J. (1988) An Institutional Approach to American Foreign Economic Policy. International Organization, pp. 219 – 243. *The State and American Foreign Economic Policy*. Published by The MIT Press.
URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706775 Accessed: 28 April 2020.

Ikenberry, G.J., Lake, D. A. & Mastanduno, M. (eds) (1988) *The State and American Foreign Economic Policy*. Cornell University Press, p. 243.

Immergut, E.M. (1998) The Theoretical Core of the New Institutionalism, *Politics and Society*, 26(1), pp. 5 – 34. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329298026001002

Ingraham, P.W. (1987) TOWARD MORE SYSTEMATIC CONSIDERATION OF POLICY DESIGN, *Policy Studies Journal*, 15(4), pp. 611 – 628. DOI:
https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.1987.tb00750.x

Ingram, H.M. & Schneider, A.L. (2005) Introduction: Public Policy and the Social Construction of Deservedness, pp. 1 – 28 in Schneider, A.L. and Ingram, H.M. (eds) *Deserving and Entitled: Social Constructions and Public Policy.* Albany: SUNY Press.

John, P. (1998) *Analyzing Public Policy*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Jørgensen, C.H., Järvinen, T. & Lundahl, L. (2019) A Nordic transition regime? Policies for school-to-work transitions in Sweden, Denmark and Finland. *European Educational Research Journal*, 18(3), pp. 278 – 297. Available at:
https://forskning.ruc.dk/en/publications/a-nordic-transition-regime-policies-for-school-to-work-transition

Karlsen, G. (2014) Internasjonale aktører som premissgivere for norsk utdanningspolitikk med særlig vekt på OECD, in Rørvik, K.A., Eilertsen, T.V. & Furu, E.M. (eds) *Reformideer i norsk skole.* Cappelen Damm Akademiske.

Kaufmann, G. & A. (2003) *Psykologi i organisasjon og ledelse*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, p. 407.

Kauppinen, T., Angelin, A., Lorentzen, T., Bäckman, O., Salonen, T., Moisio, P. & Dahl, E. (2014) Social background and life-course risks as determinants of social assistance receipt among young adults in Sweden, Norway and Finland. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 24(3), pp. 273 – 288.

Kautto, M., Fritzell, J., Hvinden, B., Kvist, J. & Uusitalo, H. (eds) (2001) Nordic Welfare States in the European Context, London: Routledge, xvi 309 pp., *Journal of Social Policy*, 30(4), pp. 735 – 774. DOI: 10.1017/S0047279401356465

Kildal, N. (2013) Den norske velferdsstaten: Fra sosiale til kontraktbaserte rettigheter. *Tidsskrift for velferdsforskning* 2013, 16(2), pp. 87 - 95.

Kildal, N. & Kuhnle, S. (2018) Velferdsstatens idégrunnlag i perspektiv, in Hatland, A., Kuhnle, S. & Romøren, T.I. (eds) *Den norske velferdsstaten,* Oslo: Gyldendal.

Kingdon, J. W. (1995) *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policy*. New York: Longman.

Kuhnle, S. (2000) The Nordic welfare state in a European context: Dealing with new economic and ideological challenges in the 1990s. *European Review*, 8(3), pp. 379 - 398. DOI: 10.1017/S1062798700004968

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2015) *Det kvalitative forskningsintervjuet*. Gyldendal Norsk forlag.

Lamb, S., Walstab, A., Teese, R., Vickers, M. & Rumberger, R. (2004) *Staying on at school: Improving student retention in Australia.* Centre for Post-compulsory Education and Lifelong Learning, The University of Melbourne.

Lecours, A. (ed.) (2005). *New institutionalism: Theory and analysis*. University of Toronto Press.

Lillejord, S., Halvorsrud, K., Ruud, E., Morgan, K., Freyr, T., Fischer-Griffiths, P., Eikeland, O.J., Hauge, T.E., Homme, A.D., Manger, T., Kirkebøen, L.J. & Sandsør, A.M.J. (2015) *Frafall i videregående opplæring, en systematisk kunnskapsoversikt. Kunnskapssenter for utdanning*, April 2015.

Lipsky, M. (1980) *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lipsky, M. (2010). *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service* (2nd rev. edn). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lægreid, P., Roness, P.G. & Rubecksen, K. (2006) Performance Management in Practice: the Norwegian Way. *Financial Accountability & Management,* 22(3), pp. 251 – 270.

Mahoney, J. & Thelen, K. *(eds)* (2010a) *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency and Power.* Cambridge University Press.

Mahoney, J. & Thelen, K. (2010b) A Theory of Gradual Institutional Change. Explaining Institutional Change, pp. 1 - 37, in Mahoney, J. & Thelen, K. (eds) *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency and Power.* Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511806414.003

March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. (1989) *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*. New York: Free Press.

March, J. G. & Simon, H. A. [1958] 1993 *Organizations* (2nd edn). Oxford: Blackwell.

March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. (1995) *Democratic Governance.* New York: Free Press.

March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. (1998) The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders. International Organization 52(4), pp. 943 - 969. Reprinted in Katzenstein, P.J., Keohane, R.O. & Krasner, S.D. (eds) *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics,* pp. 303-329. Cambridge Ma: The MIT Press, 1999.

March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. (2007) *The logic of appropriateness*. ARENA, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo. Working Papers, WP 04/09.

Markussen, E. (ed.) (2010a) *Frafall i utdanning for 16–20 åringer i Norden*. København: TemaNord 2010/517.

Markussen, E. (2010b) *Valg og gjennomføring av videregående opplæring før Kunnskapsløftet.* Acta Didactica Norge, 4(1). DOI: https://doi.org/10.5617/adno.1057

Markussen, E. & Seland, I. (2012) *Å redusere bortvalg – bare skolens ansvar*? En undersøkelse av bortvalg ved de videregående skolene i Akershus fylkeskommune skoleåret 2010-2011. NIFU-report 6/2012.

Markussen, E. (2016) Forskjell på folk, in Reegård, K. & Rogstad, J. (eds) *De frafalne: Om frafall i videregående opplæring – hvem er de, hva vil de, og hva kan gjøres?* Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk, pp. 22 – 61.

Meyer, J.W. & Rowan, B. (1977) Institutional Organizations: Formal Structures as Myth and Ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), pp. 340 – 363.

Meyers, M.K. & Nielsen, V.L. (2012) Street-Level Bureaucrats and the Implementation of Public Policy, in Peters, G.B. & Pierre, J. (eds*) The SAGE Handbook of Public Administration.* DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446200506.n20

Michelsen, S., Olsen, O. J, & Høst, H. (2014) *Origins and development of VET 1850- 2008 - an investigation into the Norwegian case*. NIFU and University og Bergen

Mogstad, M. & Rege, M. (2009), Tidlig læring og sosial mobilitet: Norske barns muligheter til å lykkes i utdanningsløpet og arbeidslivet. *Samfunnsøkonomen*, 63(5), pp. 4 - 22.

Molander, A. & Grimen, H. (2010) Understanding Professional Discretion, in Svensson, L.G. & Evetts, J. (eds) *Sociology of Professions. Continental and Anglo-Saxon Traditions*, pp. 167-187. Gothenburg: Daidalos.

Morel, N., Palier, B. & Palme, J. (eds) (2012) *Towards a Social Investment Welfare State? Ideas, Policies and Challenges.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Mosher, J.S. (2015) Education state, welfare capitalism regimes, and politics. *Comparative European Politics* 13(2), pp. 240 - 262. DOI: 10.1057/cep.2013.19

Niemann, D. (2015). Le 'choc PISA' en Allemagne et les réformes de l'éducation. *Administration & Éducation*, no. 145, pp. 39 - 44.

North, D. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs (2019) *Gjennomstrømning i utdanning og kjønn.* Available at: https://bufdir.no/Statistikk_og_analyse/Kjonnslikestilling/Utdanning_og_kjonn/Gjenno

mstromning/

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2019) *Lærlinger, lærebedrifter og fagbrev*. Available at: https://www.udir.no/laerlinger-laerebedrifter-fagbrev

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2019a) *Gjennomføring av videregående opplæring*. Available at: https://www.udir.no/tall-og-forskning/finn-forskning/tema/gjennomforing2/elever-som-gjennomforer-videregaende-opplaring/

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2019b) *Indikatorrapport for Samfunnskontrakten* 2018. Available at: https://www.udir.no/tall-og-forskning/finn-forskning/tema/indikatorrapport--for-samfunnskontrakten-2018/hvor-mange-lareplasser-har-vi-i-norge-og-hvor-finner-vi-dem/

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (2019c) *Overgang til videregående opplæring.* Available at: https://www.udir.no/tall-og-forskning/statistikk/statistikk-grunnskole/overganger-til-videregaende-opplaring/

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2009) *Rapport fra Tidsbrukutvalget*. Available at: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/Rapport-fra-Tidsbrukutvalget/id592307/

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2010) *Tid til læring. Tid til læring — – oppfølging av Tidsbrukutvalgets rapport.* (St.meld. no. 19 (2009 – 2010))

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2011) *Motivasjon – Mestring – Muligheter - Ungdomstrinnet.* (St.meld. no. 22 (2010 – 2011)).

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2012) *Utdanning for velferd.* (St.meld. no. 13 (2011 - 2012)).

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2014) *Program for bedre gjennomføring.* Available at: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/utdanning/grunnopplaring/artikler/Bedre-gjennomforing-i-videregaende-/id2005356/

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2016a) *Fra utenforskap til ny sjanse - Samordnet innsats for voksnes læring.* (St.meld. no. 16 (2015 – 2016)).

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2016b) *Fag – Fordypning – Forståelse.* En fornyelse av Kunnskapsløftet. (St.meld. no. 28 (2015 – 2016)).

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2017a) *Fagfolk for fremtiden - Fagskoleutdanning.* (St.meld. no. 9 (2016 – 2017)).

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2017b) *Lærelyst – tidlig innsats og kvalitet i skolen.* (St.meld. no. 21 (2016 – 2017)).

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2018) *Program for bedre gjennomføring i videregående opplæring.* Available at: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/utdanning/grunnopplaring/artikler/Bedre-gjennomforing-i-videregaende-/id2005356/

The Norwegian Ministry of Education (2020) *Tett på – tidlig innsats og inkluderende fellesskap i barnehage, skole og SFO.* (St.meld. no. 6 (2019 – 2020).

The Norwegian Ministry of Finance (2013) *Perspektivmeldingen* 2013. (St.meld. no. 12 (2012 – 2013)).

The Norwegian Ministry of Finance (2017) *Perspektivmeldingen* 2017. (St.meld. no. 29

(2016 – 2017)).

NOU 2002: 10 (2002) *Førsteklasses fra første klasse — Forslag til rammeverk for et nasjonalt kvalitetsvurderingssystem av norsk grunnopplæring.*

NOU 2003: 16 (2003) *I første rekke. I første rekke — Forsterket kvalitet i en grunnopplæring for alle.*

NOU 2014: 14 (2014) *Fagskolen – et attraktivt utdanningsvalg.*

NOU 2019: 3 (2019) *Nye sjanser – bedre læring.* Kjønnsforskjeller i skoleprestasjoner og utdanningsløp.

Noy, C. (2008) Sampling Knowledge: the Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(4), pp. 327 - 344. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570701401305

OECD (2019) *Better Life Index.* Available at: http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/norway/

Ostrom, E. (1990) *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action.* Cambridge University Press, 1st edn.

Ostrom, E. (2000) Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms. *Journal of Economic Perspectives,* 14(3), pp. 137 – 158.

Page, E.C. (1991) *Localism and Centralism in Europe: The Political and Legal Bases of Local Self- Government.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peirce, C. S. (1955) *Philosophical writings of Peirce.* Editor Buchler, J. New York: Dover Publications.

Peters, B.G. (2014) Implementation Structures as Institutions. *Public Policy and Administration.* 29(2), pp. 131 – 144.

Petticrew, M. & Roberts, H. (2006) *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Popkewitz, T., Lindblad, S. & Strandberg, J. (1999). *Review of Research on Education Governance and Social Integration and Exclusion.* Uppsala Reports on Education no. 35. Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Education, Uppsala University.

Pressman, J. L. & Wildavsky, A. (1984) *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland* [..] (3rd edn). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Rapley, T. (2007) *The Sage qualitative research kit. Doing conversation, discourse and document analysis.* Sage Publications Ltd. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208901

Reegård, K. & Rogstad, J. (eds) (2016) *De frafalne: om frafall i videregående opplæring – hvem er de, hva vil de, og hva kan gjøres?.* Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Rice, D. (2012) Street-Level Bureaucrats and the Welfare State: Toward a Micro-Institutionalist Theory of Policy Implementation. *Administration & Society,* 45(9), pp. 1038 - 1062.

Rice, D. (2019) Adopting an institutional view in street level bureaucracy research, in Hupe, P. (ed.) *Research Handbook on Street-Level Bureaucracy.* The Ground Floor of Government. Handbooks of Research on Public Policy series. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ringen, S. & Uusitalo, H. (1990). Income Distribution and Redistribution in the Nordic Welfare States. *International Journal of Sociology*, 20(3). DOI: 69-91.

10.1080/15579336.1990.11770000

Scharpf, F.W. (1999) *Governing in Europe: Effective and democratic?* Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository, at http://hdl.handle.net/1814/21979

Scott, W.R. (1987) The Adolescence of Institutional Theory. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 32(4), pp. 493 - 511.

Sejerstedt, F. (2013) *Sosialdemokratiets tidsalder*. Oslo: Pax forlag, p. 630.

Sidney, M.S. (2007) Policy formulation: design and tools, in Fischer, F, Miller, G.J. & Sidney, M.S. (eds) *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics and Methods*. New Brunswick, NJ: CRC Taylor & Francis, pp. 79 – 87.

Sjøberg, S. (2014) PISA-syndromet: Hvordan norsk skolepolitikk blir styrt av OECD. *Nytt norsk tidsskrift*, 31(1), pp. 30 – 43.

Skocpol, T. (1992) *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Solstad, K.J. (1997) *Equity at Risk. Planned Educational Change in Norway. Pitfalls and Progress.* Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, p. 313.

Stark, E. (2019) *Den goda skolan: I lagens namn eller en trygghetens famn?* Doctoral thesis, Umeå University.

Statistics Norway (2019) Available at: https://www.ssb.no/arbeid-og-lonn/faktaside/arbeid

Steinmo, S., Thelen, K. & Longstreth, F. (eds) (1992). *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511528125

Stinchcombe, A.L. (1965) Social Structure and Organizations, in March, J.P. (ed.) *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago: Rand McNally, pp. 142 - 193.

Streeck, W. & Thelen, K. (eds) (2005) *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, Oxford University Press.

Thagaard, T. (2013) *Systematikk og innlevelse: en innføring i kvalitativ metode.* Fagbokforlaget.

Thelen, K. (1999) Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics, in Steinmo, S., Thelen, K. & Longstreth, F.(eds) *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thelen, K. (2003) How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative-Historical Analysis, in Mahoney J. & Rueschemeyer, D. (eds) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thelen, K. (2004) How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan. (*Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics*). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511790997

Titmuss, R. (1958) *Essays on 'The Welfare State'*. George Allen & Unwin, p. 236.

Traag, T. & van der Velden, R.K.W. (2008) Early school-leaving in the Netherlands: the role of family resources, school composition and background characteristics in early school-leaving in lower secondary education. *Irish Educational Studies*, 30(1), pp. 45 – 62. DOI: 10.1080/03323315.2011.535975

Tummers, L. & Bekkers, V.J.J.M. (2014) Policy Implementation, Street-Level

Bureaucracy, and the Importance of Discretion. *Public Management Review*, 16(4), pp. 527 - 547.

Tønnesen, L.K. (2004) *Norsk utdanningshistorie, en innføring med fokus på grunnskolens utvikling.* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

van Berkel, R. & Borghi, V. (2008) Introduction: The Governance of Activation. *Social Policy and Society,* 7(3), pp. 331 - 340. DOI: 10.1017/S1474746408004302

Vik, S. (2015) *Tidlig innsats i skole og barnehage: Forutsetninger for forståelser av tidlig innsats som pedagogisk prinsipp.* Doctoral thesis. Høgskolen i Lillehammer, Lillehammer.

Vogel, J., Theorell, T., Svallfors, S., Noll, H.-H., Christoph, B. (2003) European Welfare Production: Institutional Configuration and Distributional Outcome. *Social Indicators Research, Series* 18. Springer Publishing.

Vogt, K.C. (2008) Er frafall i videregående opplæring et kjønnsproblem? *Tidsskrift for Samfunnsforskning*, 49(4), pp. 517 – 542.

Vogt, K.C. (2017) Vår utålmodighet med ungdom. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning* 58(1), pp. 105 – 119.

Volckmar, N. (2018): The Enduring Quest for Equity in Education: Comparing Norway and Australia. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 63(4), pp 617 - 631. DOI: 10.1080/00313831.2017.1415967

Waldow, F. (2009) What PISA Did and Did Not Do: Germany after the 'PISA-shock'. *European Educational Research Journal*, 8(3), pp. 476 – 483.

Walther, A. (2006) Regimes of youth transitions: Choice, flexibility and security in young people's experiences across different European contexts. *YOUNG Sage Journals*, 14(2), pp. 119 – 139. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1103308806062737

Weick, K.E. (1976) Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 21(1), pp. 1 – 19.

Weick, K.E. (2001) Management of Organizational Change Among Loosely Coupled Elements, in Weick, K.E, *Making Sense of the Organization*. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Wiborg, Ø., Arnesen, C.Å., Grøgaard, J.B., Støren, L.A. & Opheim, V. (2011) *Elevers prestasjonsutvikling – hvor mye betyr skolen og familien?* Andre delrapport fra prosjektet «Ressurser og resultater». NIFU-report 35/2011.

Wilensky, H.L. (1975) *The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Willemse, N. & de Beer, P. (2012) Three Worlds of Educational Welfare States? A Comparative Study of Higher Education Systems across Welfare States. *Journal of European Social Policy,* 22(2), pp. 105 – 117. DOI: 10.1177/0958928711433656

Wilson, S.J., Lipsey, M., Tanner-Smith, E., Huang Huang, C. & Steinka-Fry, K.T. (2011) *Dropout prevention and intervention programs: Effects on school completion and dropout among school-aged children and youth*. Campbell Systematic Reviews, 2011(8). Campbell collaboration. Available at: http://search.Proquest.com/docview/1140140123?Accountid=163439

Winter, S.C. (2012) Implementation Perspectives: Status and Reconsiderations, in Peters, B.G. & Pierre, J. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Public Administration*, pp. 265-78.

Yin, R.K. (2013) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

PART II

ARTICLE 3

<div align="center">

Lærerrollen i krysspress:

Nye yrkesgrupper i møte med skolen som organisasjon

By: Nina Paarup Michelsen

Published in: Nordiske Organisasjonsstudier Nr.1 2019

</div>

Innledning

Denne artikkelen setter søkelys på endringer i synet på skolen som organisasjon og læreren som nøkkelperson i skolen. Skoletrivsel og motivasjon utgjør et viktig grunnlag for elevers skolehverdag, og er av betydning for elevers prestasjoner på skolen (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2011; Wiborg mfl. 2011). Samtidig er lav fullføringsgrad i videregående opplæring ansett som et stort problem i Norge. En større mengde tiltak, både statlige og lokale, har blitt satt i gang for å øke andelen av dem som gjennomfører, uten at tallene har endret seg nevneverdig over de siste 20 år. Dette gjør skolen til en viktig arena i det forebyggende arbeidet siden barn og unge tilbringer store deler av livet sitt der. Dette er med på å øke forventningene til skolen og lærerne i forhold til hva de skal ta ansvar for, og hva de skal håndtere. Forebygging og tidlig intervensjon oppleves som viktig, men oppleves samtidig som å ta oppmerksomhet fra skolefagene og læringsmålene. I en spørreundersøkelse gjennomført blant lærere, skoleledere og skoleeiere om psykisk helse i skolen oppga halvparten av lærerne å ikke ha tilstrekkelig kompetanse til å tilrettelegge for elever med psykiske vansker, og cirka 30 prosent oppga å mangle både tid og ressurser til tilrettelegging. Videre svarte respondentene at det fantes en uro blant mange lærere for at dette arbeidet skulle ta fokus vekk fra skolefag (Holen og Waagene 2014). Også nasjonale myndigheter ser viktigheten av å få klarlagt i hvor stor grad undervisningen blir

preget av det utvidede mandatet til lærerne. I 2009 leverte en gruppe nedsatt av Kunnskapsdepartementet en innstilling om tidsbruk i skolen. I innstillingen fra utvalget ble det fremhevet at de spurte lærerne blant annet oppga oppfølging av enkeltelever som en av tidstyvene i skolen. Senere kom stortingsmeldingen Tid til læring (Meld. St. 19 (2009–2010)) som tok for seg nettopp hvordan lærerne kan få mer tid til å drive læring:

> *Læreren er den mest sentrale personen for elevene, og må kunne vurdere hvilken hjelp som i størst mulig grad bidrar til elevens utvikling. For eksempel vil et team rundt læreren gir muligheter til å styrke betydningen av andre yrkesgrupper i skolen.*

Da dagens skole viser seg å ha andre utfordringer enn tidligere, ble det lagt vekt på behovet for å styrke den tverrfaglige kompetansen for å møte disse utfordringene. Man forutsatte at en slik tverrfaglig kompetanse ville styrke mulighetene for samarbeid, tidlig intervensjon og forebygging (Tidsbrukutvalget 2009), og på den måten kunne forhindre at unge faller fra lenger fremme i utdanningsløpet. Lærerne skulle få mer tid til kjerneoppgaver knyttet til undervisning, læreplanarbeid og klasseledelse. Innbefattet i dette lå det en endring i synet på skolen som organisasjon og betydningen av læreren som skolens nøkkelperson. Dermed er det interessant å undersøke i hvilken grad skolen som organisasjon håndterer innføringen av en ny yrkesgruppe hvis formål skal være å avlaste læreren for de psykososiale utfordringene skolen står overfor, nemlig miljøarbeideren.

Problemstillingen i denne artikkelen er todelt:

- I hvilken grad preger den organisatoriske konteksten hvordan skoler imøtekommer nye yrkesgrupper?
- Hvordan utformer miljøarbeideren sin rolle innenfor de ulike organisatoriske kontekster?

Ut fra det empiriske materialet i denne artikkelen har jeg identifisert to ulike organisatoriske kontekster som jeg finner at preger skolen slik den er i dag: den lærerstyrte og den ledelsesstyrte.

Artikkelen innledes med et kapittel om skolen som organisasjon, dette for å gi en kontekst til det teoretiske rammeverket som følger. Der vil jeg ta for meg Weicks fortolkning av skolen som et løst koblet system og se hvorvidt det er mulig å overføre denne tankegangen til begrepene om lærerstyrte og ledelsesstyrte skoler. Videre vil jeg ta for meg Abbotts profesjonsteoretiske perspektiv og hans forståelse av jurisdiksjon for å belyse miljøarbeidernes rolle på de ulike skoler. Deretter følger en presentasjon av min metodiske tilnærming til materialet i denne artikkelen. Data i denne artikkelen er i hovedsak basert på intervjuer gjort ved fire skoler fra ulike fylker i Norge, totalt 35 intervjuer. Dette materialet presenteres som en skisse av de fire skolene, før jeg avslutningsvis vil diskutere problemstillingen i tråd med rammeverket. Artikkelen avsluttes med en konklusjon.

Bakgrunn

Begrepet «lærer» tilskrives en person som har faglig og pedagogisk utdannelse for å undervise barn, unge og voksne i en skole eller en annen utdannelsesinstitusjon (opplæringslova 1998, kap. 10). Videre kan lærerrollen defineres som summen av de forventninger og krav som stilles til utøvelsen av yrket (Meld. St. 19 (2009–2010)). Bestemmelser i lov, læreplan og andre forskrifter forplikter alle lærere og definerer et felles grunnlag for utøvelse av rollen. Lærerens hovedoppgave er å legge til rette for og lede elevenes læring. Samarbeid med kolleger, ledelse, hjem og instanser utenfor skolen og deltakelse i utviklingen av skolen som organisasjon skal støtte opp om dette (ibid.). Det er dermed ingen tvil om at skolen som organisasjon har en viktig rolle som en felles møteplass hvor alle barn og unge skal få muligheten til å tilegne seg kunnskap. Ettersom barn og unge har plikt til å møte på skolen etter opplæringslova § 2-1, gir dette samfunnet en mulighet for å fange opp problemer tidlig. I en vanlig oppvekstsituasjon deltar nå barn og unge i skoler og annen utdanning fra de er ca. ett år, og ofte langt inn i tyveårene. Dette har ført til et fokus på tidlig innsats, noe som gjør skolen til en viktig arena i det forebyggende arbeidet, og skaper en økt forventning til skolen og lærerne med hensyn til hva det er forventet at de skal ta

ansvar for, og hva de skal kunne håndtere. Samtidig blir lærerne kritisert for å bruke for mye tid på tidstyvene, som fjerner fokuset fra fagene og læringsmålene (Meld. St. 19 (2009–2010)). Læreryrket er komplekst, med utallige varierte oppgaver hvor flere av dem kan oppleves å stå i motsetning til hverandre. I tillegg har læreren en forpliktelse til å utvikle eleven sosialt (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2015).

I et forsøk på å avlaste læreren ble det av Tidsbrukutvalget i 2009 foreslått å øke bruken av andre yrkesgrupper i skolen for å fjerne tidstyver fra under- visningen. I stortingsmeldingen som fulgte (Meld. St. nr. 19 (2009–2010)), var det en uttalt målsetting å legge til rette for at mer av lærernes tid kan frigjøres til undervisning. Fra myndighetenes side har ønsket vært at lærerne skal kunne konsentrere seg om undervisningen, mens det som angår det psykososiale læringsmiljøet, skal dekkes av andre, som miljøarbeidere, eller helsesøstre, skolelege, psykiatrisk sykepleier og sosial rådgiver som skoler i ulik grad benytter seg av (ibid.). Flerfaglig kompetanse i skolen har også vært tema for større forskningsprosjekter som nettopp ser på ulike yrkesgruppers tilstedeværelse i skolen.[31] Mens lærerne til nå har dominert alle posisjonene i skolen (stillinger som rektor og rådgiver har (og er) stort sett også vært besatt av lærere (Tønne- sen 2004), åpner man nå for å slippe til andre yrkesgrupper i det som til i dag kan beskrives som et lærerhegemoni. Ut fra kjennskapen til lærerprofesjonen som et yrke med lang historie og sterk identitet vil man kunne forvente at det å introdusere andre yrkesutøvere i skolen vil kunne skape friksjoner mellom de lærerutdannede og andre yrkesgrupper, som miljøarbeideren, som jeg har valgt å ta utgangspunkt i. Jeg bruker «miljøarbeider» som en fellesbetegnelse for ikke-pedagogisk ansatte (non-teacher professional) i

[31] Forskningsprosjektet «Et lag rundt læreren» var finansiert av Utdanningsdirektoratet. Prosjektet skiftet underveis navn til «Et lag rundt eleven». Forskningsprosjektet handler om hvordan forskjellige yrkesgrupper i skolen best kan benyttes, blant annet for å fri gjøre mer av lærernes tid til undervisning og klasseledelse, se Borge mfl. 2014 og www. lagrundteleven.no.

skolen som arbeider med og for læringsmiljøet. For øvrig er det ofte et skille mellom miljøarbeideren som gjerne har yrkes- fag som barne- og ungdomsarbeider fra videregående opplæring, og tittelen «miljøterapeut» som krever minimum tre års utdannelse fra universitet eller høyskole. De fire informantene ved de fire skolene jeg tar for meg senere, har ulik utdannelse og vil dermed bli omtalt som henholdsvis miljøarbeider og miljøterapeut når de omtales spesifikt.

Teoretisk rammeverk

Det teoretiske rammeverket for artikkelen bygger på to perspektiver: Weicks organisasjoner som løst koblede systemer (Orton og Weick 1990; Weick 1976) og Abbotts profesjonssystem (Abbott 1988). Skolen som organisasjon har ofte blitt beskrevet som et løst koblet system hvor ledelsen er mindre tydelig, og lærerne reelt sett sitter med makten, og hvor endring ofte møtes med skepsis. Dette perspektivet er interessant når man skal se nærmere på introduksjonen av nye yrkesgrupper i en organisatorisk kontekst som tradisjonelt sett har vært lærerdominert og lite endringsvillig. Samtidig har det de siste tiår vært en fremvekst av skoler preget av en tettere kobling, hvor tydelig ledelse og mål- og resultatstyring spiller en større rolle. Jurisdiksjonsbegrepene til Abbott kan bidra til å forklare forholdet mellom lærerne og miljøarbeiderne innenfor de ulike organisatoriske kontekstene.

Skolen som løst eller tett koblet

Gjennom begrepet løs kobling vises det til en mangel på samsvar mellom de formelle strukturene. «The concept of loose coupling indicates why people cannot predict much of what happens in organizations» (Weick 2001:384). Med dette menes det at løst koblede systemer ofte er uberegnelige og vanskelige å forutsi. Løse sammenhenger mellom ulike nivå i en organisasjon kan føre til at viktige avgjørelser i realiteten blir tatt av dem som står for den praktiske utførelsen av arbeidet. Innenfor skolen vil det kunne innebære at avgjørelser som gjelder den

faglige kjernevirksomheten, blir tatt i klasserommet uavhengig av og uten dialog med ledelsen. Organisering, gjennomføring, evaluering og utvikling av undervisningen blir bestemt av lærerne i samspill med elevene ut fra egne verdier og holdninger, løsrevet fra både lokale og sentrale mål (Weick 1976). Ut fra dette kan en snakke om en slags taus kunnskap (Polanyi 1966) mellom ledere og lærere der de to gruppene holder på med hver sine oppgaver uten å legge seg opp i hverandres arbeid. Denne tause kunnskapen gjør det vanskelig å få overført kunnskap til andre pedagogiske situasjoner, eller andre lærere. Et slikt asymmetrisk maktforhold, som forholdet mellom skoleledelsen og den autonome lærerstaben, fører til at den formelle lederen er mer avhengig av den underordnedes kunnskap enn omvendt (Paulsen 2011). Organisasjoner med løse koblinger blir som følge av dette svært sensitive for endringer (Weick 1976). I tråd med teorien om skolen som løst koblet har noe av kritikken mot autonomien i læreryrket nettopp vært at den reduserer mulighetene til å gjennomføre gjennomgripende endringer i organisasjonen. På den andre siden kan det hevdes at relasjoner innenfor læreryrket er preget av tette koblinger ved at lærerne har et felles referansegrunnlag. Lærerne har tilnærmet lik utdanning og like arbeidsoppgaver og deler et felles sett normer og verdier (Helgøy og Homme 2007, Mausethagen 2015). Mens organisasjoner vil endre seg etter krav fra omgivelsene, er det kun i den formelle strukturen, som i skolens tilfelle skoleledelsen, at kravene vil medføre endringer. Selv om man forventer at ord fører til handling og at vedtatte planer skal følges, henger realiteten ikke nødvendigvis sammen med de institusjonaliserte kravene. Selv om skolen i Norge tradisjonelt har vært løst koblet og lærerstyrt, har også skolen som organisasjon blitt mer orientert mot ledelse, gjennom for eksempel rektorutdanning.[32] Noen kommuner i Norge stiller langt større krav til lederrollen i skolen enn tidligere.[33]

[32] Rektorutdanning er en videreutdanning for rektorer og skoleledere i grunnskolen og videregående opplæring, hvor et fokusområde for utdanningen er styring og ledelse.

[33] Jf. Osloskolen: «I Osloskolen får du støtten du trenger til å utvikle deg til å bli leder». Oslo kommune – Utdanningsetaten.

I tråd med dette kan man forvente at organisasjoner også vil bli tettere koblet (Orton og Weick 1990). Innenfor et tett koblet system har ledelsen klare ideer og visjoner, ofte på områder som angår mål- og resultatstyring – en tydelig ledelse og en klar rollefordeling med økt vektlegging på ansvar og ansvarliggjøring for de enkelte resultater. Denne ansvarliggjøringen av offentlige instanser assosieres ofte med New Public Management (Bush, Johnsen, Klausen og Vanebo 2011; Christensen og Lægreid 2011). Innenfor et tett koblet system får både ledelsen og læreren et større ansvar for elevens læring. Ledelsen må i større grad stå til ansvar for skolens samlede resultater, og dette åpner for en ny type leder i skolesammenheng. Samtidig blir også læreren i større grad enn før holdt ansvarlig for den enkelte elev. I dette ligger det en større forventning til lærernes evne til å nå frem til alle elevene. Denne formen for styring ansvarliggjør skolen som organisasjon ved å koble elevenes læring til lærernes praksis. Inspirert av Weicks begreper om løse og tette koblinger har jeg klassifisert skolene i undersøkelsen. Skolene med sterke fagtradisjoner faller inn under kategorien lærerstyrte skoler, og den andre kategorien med mer tydelig og målrettet ledelse blir kalt ledelsesstyrte skoler. Disse idealtypene representerer to ulike tradisjoner i skolen. Tabellen nedenfor skisserer hovedtrekkene ved de to ulike systemene.

Tabell 1: Kjennetegn ved de ulike skolers organisering.

De lærerstyrte	De ledelsesstyrte
Mindre synlig ledelse	Sterk og synlig ledelse
Taus kunnskap	Klare kommunikasjonslinjer
Individuell frihet	Kollektiv orientering
Regelstyring	Mål- og resultatstyring
Autonomi	Tydelige rammer
Mindre endringsvillige	Mer endringsvillige

Læreren og miljøarbeideren: et profesjonsteoretisk perspektiv

Ettersom jeg ønsker å se nærmere på relasjoner mellom to yrkesgrupper, vil jeg kombinere Weicks begreper om løse og tette koblinger med Abbotts profesjonsteori. Andrew Abbotts bok om profesjonssystemer representerer et syn på profesjoner og deres forhold til hverandre (Abbott 1988). Spesielt interessant er det som skjer i skjæringspunktene mellom to profesjoner, siden profesjonene ofte er forbundet med hverandre, og endringer i én yrkesgruppe får konsekvenser for den andre (ibid.:8). Et sentralt spørsmål i denne artikkelen er hvilke sosiale prosesser som settes i gang når nye profesjoner får innpass i nye organisatoriske kontekster. En profesjon vil typisk betegne en gruppe mennesker med en spesiell kunnskap, basert på vitenskap og faglig innsikt. (Abbott 1988; Torgersen 1972; Molander og Terum 2008). Den mest sentrale egenskapen ved en profesjon er kontroll over kunnskap og dens anvendelse. I et profesjonssystem ses de profesjonelle som innbyrdes forbundet med hverandre i et gjensidig avhengig system som samtidig også er et hierarkisk system (Abbott 1988; Erichsen 1996). Ved å utforske skolen som et profesjonssystem kan jeg belyse hvordan lærere og miljøarbeidere forholder seg til hverandre.

Jurisdiksjon

Abbott definerer jurisdiksjon som koblingen mellom profesjonsorganisasjonen og profesjonens praksis (Abbott 1988:20; Erichsen 1996:14). Å kjempe om jurisdiksjonell kontroll over et arbeid innebærer å hevde den eksklusive retten til arbeidet (Abbott 1988:86). Dette kan gjøres på flere arenaer, hvor de tre viktigste er rettssystemet, offentligheten og arbeidsplassen. Rettssystemet kan sikre formell kontroll over arbeidet gjennom lover. Det er ofte profesjonens målsetting å oppnå legalt arbeidsmonopol. Gjennom offentligheten kan profesjonene legitimere sine krav overfor grupper som i sin tur kan øve press på lovgiverne, og samtidige svekke motstanderne i kampen om jurisdiksjon på arbeidsplassen (ibid.:59–62).

Full jurisdiksjon

Den mest fullkomne kontroll en profesjon kan besitte, er full jurisdiksjon (Abbott 1988). Full jurisdiksjon over et praksisområde hevdes offentlig, og det hevdes overfor lovgivende myndigheter. Den offentlige hevd får et uttrykk gjennom flere kanaler, hvor medier som aviser, tv og radioprogrammer er viktige formidlere. Full jurisdiksjon kjennetegnes ved at det finnes formelle lover og regler som angår praksisen som profesjonene utfører (Abbott 1988:70–71). Tanken er at disse lovene blir gitt legitimitet gjennom hevdvunnen rett, altså at en gruppe, som for eksempel lærere, alltid har utført en bestemt praksis, og at det er allment godtatt at de er de beste til å gjøre nettopp dette. For at beskyttelsen, som garanterer profesjonens kontroll over eget virke, skal kunne vedvare som stabil ordning, er det et krav at den må legitimeres kontinuerlig (Weber 2000). Den jurisdiksjonelle kontrollen legitimeres ved profesjonens teoretiske kunnskap og ved profesjonens effektive anvendelse av denne (Abbott 1988:70). Ved full jurisdiksjon er det ikke adgang for andre profesjoner til å utføre noen oppgaver innen praksisområdet som jurisdiksjonen gjelder for. Jurisdiksjonen er en eksklusiv rett, og som sådan opprettholder den et arbeidsmarkedsmonopol for en bestemt type arbeid. Lærerprofesjonen har hatt nettopp et slikt arbeidsmarkedsmonopol, hvor det er klart gjennom lovverket at den som underviser i skolen, skal ha relevant fagleg og pedagogisk kompetanse (opplæringslova § 10-1). På arbeidsplassene varierer kampen om jurisdiksjon svært mye etter kontekst. En forutsetning er nettopp at det er flere profesjoner til stede. Det å hevde eneretten til et arbeid har derfor mange konfliktdimensjoner ved seg.

Det finnes ulike former for kontroll en profesjon kan utøve. Profesjonens jurisdiksjonelle kontroll er helt avgjørende for å forstå hvordan en profesjon påvirker og påvirkes av andre profesjoner og institusjonelle omgivelser. Et resultat av jurisdiksjonelle konflikter kan være at den ene profesjonen underordnes den andre. Ofte vil den underordnede profesjonen kjempe om

utvidet jurisdiksjon, eller de vil minske avstanden til den overordnede profesjonen. Andre yrkesgrupper vil kunne hevde at de besitter en annen, men gjerne likeverdig kompetanse, som profesjonen med full jurisdiksjon besitter (Abbott 1988:71). Underordning er et resultat av konflikt om jurisdiksjon som er godtatt av offentligheten. Mellom de to foregående kontrollformene (full jurisdiksjon og underordning) finner vi intellektuell jurisdiksjon (Abbott 1988). Dette forkommer når en profesjon fastholder sin kontroll over kunnskaps-forvaltningen og kunnskapsproduksjonen over et område, men blir tvunget til å godta at andre yrkesutøvere konkurrerer om å yte samme type tjenester. Her blir kampen for og mot jurisdiksjonell underordning særlig relevant. En svakere form for jurisdiksjon er der hvor en profesjon hevder retten til å gi råd, nemlig rådgivende jurisdiksjon. Denne formen gir også retten til å fortolke og delvis moderere praksisen til en annen profesjon, som en implikasjon av det å gi råd. I slike tilfeller har ofte begge profesjoner full jurisdiksjonell kontroll på egne atskilte praksisfelt (Abbott 1988:75). Rådgivende jurisdiksjon kan sees på som et skritt i retning av å utvide sine jurisdiksjonelle grenser (Abbott 1988:76; Erichsen 1996:46). I noen tilfeller vil det lykkes en profesjon å oppnå delt jurisdiksjon på et arbeidsområde sammen med en annen profesjon. Det er to varianter av delt jurisdiksjon (Abbott 1988:340). Et eksempel på den første varianten er der profesjonene innen den delte jurisdiksjonen betrakter hverandre som to uavhengige, men supplerende profesjoner (ibid.:73; Erichsen 1996:47). I dette eksemplet er det en formell, funksjonelt differensiert arbeidsdeling på basis av kunnskapsgrunnlaget. En annen type delt jurisdiksjon finner sted når ulike profesjoner skal utføre de samme arbeidsoppgavene, altså at de i prinsippet ikke er funksjonelt differensierte. Dersom vi ser for oss at lærerne har full jurisdiksjon, blir da hensikten at de nye yrkesgruppene skal oppnå en form for delt jurisdiksjon, som en slags supplerende profesjon i skolen. Er det mer sannsynlig å forvente at delt juris- diksjon kan skje innenfor en organisatorisk kontekst hvor lærerrollen i utgangspunktet ikke står så sterkt, altså innenfor de ledelsesstyrte skolene? Tilsvarende, på de mindre endringsvillige, lærerstyrte skolene, vil vi dermed kunne forvente at de nye yrkesgruppene heller vil bli plassert i en

underordnet posisjon?

Figur 1: Antagelse: skolenes organisatoriske utforming basert på ovennevnte teoretiske rammeverk.

a*) Ledelsesstyrte skoler*   b*) Lærerstyrte skoler*
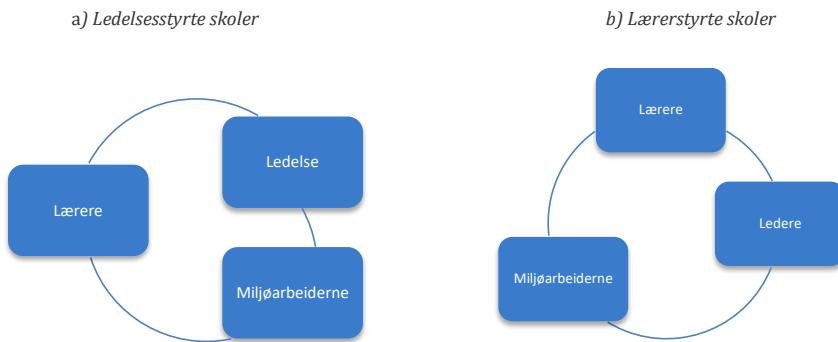
Data og metode

Artikkelen er basert på intervjuer ved fire ungdomsskoler i 2015–2016. De fire skolene er lokalisert i tilnærmet like demografiske områder med elever fra hjem med sosiale og økonomiske utfordringer. Det at de fire ungdomsskolene har samme type sosiale og økonomiske utfordringer, gjør at jeg kan forvente at skolene kunne ha utbytte av å få andre yrkesgrupper inn i skolen, slik intensjonen var fra sentralt hold. Målet har vært å kunne belyse det jeg selv mener er noen interessante tendenser, uten å kunne påberope noen form for generalisering. Valg av miljøarbeiderrollen fremfor for eksempel helsesøster innenfor kategorien «andre yrkesgrupper i skolen» er begrunnet med et ønske om å komme tettere på det pedagogiske arbeidet. Alle intervjuene på de fire skolene ligger til grunn for analysen, men ikke alle er henvist til i teksten. Blant annet har jeg inkludert elevene i datamaterialet nettopp for å få med en viktig stemme som bakgrunnsteppe. På hver skole ble det gjennomført både enkelt- og gruppeintervjuer med henholdsvis rektor, lærere, rådgivere, helsesøster og andre informanter med ansvar for aktiviteter relatert til å bedre læringsmiljøet, for å unngå at unge faller fra nå eller senere. Hvert intervju varte mellom 50 og 120 minutter. Samtalene ble tatt opp og senere transkribert. Det ble brukt

semistrukturert intervjuguide inndelt i temaer og preformulerte spørsmål for å sikre at samme tema ble berørt i hvert intervju. Den dialogbaserte intervjuformen tillot at temaene ble berørt naturlig i samtalen (Kvale og Brinkmann 2009). På skolenivå dreide intervjuene seg i stor grad om lokal praksis og organisering. Lærerne ble spurt om samarbeidsrutiner både innad i kollegiet og med ledelse og psykososialt i tillegg til det pedagogiske med elevene. Viktig er det for øvrig å bemerke at slike gruppeintervjuer både kan fremme og hemmes av sosial kontroll (Thagaard 2013). Samtidig, ettersom samtalene foregikk i grupper med henholdsvis elever og lærere som ofte var fra samme klasse eller i samme kollegium, kan vi likevel forvente at det som ble sagt, er mer eller mindre kjent kunnskap. Tabellen nedenfor gir en oversikt over de fire skolenes skoledistrikt og skolens sammensetning, dette for bedre å belyse de ulike skolenes kontekst, samt å fremheve hvor like de fire skolene faktisk er.

Tabell 2: Oversikt over demografi og de fire skolenes organisering.

| | Skoledistrikt | | Skolens sammensetning | | | |
	Innbyggere	Minoritets-språklige	Utfordringer	Antall elever	Annen kompetanse	Fokusområde
Forsteds-skolen	30 000	11 %	Høy andel uføretrygdede, enslige forsørgere barnevernssaker	400 elever	Miljøarbeider/ Bibliotekar Helsesøster 50 %	To spesial grupper på skolen, en for unge med lære vansker, og et alternativt skoleopplegg
Drabant-byskolen	40 000	20 %	Høy andel uføre trygdede, barne-fattigdom, lav utdannelse og barnevernssaker	690 elever	Miljøterapeut Helsesøster 120 %	Fokus på grunnleggende ferdigheter (Ny Giv) og har videreført intensiv opplæring
Storby-skolen	30 000	64 %	Høy andel fattige barnefamilier, barnevernssaker og sosialklienter	500 elever	Miljøterapeut Helsesøster 40 %	Fokus på å få eleven på skolen og fullføre vgs.
Industri-byskolen	20 000	16 %	Høy andel fattige barnefamilier, barnevernssaker og enslige forsørgere	250 elever	Miljøteam: to miljøar beidere og en miljøterapeut Helsesøster 60 %	Fokus på elevenes trivsel, og helhetlige tiltak

Gjennom å benytte en tematisk analyse har jeg kunnet identifisere temaer og mønstre og gå tilsvarende i dybden på disse (Clarke og Braun 2013; Thagaard 2013). I analysen av intervjumaterialet har jeg kodet temaer i teksten med stikkord, som så har vært sammenlignet på tvers av intervjuene. Eksempler på

stikkord generert fra intervjuene er organisering, kompetanse, samarbeid og lærerrollen, som alle beskriver tematisk hva jeg var ute etter.

Informanter

Tabellen nedenfor gir en oversikt over antallet informanter fordelt på de ulike skoler. Antall informanter varierer noe fra skole til skole. Dette skyldes at det var ledelsen på den enkelte skole som fikk i oppgave å finne tilgjengelige og relevante informanter på intervjutidspunktet. Noen steder deltok også flere fra ledelsen på hvert intervju. Det er krav til anonymisering av informantene i undersøkelsen. Derfor er ingen av fylkene, kommuner, skoler eller informanter navngitt. Likevel er det trolig ikke til å unngå at noen kjenner igjen visse særtrekk ved de enkelte skolekretser i den empiriske fremstillingen.

Tabell 3: Oversikt over informanter.

	Skoleleder	Lærer	Rådgiver	Andre yrkes-grupper	Elever	Totalt
Forsted	1	1		1	6	9
Drabantby	1	1		1	4	7
Storby	4	2	1	1	3	11
Industriby	2	1	1	1	3	8

Kontekst: De fire skolene

Skissene av de ulike skolene er utelukkende basert på intervjumaterialet fra den enkelte skole. De fire skolene illustrerer ulike måter å se på samhandlingen mellom læreren og miljøarbeideren, innenfor to ulike organisatoriske kontekster.

Forstedsskolen

Forstedskolen ligger i et område utenfor en større by i Norge. Området ble etablert på 1960-tallet, med flere lavblokksområder som stammer fra denne tiden. Det bor om lag 30 000 mennesker i området.

Skolen har en tydelig satsing på inkludering, med flere egne tiltak for elever som sliter med fravær og motivasjon. Skolen har også intensivundervisning som ble initiert under det nasjonale tiltaket Ny Giv Overgangsprosjektet.[34] Intensivundervisningen er et alternativ til klasseromsundervisning for de svakest presterende elevene i faget matematikk. Skolen har en miljøarbeider som er en utdannet barne- og ungdomsarbeider. Hun har jobbet ved skolen i 20 år. Miljøarbeideren har kontor på biblioteket og er også ansvarlig for skolens leseinnsats og elevrådets arbeid. Miljøarbeideren arbeidet tett sammen med den forrige rektoren og fikk i stor grad frie tøyler til å følge opp elevene slik det passet henne. Blant annet hentet hun elever om morgenen og motiverte ellers umotiverte elever gjennom belønningssystemer som involverte pizza eller fotballkamp. Dette har imidlertid endret seg noe etter at skolen fikk ny rektor for fem år siden. Miljøarbeideren har et tett forhold til elevene og kan til enhver tid navnet på alle elevene på skolen. Hun organiserer også et frokosttilbud for alle elevene hver morgen. Trass i det tilsynelatende gode forholdet til elevene sliter miljøarbeideren med å bli akseptert på skolen blant både lærere og rektor. Hun blir ikke invitert til fellesmøter, eller involvert i lesestrategien, selv som ansvarlig for biblioteket. Miljøarbeideren uttrykker selv at hun ikke tror resten av staben på skolen egentlig vet hva som skjer av aktiviteter på biblioteket, og at den kunnskap hun får gjennom sitt noe unike forhold til elevene, ikke blir vurdert som relevant (intervju, miljøarbeider- forstedsskolen). I intervjuene blir det ikke henvist av hverken rektor eller læreren til miljøarbeideren sitt arbeid eller som ressursperson på skolen når dette tas opp som tema.

Drabantbyskolen

Drabantbyskolen ligger i et område utenfor en større by hvor området består av blokkbebyggelse fra 1960- og -70-tallet. Det bor om lag 40 000 mennesker i området. Drabantbyskolen har hatt grunnleggende ferdigheter som

---

[34] I 2011 satte Regjeringen i gang Ny GIV, et treårig prosjekt for å øke gjennomføringen i videregående opplæring. Oppfølgingsprosjektet var ett av satsingsområdene, og målet har vært å styrke innsatsen overfor ungdom som er i ferd med å slutte eller har sluttet i videregående skole, gjennom blant annet intensivundervisning for de svakest presterende 10 % av elevgruppen.

satsningsområde og har valgt å videreføre intensivundervisningen fra Ny Giv. Rektor ved skolen sier også selv at Ny Giv-metodikken fortsatt preger mye av undervisningen deres. Rektor ble ansatt for tre år siden, etter en større omorganisering på skolen. Han var tidligere ansatt som lærer på den samme skolen. Drabantbyskolen har ansatt en miljøterapeut for å jobbe mer helhetlig med læringsmiljøet på skolen. Miljøterapeuten har som hovedfunksjon å arbeide forebyggende. Dette gjør han gjennom å lage overordnede planer og visjoner for skolen hva angår læringsmiljøet. Til forskjell fra miljøarbeideren på forstedsskolen er miljøterapeuten her mer involvert i arbeidet både med ledelsen og lærerne; han sitter også i lederteamet med rektor og resten av skoleledelsen. Miljøterapeuten har også oppfølgingsansvar for enkeltelever, etter henvisning fra lærer, som i stor grad er samtaleorientert. På drabantbyskolen ble det nevnt at de yngre lærerne var langt mer positive og aktive i bruken av miljøterapeuten i sitt arbeid enn den eldre lærergruppen (intervju, rektor – drabantbyskolen).

Storbyskolen

Storbyskolen ligger i utkanten av en storby i et område med ca. 30 000 bebo- ere. Storbyskolen ble ferdigstilt i 2015 og er dermed ny. 97 % av elevene har minoritetsspråklig bakgrunn. Skolen har satset særlig på norsk og matematikk og har økt voksentetthet i disse fagene.

Storbyskolen pærer preg av å være en skole med en sterk og tydelig ledelse, med klare forventninger til både sine ansatte og til elevgruppen. Skolen ligger i et område som er kjent for å være svært belastet, og har derfor tatt i bruk ulike metoder for å motivere elevene. Alle elevene på skolen må legge ytterklær og sko i egne skap, samtidig som elevene har fått tildelt tøfler. Ledelsen på skolen står hver morgen og hilser alle elevene velkommen, for å få oversikt over hvem som møter på skolen. Slik får også ledelsen oversikt over hvem som ikke har møtt og som da må hentes eller ringes til slik at de kommer på skolen. Assisterende rektor ved storbyskolen beskriver morgenene på skolen som «å krysse muren mellom Vest- og Øst-Tyskland fordi det er så mange checkpoints underveis» (skoleleder –

storbyskolen). Mindre klasser og to kontaktlærere på hver klasse skal frigjøre tid til mer oppfølging av elevene. Storbyskolen har ansatt en miljøterapeut. Miljøterapeutens stilling går i stor grad ut på å registrere uønsket adferd blant elevene. Hvis en elev forstyrrer undervisningen på noen måte, vil vedkommende motta en anmerkning, en følgeseddel, og må gå direkte til miljøterapeuten for å få en signatur og ta en prat. Tiltaket er satt i gang for å forhindre uro i timene. Miljøterapeutens arbeid går ut på å holde oversikt over hvem som er til stede på skolen, og ta kontakt med foreldre i de tilfellene hvor elever ikke har møtt opp, og registrere og systematisere følgesedlene. I tillegger er miljøterapeuten sammen med ledelsen hver morgen og ønsker elevene velkommen.

Industribyskole

Industribyskolen ligger i utkanten av en mellomstor by i et område med ca. 20 000 innbyggere. Byen og områdene rundt bærer preg av å være en industriby. Industribyskolen har en rektor med klare ideer og visjoner for skolen: Ledelsen og lærerne på skolen formidler at de er opptatt av eleven og elevens beste, ikke resultater eller karakterer, men ved et større fokus på holdningsarbeid, etikk og positivitet (rektor – industribyskolen). Dette er synliggjort gjennom skolens endrede ressursbruk: blant annet har skolen fjernet assistenter fra undervisningen og i stedet valgt å bruke ressursene på et miljøteam bestående av tre personer: to miljøarbeidere og en miljøterapeut. Miljøteamet skal blant annet avlaste lærerne gjennom å arrangere mer praktiskrettete aktiviteter for elever med behov for en mer variert skoledag, for eksempel driver miljøteamet kantinen sammen med elever. En annen endring den nye rektoren har innført, er at elever som har individuell opplæringsplan (IOP), skal være til stede i den ordinære undervisningen, ifølge rektor for å ha noe å strebe etter, men også for å unngå at de havner på siden av den resterende elevmassen.

Analyse og diskusjon

Presentasjonen av skolene viser at de fire skolene har ulike utgangspunkt for å

integrere miljøarbeiderne på skolen. Videre vil jeg se om det er slik at den organisatoriske konteksten kan ha noe å si for skolene og hvordan de imøte-kommer disse nye yrkesgruppene. I forhold til forventningene jeg etablerte i teoriavsnittet, ser vi at de fire skolene bærer preg av å falle innenfor to ulike kategorier, om enn i ulik grad. Et viktig funn er hvor ulike de fire miljøarbeidernes rolle er, og ikke minst hvor ulikt de selv oppfatter sin egen kompetanse og sitt bidrag til skolen. For å understreke variasjonen i miljøarbeiderrollen har jeg gitt miljøarbeiderne deskriptive navn for ytterligere å beskrive funksjonen miljøarbeideren har ved den enkelte skole.

De lærerstyrte skolene

Forstedskolen og drabantbyskolen kan plasseres i kategorien lærerstyrte skoler da begge bærer preg av å ha sterke fagtradisjoner og en mindre tydelig ledelse. Miljøarbeideren ved forstedsskolen beskriver en rolle hvor hun i stor grad fungerer som en sosialarbeider for elevene på skolen. Hun beskriver et system hvor hun, som ikke-pedagog, har vansker for å få innpass hos både ledelse og lærere. Miljøarbeideren beskriver hvordan hun som utenforstående har funnet sin plass sammen med elevene, en plass som lærerne ikke benytter siden hun er lokalisert i skolebiblioteket:

> *Ja, så jeg henter ferske rundstykker på vei til jobb. Det hender at de står og venter utenfor når jeg kommer, og det har hendt at de står utenfor butikken og skal sitte på resten. Og så hjelper de litt til, lyst til å bidra. Da har vi noe å prate om, noe de lurer på, noe de synes er litt vanskelig, og så går de her og tusler. Da har vi levende lys og av med taklyset. God stemning. Og så sitter de jo rundt bordet, jeg sitter ofte ved databordet med tekoppen og avisen, så går vi litt gjennom avisen, og har litt quiz. Tar opp ting som opptar dem (...)*

(Miljøarbeider – Forstedskolen).

Miljøarbeideren blir her en selvstendig aktør innenfor skolens rammer, noe som resulterer i et lite integrert og lite samkjørt tilbud ved skolen. Hennes jobb er som ressurs for elevene, ikke de ansatte. På drabantbyskolen sitter miljøterapeuten i skolens ledergruppe og er anerkjent som en viktig ressurs for skolen selv om

hans arbeidsoppgaver er mer strategiske. I så måte kan han sees på som en trojansk hest som er alliert med ledelsen for å nå frem til lærerne.

> *Vi erfarer at ikke alle elevene blir oppdaget, og ikke alle elever som vi oppdager heller, får hjelp. Heller ikke riktig hjelp. Og ikke fort nok. Og det var liksom utgangspunktet for min stilling. At, okay, da, da henter vi inn noen, inn i skolen som har en annen fagkompetanse enn vi har, som skal på en måte dekke det her, gråsonen. Så ideen er at jeg skal bidra til at vi, at vi fanger opp alle som trenger hjelp., og at de får riktig hjelp på riktig plass. Jeg jobber jo mye med å igangsette andre*

(Miljøterapeut – Drabantbyskolen).

Hans funksjon gir ham innpass overalt, likevel er han ikke fullt akseptert hos lærerne, noe som antageligvis har med hans dobbeltrolle å gjøre. Rektorene ved de to lærerstyrte skolene uttrykte begge at det ofte stilles kritiske spørsmål knyttet til forslagene om endring blant enkelte lærergrupper ved skolene. Dette ble unnskyldt av en av rektorene «som en generell skolekultur» (rektor – drabantbyskolen). Dette setter jeg i sammenheng med lærerens tradisjonelt frie og autonome yrkesutøvelse som har preget de lærer- styrte skolene. Historisk sett har rektor i liten grad blandet seg inn i lærernes pedagogiske aktiviteter. Vi kan her snakke om en slags skjult kontrakt mellom rektor og lærere – en felles aksept av at de ikke blander seg inn i hverandres arbeidsområder (Berg 1999; Møller 2004:160) Eksempelvis fortalte rektor ved drabantbyskolen om et vellykket teamarbeid på tvers, mens en lærer ved samme skole i sitt intervju kunne fortelle at dette hadde fungert dårlig. Dette kan bidra til å forklare hvorfor endringer i skolen kan etableres på ledelsesnivå uten at det får en reell påvirkning på skolens praksis (Cuban 1990, 1993). Siden skoleledelsen tradisjonelt sett ikke har styrt undervisningsrelaterte saker, blir lærerne ved slike skoler i stor grad skjermet fra påvirkninger og strategiske forslag utenfra (Weick 1976). I en institusjon som skolen kan det derfor bli nødvendig å kompensere for løse koblinger gjennom en mer utpreget form for styring og ledelse. Dersom skoler har en uklar organisasjonslogikk, kan enighet om mål, verdier, preferanser

og normer kompensere for dette gjennom tette kulturelle koblinger (Meyer og Rowan 1977).

De ledelsesstyrte skolene

Ved de to resterende skolene, industribyskolen og storbyskolen, er ledelsen desto mer tydelig og engasjert i det den ønsker å formidle, men det er ulikt på de to skolene hvorvidt lærerstaben deler ledelsens engasjement og entusiasme. På storbyskolen fungerer miljøterapeuten mer som en slags sikkerhetsventil, og besitter i større grad en politifunksjon. Han tar imot og registrerer elever, både på morgenen for å kartlegge hvem som kommer, og i løpet av dagen gjennom å registrere anmerkninger. Han er også den som ringer foreldrene for å orientere om elevers manglende tilstedeværelse.

> *Men vi har et skjema som er litt sånn standardisert. Der det står navn, klasse, hvem som sender eleven med en følgeseddel, når det skjer, og så videre. Hvis du tråkker over grensen så får du en følgeseddel. Da er opp- gaven deres, gå med den følgeseddelen, det skjemaet, til mitt kontor. Der hvor de får en kort samtale om hva gikk galt. Er man uenig i følgeseddelen. etter å ha snakket litte grann om det, de blir da sendt tilbake med en liten sånn gul lapp, at de har vært her, med klokkeslett og sånn, sånn at man vet det at det ikke går så veldig, tar så veldig lang tid fra de kommer til meg, og til klasserommet igjen. Så prøver de på nytt. Hvis de (elevene) er på en måte totalt uenig, så avtaler vi et møte etter skoletid med meg og den læreren. Det er på en måte deres rettssikkerhet da.*
>
> (Miljøterapeut – storbyskolen).

Sitatet ovenfor viser hvordan miljøterapeutens posisjon handler mer om sys- tem enn person. Dette systemet er gjennomgående og illustreres også ved at lærerne selv er ansvarlig for sine elevers velbefinnende. Lærerrollen er utvidet til å også være sosialrådgiver, eller psykolog, mot deres eget ønske, slik som læreren treffende beskriver det i sitatet nedenfor.

> *Skolepsykolog? Nei, det er vel lærerne det*
>
> (lærer – storbyskolen).

Ved industribyskolen har hele miljøteamet inntatt en rolle som koordinator for lærerne. De har ansvar for å avlaste lærerne ved å ta vare på den elevgruppen som sliter faglig og sosialt. Målet er at miljøarbeiderne skal gli sømløst inn i skolen og fjerne elever som trenger et avbrekk fra undervisningen. Dette gir både lærere og elever uttrykk for at fungerer etter intensjonen, noe som fører til at både lærerne og miljøarbeiderne føler de får brukt sin kompetanse. Ved industribyskolen blir det beskrevet hvordan lærerne selv føler seg sett og ivaretatt av ledelsen, og at de skjønner hva rektor ønsker å formidle. De har tro på lederen sin. Rektor selv sier for øvrig at lærerne i starten var svært misfornøyd med det nye opplegget hun igangsatte. Endringsmulighetene til enkelte skoler avhenger av de eksisterende strukturene, og siden det i organisasjonen ligger begrensninger og muligheter som man må ta hensyn til, blir endring for eksempel enklere hvis den ikke strider imot institusjonens identitet og kultur (Thelen, Steinmo og Longstreth 1992). Dette belyses godt av industribyskolens rektor som beskriver hvordan endringene hun ønsket å innføre, ble mottatt av enkelte av lærerne:

> De ansatte følte at de fikk et stort press på seg fordi jeg gav dem arbeids- oppgaver. De måtte prestere og levere noe, og da var det noen ansatte som protesterte og var sure og heller ikke leverte. Til slutt var skammen verre å bære når de så hva deres kolleger kom med og hadde gjort og så videre.
>
> (Rektor, Industribyskolen).

Storbyskolen deler ikke de ansatte visjonene til ledelsen i samme grad, og det uttrykkes stor frustrasjon over at ledelsen forstår hvor mye sosialarbeid lærernes arbeidshverdag innbefatter. Derimot uttrykker ledelsen ved storbyskolen følgende: «*Vårt ønske er å få lærerne til å synes at det er så interessant å jobbe at de vil utvide arbeidstiden*» (rektor – storbyskolen). I tråd med industriby- skolens rektor har ledelsen ved storbyskolen også utarbeidet en visjon som de nå arbeider med å overbevise sine ansatte om at vil bære frukter dersom den gis tid. I motsetning til storbyskolen har industribyskolen opprettet et system for å avlaste lærerne, i motsetning til ytterligere å legge til arbeidsbyrden.

En av forventningene som lå til grunn for artikkelen, var at lærerstyrte skoler ville være mindre åpne for å inkludere de nye yrkesgruppene. Analysen har vist

at lærerne ved de lærerstyrte skolene er nettopp mindre endringsvillige og mottakelige for nye ideer og praksiser, kanskje spesielt når slike kommer fra en utenforstående ikke-lærer. Samtidig har vi sett på den tydelige ledelsesstyrte storbyskolen at lærerne tydelig ytrer ønske om avlastning, uten å få gehør for ønsket. Dette viser nettopp hvor viktig det er med en skoleledelse som evner å forstå lærernes betydning og rolle i skolen. Til slutt, gjennom å benytte kategoriseringene løst vs. tett koblet har jeg fremhevet hvordan ulike styresett preger skolen som organisasjon på ulike måter. Samtidig er det viktig å erkjenne at selve ideen om tette og løse koblinger kan forstås ulikt. Eksempelvis kan de skoler jeg argumenterer for er tett koblet, være tilsvarende løst koblet hva angår utdanningssystemets kjerneoppgaver; de ledelsesstyrte skolene kan ha tette koblinger mot styring og ledelse, men løse koblinger mot det faglige og pedagogiske arbeidet som lærerne står for. Dermed kunne de ledelsesstyrte skolene like gjerne blitt kalt løst koblet. Tilsvarende er de lærerstyrte skolene preget av tette koblinger mellom skoleledelsen og lærerkollegiet, som alle har bakgrunn og identitet som lærere. De kjennetegnes av en felles pedagogfaglig tilnærming til skolens kjerneoppgaver. Gjennom å indentifisere og kategorisere trekkene til skolene har jeg villet markere en tendens, en slags todeling som jeg mener preger skolen som organisasjon i Norge.

Det jurisdiksjonelle handlingsrommet til miljøarbeideren

Den organisatoriske konteksten preger skolenes forhold til politikk og endringsforslag. Skoler som er lærerstyrte, kan gjøre det vanskeligere for en ikke-pedagog å bli fullverdig integrert i arbeidsmiljøet, nettopp fordi lærerne fyller så mange roller og har så stor betydning i den organisatoriske konteksten. Jurisdiksjon kan fordeles ulikt og gi forskjellig grad av myndighet. En ideal-modell (Abbott 1988:71–78) representeres ofte ved legens rolle, med monopol på klart definerte oppgaver som et eksempel på full jurisdiksjon. Den samme modell kan overføres til skolen som organisasjon. Arbeidsplassen, uavhengig av om det er et sykehus eller en skole, er en arena der profesjonelle krefter er i spill, dermed kan profesjonenes monopoler angripes og må forsvares. Nett- opp slik kan det

fremstå som at opplevelsen var for lærerne ved de lærerstyrte skolene, overfor de to miljøarbeidere. Læreres rett til legitimitet er hevdvunnen, det har vært allment godtatt at de er de beste til å gjøre denne oppgaven. For at det skal kunne vedvare som stabil ordning, er det et krav at den må legitimeres kontinuerlig (Weber 2000:87). Ved at nasjonale myndigheter åpner for andre yrkesgrupper, kan det trolig føles som at legitimiteten utfordres og at den eksklusive retten på arbeidsmonopolet, lærerhegemoniet, utfordres.

Målet må likevel være å oppnå en slags delt jurisdiksjon, slik som ved industribyskolen der miljøarbeideren fungerer mer som en slags koordinator og praktisk avlaster for lærerne gjennom en gjensidig respekt for ekspertise og fagområder. Dette krever at profesjonene må heve seg over sine egeninteresser og den gitte fordeling av jurisdiksjon og etatsgrenser. I samarbeid må profesjonene forholde seg til den profesjonen med full jurisdiksjon, og være klar over deres egen rolle og betydning. Kravet om samarbeid og endring presser profesjoner til å gå i møte med hverandre og endre sine etablerte roller. Samarbeidet kan dermed etableres på forskjellige nivå fra en uforpliktende dialog, gjennom mer forpliktende samhandling der en deler på informasjon og ferdigheter, til et høyt nivå av samarbeid der profesjonelle forskjeller viskes ut og tett samarbeid oppstår (Jacobsen og Torsvik 2013:361).

Samtidig ser vi at sosialarbeideren ved forstedsskolen kan tjene som modell for en type underordnet jurisdiksjon da hun beskriver en slags dikotomisk tilstand mellom henne og resten av skolen. Den trojanske hesten havner for øvrig et sted mellom intellektuell og rådgivende jurisdiksjon. Ut fra miljøarbeiderens egen og ledelsens oppfatning av hans rolle på skolen ville han trolig blitt definert som et eksempel på intellektuell jurisdiksjon. Han, som ansvarlig for skolens læringsmiljø, sitter på kunnskapen som skal til for å veilede lærerne på riktig spor. Samtidig har han en slags rådgivende jurisdiksjon ut fra hvordan lærerne ser på ham, som en slags informasjonsvegg som også enkelt kan passeres i gangen uten å tas nærmere hensyn til. Den reelle fordeling av jurisdiksjon er altså i stadig endring gjennom forhandlinger og uformelle grep i hverdagen.

Tilsvarende faller politifunksjonen mellom to former for jurisdiksjon, hvor han er i en klar underordnet posisjon hvor han blir satt til arbeidsoppgaver som er klart utenfor hans kompetanseområde som miljøterapeut. Hans ønske er trolig å ha mer en slags rådgivende jurisdiksjon, men i realiteten overtar politirollen i stor grad hans arbeidshverdag. Slik sett kan man også si at politifunksjonen er resultat av det Abbott kaller *workplace assimilation* (Abbott 1988:65), noe som innebærer at mens en fagperson egentlig skulle ha gjort noe på bakgrunn av tittel og teoretisk kunnskap, i stedet gjør annet uten formelle tillatelser. Spenninger mellom profesjoner oppstår selvsagt ikke bare ved skoler, men er et allment fenomen når forskjellige profesjoner skal samarbeide tett. Selv om miljøarbeideren per definisjon ikke faller innenfor Abbotts profesjonsbegrep, fremstår det tydelig hvordan miljøarbeiderne som gruppe utfordrer lærernes jurisdiksjon. Kjennskap til disse utfordringene kan bidra til at de ansatte heller ser nærmere på hvordan skillelinjer kan formes på en mer konstruktiv måte, og hvordan samarbeid kan etableres mellom de etablerte og de nye profesjonene på en arbeidsplass. Skolen som organisasjon står kontinuerlig overfor nye utfordringer som krever en tilpasning til omgivelsene på nye måter (Scott, Ruef, Mendel og Caronna 2000), ikke minst når man snakker om en organisasjon hvor en kontinuerlig dynamisk elevgruppe tilbringer store deler av døgnet. I denne artikkelen har jeg prøvd å beskrive hvordan den organisatoriske kontekst tilsynelatende preger hvordan skoler tar til seg ny politikk og forslag til endring. Man kan argumentere for at det å åpne for å få inn andre yrkesgrupper i skolen for å avlaste lærerne til dels strider mot prinsippet og ideen om den norske enhetsskolen. Enhetsskolen skulle bidra til å gjøre Norge mer enhetlig, både sosialt og kulturelt (Slagstad 1998), og læreren satt med det overordnede ansvaret for dette. I tråd med dette er det trolig at endel lærere vil finne at en vesentlig del av deres mandat blir fjernet ved innføringen av miljøarbeideren i skolen.

Konklusjon

I denne artikkelen har jeg satt søkelyset på innføringen av andre yrkesutøvere i skolen, og problematisert hvordan skolers organisatoriske kontekst kan påvirke hvordan nye yrkesgrupper blir mottatt og integrert i det faglige fellesskapet. Innledningsvis presenterte jeg en antagelse om at det å fremme tverrfaglig kompetanse ville styrke mulighetene for samarbeid og tidlig intervensjon og forebygging, og på den måten kunne forhindre at unge faller fra lenger fremme i utdanningsløpet. Lærernes tid skulle vernes om, og andre skulle ta seg av støyen som tar vekk oppmerksomheten fra læringen i skolen. Problemstillingen i denne artikkelen har vært todelt. Jeg ønsket å se nærmere på i hvilken grad den organisatoriske konteksten preger hvordan skoler møter nye yrkesgrupper, og hvordan miljøarbeideren utformer sin rolle innenfor de to ulike organisatoriske kontekstene: den lærerstyrte og den ledelsesstyrte skolen.

Utdanningssystemet i dag omfatter barn og unge med mer varierte for-utsetninger og behov enn bare for noen tiår siden. Det stilles helt andre krav til dagens lærere som i tillegg til å formidle faget sitt på en god måte skal klare å skape et godt klassemiljø, utvikle gode relasjoner til barna og få til et godt samarbeid med foreldrene. De må også klare å fange opp de ulike forutsetninger og behov som barna har, og ved å få flere elever til å bli på skolen utfører de et viktig samfunnsoppdrag. Samtidig blir skolen i stadig større grad målt på resultater. Her står vi imidlertid overfor et dilemma knyttet til et samfunnsmessig oppdrag på den ene siden og økt politisk interesse for læringsresultatene på den andre siden. Forståelsen av at skolen har et særskilt mandat og spiller en sentral rolle i arbeidet med sosial utjevning, er sentral (Taylor 1997). Lærerne i Norge har en sterk rolle sammenlignet med andre faggrupper i skolen. Det å åpne for å øke samarbeidet med andre yrkesgrupper kan oppleves som en trussel mot lærernes egen faglige identitet, spesielt hvis innblandingen oppleves som lite sensitiv overfor lærerne og deres betydning i skolen. Situasjonen er annerledes for andre yrkesgrupper i skolen, hvis roller ikke er beskrevet i et lovverk. Det å få andre yrkesgrupper inn i skolen handler i denne konteksten om å avlaste læreren

fra de sosialfaglige oppgavene. Det tas for øvrig lite hensyn til at dette i større grad bryter med den norske tradisjonen om skolens utvidede mandat og dannelsesmomentet som inkludert i undervisningen. Videre forskning bør derfor ta dette til etterretning og vurdere hvorvidt, og hvordan, lærerne i så måte ønsker å bli avlastet, eller hvorvidt en økt lærertetthet kan gi lærerne selv rom og mulighet til å følge opp både faglig og sosialt.

References

Abbott, A. (1988). The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labour. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Berg, G. (1999). Skolekultur – nøkkelen til skolens utvikling. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.

Borg, E., Drange, I., Fossestøl, K. & Jarning, H. (2014). Et lag rundt læreren. En kunnskapsoversikt. AFI-rapport 8/2914. Oslo: AFI Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus.

Bush,T., Johnsen, E., Klausen, K. & Vanebo, J.O. (red.) (2011). Modernisering av offentlig sektor. Trender, ideer og praksiser. (3. utg.). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Christensen, T. & Lægreid, P. (red.) (2011). The Ashgate Research Companion to New Public Management. Farnham: Ashgate.

Clarke, V. & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Over-coming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. The Psychologist 26 (2):120–123.

Cuban, L. (1990). Reforming again, again, and again. Educational Researcher 19(1):3–13. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X019001003 .

Cuban, L. (1993). How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1880–1990 (2. utg.). New York: Teachers College Press.

Erichsen, V. (1996). Profesjonsmakt: På sporet av en norsk helsepolitisk tradisjon. Oslo: Tano Aschehoug.

Helgøy, I. & Homme, A. (2007) Towards a new professionalism in school? A Comparative Study of Teacher Autonomy in Norway and Sweden. SAGE European Educational Research Journal 6 (3):232–249.

Holen, S. & Waagene, E. (2014). Psykisk helse i skolen. Utdanningsdirektoratets spørreundersøkelse blant lærer, skoleledere og skoleeiere. Rapport 9/2014. Oslo: Nordisk institutt for studier av innovasjon, forskning og utdanning (NIFU).

Jacobsen, D.I. & Thorsvik, J. (2013). Hvordan organisasjoner fungerer (4. utg.). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2009). Det kvalitative forskningsintervju (2. utg.). Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk.

Mausethagen, S. (2015). Læreren i endring? Om lærerprofesjonen og lærerarbeidet. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Meld. St. 19 (2009–2010). Tid til læring – oppfølging av Tidsbrukutvalgets rapport https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/Meld-St-19-20092010/id608020/.

Meyer, J.W. & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. American Journal of Sociology 83 (2):340–363.

Molander, A. & Terum, L.I. (2008). Profesjonsstudier. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Møller, J. (2004). Lederidentiteter i skolen, posisjonering, forhandlinger og tilhørighet. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Opplæringslova (1998). Lov om grunnskolen og den vidaregåande opplæringa https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1998-07-17-61.

Orton, J.D. & Weick, K.E. (1990). Loosely coupled systems: A reconceptualization. Academy of Management Review 15 (2):203–223.

Paulsen, J.M. (2011). Å lede asymmetriske kunnskapsorganisasjoner – «mission impossible»? Vallset: Oplandske bokforlag.

Polanyi, M. (1966). The Tacit Dimension. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith.

Scott, W.R., Ruef, M., Mendel, P.J. & Caronna, C.A. (2000). Institutional Change and Healthcare Organizations – From Professional Dominance to Managed Care. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Slagstad, R. (1998). De nasjonale strateger. Oslo: Pax forlag.

Taylor, S. (1997). Education Policy and the Politics of Change. London: Routledge.

Thagaard, T. (2013). Systematikk og innlevelse: en innføring i kvalitativ metode. Bergen: Fagboklaget.

Thelen, K., Steinmo, S. & Longstreth, F. (1992). Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tidsbrukutvalget (2009) Rapport fra Tidsbrukutvalget
https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/Rapport-fra-Tidsbrukutvalget/id59230/

Torgersen, U. (1972). Profesjonssosiologi. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Tønnesen, L. (2004). Norsk utdanningshistorie – En innføring med fokus på grunnskolensutvikling. Bergen: Fagboklaget.

Utdanningsdirektoratet (2011). Godt læringsmiljø gir gode skoleresultater.
http://www.udir.no/Tilstand/Forskning/Forskningsrapporter/NIFU/Godt-laringsmiljo-gir-gode-skol-eresultater (Nedlastet 30.01.2013).

Utdanningsdirektoratet (2015). Generell del av lærerplanverket.
https://www.udir.no/laring-og-trivsel/lareplanverket/generell-del-av-lareplanen/

Weber, M. (2000). Makt og byråkrati (3. utg.). Oslo: Gyldendal.

Weick, K.E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. Administrative Science Quarterly 21:1–19.

Weick, K.E. (2001). Management of organizational change among loosely coupled Elements.

Weick, K.E (red.), Making Sense of the Organization. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Wiborg, Ø., Arnesen, C., Grøgaard, J.B., Støren, L.A. & Opheim, V. (2011). Elevers prestasjonsutvikling – hvor mye betyr skolen og familien? NIFU rapport 35/2011.

Attachments

1) Request for participation in in the project «Lost in transition»

2) Consent form pupils' participation

3) Interview guide - National Level

4) Interview guide - Parliament

5) Interview guide – School owners -Municipal level

6) Interview guide School representatives and the Mentor Scheme

7) NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data - approval

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

Lost in Transition – Tiltak for gjennomføring av videregående opplæring

Bakgrunn og formål
Frafall fra videregående opplæring er sett som et betydelig problem i Norge. En tredjedel av ungdom mellom 16 og 21 år fullfører ikke videregående opplæring og en god overgang mellom ungdomsskolen og videregående er sett på som avgjørende for gjennomføringen. Prosjektet undersøker hvordan tiltak for å forhindre frafall gjennomføres i ungdomsskolen og videregående skole. Videre er fylkeskommunens og kommunens arbeid for å øke gjennomføringen et viktig tema i prosjektet. Forskningsprosjektet gjennomføres ved Uni Research Rokkansenteret.

Du blir bedt om å delta fordi du kjenner til tiltak for å sikre overgangen til videregående skole eller øke gjennomføringen i videregående skole i fylkeskommunen/kommunen.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
Vi ønsker å intervjue deg om dine erfaringer med tiltaket/tiltakene. Spørsmålene vil omhandle planlegging, utforming og gjennomføring av tiltaket/tiltakene. Undersøkelsen omfatter ikke sensitive opplysninger om enkeltpersoner. Intervjuet vil vare om lag en time. Samtalen vil bli tatt opp på lydfil og deretter skrives ut.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?
Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og ditt navn vil ikke lagres sammen med intervjudataene. Det er bare forskerne i prosjektet som vil kjenne navnet ditt.

Data vil presenteres på fylkes-, kommunal- og skolenivå. Du vil ikke navngis i prosjektets publikasjoner, men dersom du likevel vil kunne gjenkjennes i publikasjoner fra prosjektet, vil du få anledning til å lese gjennom og godkjenne teksten dersom du ønsker det.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.12.2017. Lydopptakene slettes ved prosjektslutt, men de anonymiserte intervjuutskriftene lagres på ubestemt tid.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn.

Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Anne Homme, tlf. 55 58 97 46, epost: anne.homme@uni.no.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Vennlig hilsen

Anne Homme, Prosjektleder
Uni Research Rokkansenteret
Nygårdsgt 5, 5015 Bergen

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt - til elever

Lost in Transition – Tiltak for gjennomføring av videregående skole

Bakgrunn og formål
En tredjedel av ungdom mellom 16 og 21 år fullfører ikke videregående opplæring. En god overgang mellom ungdomsskolen og videregående kan være viktig for at ungdom gjennomfører videregående skole. Forskningsprosjektet undersøker tiltak for å forhindre frafall i ungdomsskolen og videregående skole. Prosjektet gjennomføres ved Uni Research Rokkansenteret i Bergen.

Du blir bedt om å delta fordi du er elev ved ………. skole som gjennomfører ulike tiltak for å sikre overgangen til videregående skole/øke gjennomføringen i videregående skole.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
Vi ønsker å intervjue deg og vil spørre om hva du synes om tiltak du deltar i. Vi vil ikke be om sensitive opplysninger. Intervjuet vil vare ca. 30 minutter. Samtalen vil bli tatt opp på lydfil og deretter skrives ut.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?
Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og ditt navn vil ikke lagres sammen med intervjudataene. Det er bare forskerne i prosjektet som vil kjenne navnet ditt.

Data fra prosjektet vil presenteres på fylkes-, kommune- og skolenivå. Du vil ikke navngis i prosjektets publikasjoner, men det vil gå fram at elevene som er intervjuet deltar i et tiltak. Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.12.2017. Lydopptaket slettes ved prosjektslutt, men de anonymiserte intervjuutskriftene lagres på ubestemt tid.

Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Anne Homme, tlf. 55 58 97 46, e-post anne.homme@uni.no.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Vennlig hilsen

Anne Homme, Prosjektleder
Uni Research Rokkansenteret, Nygårdsgt 5, 5015 Bergen

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien *Lost in Transition – Tiltak for gjennomføring av videregående skole*, og er villig til å delta

----
(Signert av elev, dato)

Tema for intervju - Sentralforvaltningen

Innsatser for bedre gjennomføring/hindre frafall

1. Overgangen fra Ny Giv til Program for bedre gjennomføring
2. Systemer og styring
   a. KD
   b. Utdanningsdirektoratet
   c. Fylkesmannen
   d. Fylkeskommuner/kommuner
3. Initiativtakere
   a. Nasjonale satsinger
   b. Kommunale satsinger
   c. Lokale/skolebaserte satsinger
   d. Samarbeid med andre sektorer
      i. Oslo-bydel-NAV-skole ved AID
      ii. Los-prosjektet ved BLD
4. Involverte aktører
   a. Skoleeier
   b. Aktører på skolenivå – ledelse, pedagogisk personale, miljøarbeidere etc.
   c. Eksterne aktører (NAV, LOS, andre...)
      i. Tanker om LOS-prosjektet (Ungdomstrinnsmeldingen)
   d. Departementet
   e. Bransje
   f. Opplæringskontor
5. Forholdet mellom nasjonale myndigheter og skoleeier?
   a. «Program for bedre gjennomføring»?
      i. Arena for erfaringsutveksling – spor 1
      ii. Utprøving og effektevaluering – spor 2

1. Styring og organisering for en god overgang
2. Relasjoner mellom aktører involvert i tiltakene
   a. Nettverk
   b. Rutiner for samarbeid
3. Hvem er ansvarlige for gjennomføringen av politikken/innsatsen
   a. Hvem har ansvaret for frafall og hvem for å hindre frafall? Kan vi snakke om ansvarlighet i «frafallspolitikken»?
   b. ansvarlige for gjennomføring av tiltak
   c. ansvarlige for oppfølging av tiltak
4. Politikernes rolle
   a. Ser politikerne seg som ansvarlige for dropout?
   b. Innsatser politisk initiert? Politiske mål for innsatsen?
5. Skoleeiernes rolle – forholdet mellom fylkeskommune – kommune
   a. Fordel ved å være en skoleeier, jf Oslo?
   b. Mulighetsrommet til fylkeskommunen/kommunen?
6. Forholdet mellom skoleeier og skole?

Tema for intervjuer med skoleeier

Tiltak: hvilke tiltak, hvordan gjennomføres de, hvem er involvert?

Vurdering av kommunens/fylkeskommunens frafallsutfordringer

Innhold og omfang av tiltak for å forhindre frafall

Løsninger for å sikre en god overgang

- spesifikke tiltak
- sål og virkemidler

Nasjonale vs lokale tiltak

Hvordan gjennomføres tiltak

- på skolenivå
- i overgangen mellom ungdomstrinnet og videregående skole

Rutiner for støtte, kontroll og fordeling av ressurser til skolene

Initiativtakere

Involverte aktører

Ledelse og organisering av tiltak

Ressurser inkludert i tiltakene

Styring og organisering for en god overgang

Betydning av styring og organisering for gjennomføring av tiltak på skoleeier og

skolenivå

Relasjoner mellom aktører involvert i tiltakene

Ulike former for ansvarlighet i «frafallspolitikken»

- ansvarlige for gjennomføring av tiltak
- ansvarlige for oppfølging av tiltak
- Lokalstyret (kommunestyre/fylkesting) - ser de seg som ansvarlige for dropout i eget fylke/kommune

Forholdet mellom kommune og fylkeskommune

Forholdet mellom skoleeier og skole

- Bruk av styringsverktøy
- Forholdet mellom skoleeier og nasjonale myndigheter

Forståelse av den nasjonale politikk for bedre gjennomføring

Tema for interviuer med ansatte i skolen og Los prosjektet
(skoleleder/lærer/miljøarbeider/andre)

Styring og organisering for en god overgang mellom ungdomstrinnet og
videregående skole
Styring og organisering for gjennomføring av tiltak på skolenivå
Relasjoner mellom aktører involvert i tiltakene
Ansvarlige for gjennomføring av tiltak på skolenivå
Oppfølging av tiltak
Forholdet mellom skoleeier og skole
Forholdet mellom videregående skole og ungdomsskole
Forståelse av og respons på nasjonal politikk for bedre gjennomføring
Ser skolen seg som ansvarlige for dropout ved egen skole – hvem står de i så fall
ansvarlig overfor?
Samarbeider med andre skoler (ungdomsskoler,vgs)
Skoleeiers styringsverktøy – erfaringer
Skoleinterne styringsverktøy – erfaringer

Erfaringer med tiltak på skolenivå
Hvordan praktiseres/gjennomføres tiltak på skolenivå
Erfaringer med ulike former for tiltak – hvilken betydning har organisering og
type tiltak?
Hvordan fortolkes tiltaket
Interne tilpasninger til/av tiltak
Hvordan bidrar skoleleder/lærere/andre ansatte til å forme programmet og
utfallet (hvordan det fungerer i skolen)
Hvordan vurderer skoleledere/lærere/andre ansatte programmene ift.
målgruppa

Anne Dåsvatn Homme
Uni Rokkansenteret
Uni Research AS
Nygårdsgaten 5
5015 BERGEN

Vår dato: 11.08.2015   Vår ref:43551 / 3 / AGL   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 22.05.2015. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 10.08.2015. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

43551	Lost in Transition: Governance, Management and Organization of Policy Programs to Improve Completion of Upper Secondary Education
Behandlingsansvarlig	Uni Research AS, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Anne Dåsvatn Homme

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2018, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Bjørn Henrichsen

Audun Løvlie

Audun Løvlie tlf: 55 58 23 07
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Utvalget informeres skriftlig og muntlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivene mottatt 10.08.2015 er godt utformet.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Uni Research AS sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

Det oppgis at personopplysninger kan publiseres. Personvernombudet legger til grunn at det foreligger eksplisitt samtykke fra den enkelte til dette. Vi anbefaler at deltakerne gis anledning til å lese igjennom egne opplysninger og godkjenne disse før publisering.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 31.12.2018. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres.
Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:
- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)
- slette digitale lyd-/bilde- og videoopptak

Statement of co-authorship
describing the independent research contribution of the candidate

When submitting a PhD thesis with co-authored articles, a statement of co-authorship must be enclosed. The statement of co-authorship must describe the independent research contribution of the candidate of each co-authored article (problem formulation and research design, data collection, analysis and interpretation, and writing etc.)

It is the evaluation committee that evaluate whether the independent effort of a PhD candidate is of sufficient extent and satisfactory quality for the thesis to be publicly defended. Therefore, it is very important that the candidate state his or her individual contribution to the joint publication as clearly as possible in this statement.

For each article the declaration should be filled in and signed by the candidate, then circulated to the most important co-authors for signatures (three at most).

Article no:
Authors: Nina Paarup Michelsen and Anne Homme
Stipulated total contribution of the candidate (%): 70%
Title:
Implementing cross-sectoral policies: The importance of institutional context

The independent contribution of the candidate
Problem formulation and research design[1]: The problem formulation and research design was a team effort, and concluded on together.
Data collection: The data for this article conducted in two cities in Norway was performed by mostly the candidate. Anne attended the interviews conducted at Parliament and The Norwegian Ministry of Education, as well as one group interview with the mentors in one of the cities.
Analysis and interpretation: The analysis and interpretation was done mostly by the candidate alone, but also through conversation summarizing the interviews after they had been conducted.
Writing/presentation:

---

[1] Including methodology design, selection of methods and method development

The writing was mostly done by the candidate alone, and together in group sessions where we also wrote together. Anne then went through the written material when I was done writing and gave constructive feedback and solutions.

Nina Paanp Michelsen

Signature of the candidate

Name (bold letters):

Any Comments:

Signature of co-author 1

Name (bold letters): ANNE HOMME

Signature of co-author 2

Name (bold letters):

Signature of co-author 3

Name (bold letters):

uib.no