

Summary of the research report “Introductory programme and Norwegian language training. What works – for whom?”

Chapter 1. Introduction

The Introduction Act comprises two schemes: the introduction programme (from 2004) and Norwegian language training and social studies for adult immigrants (from 2005). In 2016, close to 24 000 participated in the introductory programme and more than 42 000 received Norwegian language training and social studies. The overall objective of the Act is to improve newly arrived immigrants’ potential for participating in the labour market and society in general, and to give the participants greater financial independence. Since 2010, one of the expressed goals of the Act has been for 70 per cent of the participants to be in paid employment and/or education within one year of completing the programme. For the language training and social studies element, the aim is for participants to reach a level of proficiency in Norwegian that enables them to use or build on their language skills in education, work and society in general.¹ The Introduction Act was introduced as a result of a growing perception that integration policy was in crisis (Djuve 2011). In many immigrant groups, the labour market participation rate was low and receipt of social welfare was high, even after many years in Norway. Both the political debate and research levelled criticism at the quality of the municipalities’ integration efforts and the more fundamental principles of integration work: could it be that the help provided was actually counterproductive because it weakened the correlation between the immigrants’ own efforts and their circumstances? The Introduction Act imposed requirements on both the municipalities and the newly arrived immigrants. Today, the municipalities have a statutory obligation to offer individually adapted programmes, and newly arrived immigrants are required to participate. The ambition of this survey is to illuminate what kind of organization and what work methods and instruments are effective in the integration work.

Chapter 2. Data and methods

A variety of methods can be used to measure the success of the integration efforts – and each method has its advantages and disadvantages. In this survey, we therefore use various data sources and methodological approaches. Using registry data, we follow three cohorts of participants in the introduction programme (2007, 2009 and 2011) and their participation in

¹ Regulations governing the curriculum for Norwegian language and social studies for adult immigrants: <https://lovdata.no/dokument/SF/forskrift/2012-04-19-358>

Norwegian language training, the introduction programme and in employment and education. In order to be able to illuminate not only the extent of the disparities in the municipalities' results, but also the reasons behind the different results, we have conducted four surveys and visited six municipalities. We have also conducted a qualitative user survey. The analyses in this report are thus based on both qualitative and quantitative data sources. We can make a rough distinction between two levels:

- 1) information at the municipal level, characteristics of the municipality's organization of the introduction programme and Norwegian language training and social studies
- 2) information at an individual level, about participants in the introduction programme and in Norwegian language training and social studies

Data at the municipal level: Characteristics of the municipalities' organization of the introduction programme are collected through four separate web surveys aimed at programme heads and programme advisors in the introduction programme and head teachers and teachers at adult education centres. In addition, we have conducted case studies in six municipalities. In the case municipalities, we interviewed programme heads of the introduction programme and head teachers of adult education centres, and held group interviews with teachers and with programme advisors. In order to describe and control for disparities in the municipalities' framework conditions, we have used Statistics Norway's and NAV's figures on public education, unemployment and employment.

Data at the individual level is obtained from administrative registries. The National Introduction Register (NIR) is the main source of information regarding participants' activities in the introduction programme and in Norwegian language training. Information on demographic characteristics of the participants, as well as data on employment, social assistance, welfare benefits and further education activities are obtained from KOSTRA, ARENA and Statistics Norway's System for personal data. We also conducted a user survey where 30 introduction programme participants were interviewed. About two-thirds of these were interviewed a second time. The purpose of these interviews was to map experiences with the introduction programme and examine how participants' motivation developed during the period of the programme, and what may have motivated or demotivated them.

Method: In part 1, where we map the municipalities' organization, mostly basic analyses were conducted that describe the variation in the work entailed in providing the introduction programme and Norwegian language training and social studies. In the second part, the focus is on different categories of participants and a) throughput and results in Norwegian language training and social studies, and b) transition to work and education in the short, medium and long term. We used multivariate analysis (logistic regression) to control for individual characteristics and local framework conditions in these analyses. We followed three different cohorts of participants who started the introduction programme and/or Norwegian language training and social studies in 2007, 2009 and 2011 respectively. This design makes it possible to follow participants over a longer period than in earlier studies, and to link the earliest cohorts to characteristics in the municipalities identified in an earlier implementation study conducted in 2007 (Kavli et al. 2007).

Chapter 3. Implementation of the introduction programme

After more than ten years of the introduction programme, experience shows that the key elements of the scheme were introduced relatively quickly in most municipalities with refugees. However, not *all* participants receive an offer that is in line with the statutory requirements of the programme, and there are some major disparities in the municipalities' programme organization and content. The statutory requirement for full-time and one-year programmes is not met in all municipalities. More than 20 per cent of municipalities do not meet the requirement to offer a full-time programme to participants, and over 15 per cent do not meet the requirement for a one-year programme. Municipalities with fewer immigrants are more likely to meet these requirements than other municipalities. The Introduction Act also imposes a requirement for all participants to have an individually adapted plan, which requires a broad-based local provision. This is a major challenge for some municipalities. It seems particularly difficult to secure work experience placements for participants with little schooling and poor Norwegian skills. The programme heads consider work-oriented measures to be better suited for participants on tracks 2 and 3 than those on track 1. However, what is far more striking is the disparity between *how many* people think the various work-oriented measures are well-suited to the participants and *how few* report that the relevant measures are actually available in the municipality's provision of measures.

Primary and secondary schools: For some participants, one of the goals is to be able to use the education they attained in their native country. Others lack basic qualifications. One of the challenges emphasized in the case study is the opportunity for formally qualifying participants during the introduction period, i.e. offering a place at primary or secondary school. Despite the fact that about one-third of the participants on the introduction programme did not complete compulsory education in their native country, only a small minority of these are offered primary/lower secondary education for adults as part of their introduction programme (Djuve et al. 2014). The share of participants who have received education at primary/lower secondary level as part of their programme has gradually increased, from 13.3 per cent in 2011 to 17.4 per cent in 2016 (Table 6.1), but remains low. Nevertheless, a majority of the programme heads indicate that education at this level is provided either to a large extent or to some extent. The perceived access to education measures seems to be weaker for participants who already have a higher education. While over 60 per cent of the programme heads believe that subjects at upper secondary level are offered as part of the programme either seldom or not at all, almost 90 per cent state that higher education is either not offered at all or is seldom offered.

One possible reason why upper secondary education in particular is only offered to a limited extent is that the programme advisors often consider it unrealistic for participants to take exams or complete apprenticeships within the framework of the introduction programme. This education path is particularly considered irrelevant for adult participants with children, who have a need for income. At the same time, the need for education paths that can give participants formal qualifications is emphasized. In one of the case municipalities, a pilot scheme has been introduced where participants can complete an apprenticeship within a maximum of four years. This scheme also ensures access for those who lack a formal education and a Norwegian language qualification, but who are highly motivated and are considered suitable. The education path combines practice and theory from day one. Experiences with the pilot scheme are good, but the question is whether such alternative education paths can be offered as part of the established activity to a greater extent.

Organization within or outside NAV: In municipalities where the introduction programme is organized by NAV, programme heads are more likely to have good access to work-oriented measures than programme heads in municipalities with a different form of organization. However, this seems to be at the expense of the work experience provision, which is not as broad-based in introduction centres under NAV as those outside of NAV. The same pattern is found in the provision of measures aimed at enabling participants to take part in society. Here the breadth of measures available is greater in municipalities whose integration efforts are not organized by NAV than in municipalities where the introduction programme is organized by NAV. The picture is somewhat different if we consider the programme advisors' assessment of the quality of the cooperation with NAV and the adult education centres respectively. In Chapter 5, when we use registry data to accurately measure how many of the participants in each municipality have been offered a work experience placement as part of the programme, the perception of having established a good cooperation with NAV has no measurable positive impact on the number receiving work experience placements, but seems to have a negative impact on the numbers receiving language practice or primary/lower secondary education. If a high proportion of the programme advisors feel that they have established a good cooperation with adult education centres, the likelihood of offering work experience placements, language practice and primary/lower secondary education increases (see Table 5.10).

Political prioritization: Putting the introduction work high on the political agenda has been identified as a possible success criterion for integration work (Hansen et al. 2006; Rosdahl 2004; Berg 1997; Ideas2Evidence 2014). We have found support for this hypothesis. Municipalities whose introduction work has a political basis, have a broader cooperation profile than municipalities whose integration work is not based on municipal plans. The former also report that they have access to a wider range of measures aimed at education and social participation. The disparities do not appear to be governed by municipality size. However, what the possible correlation may be between political support and access to work experience measures is less clear. While introduction units with a solid political basis have a somewhat broader-based provision of work-oriented measures in medium-sized municipalities, the opposite correlation is observed for large municipalities.

Financial manoeuvrability: We find indications that the programme heads' financial manoeuvrability within the introduction programme affects the breadth of the provision of measures. The disparities are small, but nevertheless suggest that municipalities with limited financial manoeuvrability have to a lesser extent than other municipalities what they describe as 'good access' to various measures aimed at employment, education and social participation. Financial manoeuvrability also seems to be linked to the actual provision offered to the participants. Participants in programmes where programme heads feel they have financial manoeuvrability are up to four times more likely to participate in work experience measures than participants in municipalities with less financial manoeuvrability, and they have a 70 per cent greater probability of participating in language practice when gender, track, municipality's centrality and unemployment remain constant.

Chapter 4. Implementation of Norwegian language training and social studies

The composition of participants: Norwegian language training and social studies are offered to a wider range of immigrants than only those participating in the introduction programme, and many nationalities are represented. In total, participants from Eritrea, Somalia and Syria made up 45 per cent of the participants in 2015. While men are overrepresented in the introduction programme, there are more female than male participants in Norwegian language training and social studies. About 20 per cent of the participants in Norwegian language training start at the lowest level – track 1. This indicates that they have little or no education. The majority of participants are on track 2, where the participants have some education, while just under 20 per cent follow track 3, which is aimed at participants with a good general education.

Participants can be categorized in groups according to their right to participate in Norwegian language training and social studies. Those with the right and obligation to participate make up by far the largest group (90 per cent of the participant groups). There is little evidence to suggest that the organization of the teaching is impacted by the participants' different rights statuses. The majority of the municipalities place participants into groups according to tracks or combinations of tracks.

Instruments in Norwegian language training: A variety of instruments can be used as part of or as a supplement to Norwegian language training. According to the head teachers themselves, language practice and primary/lower secondary education are two of the most common. Provision of individual subjects at upper secondary level is not used to any significant extent, with only 12 per cent of the head teachers confirming that this instrument is used at their institution. Ninety per cent of the adult education centre head teachers report using language practice in the training. The language practice provision takes different forms in the municipalities, particularly concerning the extent to which participants are followed up during language practice placements, and whether the practice is linked to the rest of the course. Sixty-four per cent of the teachers state that they do not normally visit the participant during the language practice period. However, the reported use of language practice and primary/lower secondary education by adult education centres does not give any indication of how often these instruments are used for the different categories of participants. The registry analyses (see Chapters 8 and 10) show, for example, that only a small minority in our cohorts of participants has actually received primary/lower secondary education as part of the introduction programme, and there are major local variations in the extent to which primary/lower secondary education for adults is used.

Several studies indicate positive experiences regarding the use of parallel qualification, i.e. where participants undertake different qualification measures simultaneously, as opposed to sequential paths, where one measure is followed by another. The majority of the adult education centres report that they facilitate such combined paths between Norwegian language training and work experience, and language training and primary/lower secondary education. However, this does not mean that such combinations are routinely offered to participants (see the description of use of instruments in Chapters 7 and 10). Linking language training to upper secondary education or higher education is even less common, according to the head teachers. They suggest that the possible reasons for this may be the lack of cooperation with upper secondary schools and county municipalities as well as the physical distance to educational institutions such as upper secondary schools and universities or university colleges.

Individually adapted training: Norwegian language training and social studies must be adapted to the participants' abilities and needs. Earlier studies have shown that it is more challenging to provide individually adapted teaching at adult education centres with few participants (Arnesen et al. 2015; Djuve et al. 2001; Kavli et al. 2007). Our study supports this finding. A large proportion of the head teachers at small adult education centres report that participants on different tracks are placed in the same group in the Norwegian language training. Mixed groups naturally involve a greater spread in the participants' abilities and progression. At the same time, we find that the practice of not developing individual plans for all participants is more common in small municipalities than in large municipalities. Regardless of the size of the municipality, the lack of adaptation is particularly evident in connection with participants who arrive in Norway with little or no education and who cannot read or write in their native language. Facilitating language practice and work experience seems particularly challenging. Nearly four out of ten head teachers in the adult education centres report that none of the programme participants undertaking literacy training are offered language practice, and only 16 per cent offer language practice to more than half of such participants. By comparison, 57 per cent report that over half of the participants on track 2 are given such an offer.

The Norwegian language teachers point to several factors that they believe prevent them from offering individually adapted teaching, and particularly the large range in the level of participants' ability level and differences in their progression. There are also indications that the provision for some participants with a higher education, who want faster progression through the programme, is not adapted to their individual needs to any great extent. More than 40 per cent of the municipalities do not offer rapid progression for participants on track 3, and only a minority of the head teachers state that they allow participants to combine language training with upper secondary education or higher education. The head teachers cite lack of cooperation with upper secondary schools and county authorities as a barrier, but also the physical distance to relevant educational institutions. The group in the middle – participants on track 2 who have some schooling and are going to follow a course of medium progression – constitutes the largest proportion of participants and is the group for whom the municipalities on the whole have least difficulty adapting the teaching.

Cooperation: For the participants who take part in Norwegian language training and social studies as part of the introduction programme, both the teachers and programme advisors play key roles in the qualification path. The degree of cooperation between these two parties can have significant implications for the content of the individual participant's programme. Based on the teachers' descriptions, a clear pattern of less frequent contact can be observed between teachers and programme advisors in large municipalities than in small municipalities. One possible explanation is that it is easier to establish a good cooperation in municipalities where integration work is high on the political agenda. We have also explored how the breadth of the cooperation profile of the different adult learning centres varies according to the strength of its political basis. This analysis showed that the cooperation profiles are significantly stronger in municipalities where the programme provision has a high political priority. At adult learning centres where the head teachers find that the provision is largely based on municipal plans, where performance targets have been set for the programme in the municipality and where municipal politicians demand reporting of results, the cooperation profiles are significantly broader. This correlation is also observed when we control for municipality size.

50 hours of social studies: Up to 90 per cent of the municipalities in the sample offer 50 hours of social studies. Nearly three out of five head teachers believe that this is offered at a time when the participants are proficient in Norwegian, which indicates that the social studies

element is taught at a later stage in the programme. Thirty per cent of the head teachers report that social studies is normally taught during school holidays, and 6 per cent state that – contrary to recommendations – it is taught in a block as the final element of the programme.

Chapter 5. Street-level bureaucrats – competence, attitudes and practices

Both programme advisors and Norwegian language teachers are on average well educated. In particular the teachers have many years of experience and high formal education. That said, more than 60 percent of the teachers lack formal training in “Norwegian as second language” and 25 percent of those who teach alphabetizing have no formal skills in this area. For programme advisors, there are no formal demands concerning educational type or educational level and the type of experience among the employees is varied although many have a background as social workers.

Both programme advisors and Norwegian language teachers are mostly positive to the intentions and the measures described in the Introduction Act. However, there are some variations that are worth noting. First, the teachers are somewhat less positive about the programme and the instruments than the programme advisors. This may be because the programme advisors have a closer affiliation with the programme than the teachers, and they have received more training in the programme’s work methods. Additionally, the teachers’ educational perspectives may differ from those promoted through the introduction programme.

Second, although there is still strong support for individual plans and user involvement among programme advisors, this has noticeably diminished since 2007. Almost half of the advisors and half of the teachers believe that devising thorough individual plans will take too much time away from other, more central tasks. This can be interpreted as a reflection of increasing time constraints, but also as an illustration of how facilitation of user influence can be both difficult and time consuming. We believe that this – both the change from 2007 to 2016 and the relatively high proportion who indicate that the work on individual plans is given a lower priority – is an important finding because it touches on one of the statutory requirements laid down in the introduction programme.

Third, we have found strong indications that programme advisors’ personal attitudes affect the way they carry out their job. Based on a principle of equal treatment, it is worrying that programme advisors’ attitudes to the level of refugee reception in Norway seem to influence their discretionary assessments.

Fourth, in the analysis of user involvement we find that a large proportion of programme advisors deal with disagreement with the participants about the content of the training by ‘waiting, having new conversations, and seeing if agreement can be reached’. This can be time consuming, and combined with the relatively high proportion of programme advisors who call for more training in guidance methodology, this suggests that it is a need that should be prioritized. One finding that supports this is that programme advisors with limited experience seem to choose the ‘wait and see’ strategy to a greater degree than programme advisors with more experience. A key question, however, is this: Does it really make any difference to the participants’ results what user involvement strategy programme advisors choose? This primarily depends on the repercussions of the various strategies. Is the quality of the

programme better or worse if the participants are able to make more of the choices themselves? This topic is examined qualitatively in the user survey, which is the subject of analysis in Chapter 7, and using registry data on the transition to paid work in Chapter 8.

There is little doubt that municipal framework conditions – characteristics of the municipality and of the participants – explain much of the variation in the municipalities' and participants' results. We have also shown that programme advisors' experience, work situation and, not least, their attitudes to the work methods and instruments used in the introduction programme impact on the provision for participants. When a large share of the programme advisors in a municipality support the work methods suggested in the introductory programme, the participants in these municipalities are more likely to receive both on-the-job work training and on-the-job language training. There are also indications that work-load among the programme advisors and the perceived quality of cooperation with other municipal and state actors is related to the share of participants who receive either on-the-job work training, on the job language training and basic education as a part of their introductory programme. The extent to which these variations in the provision of integration measures impact on the integration results is covered in a later chapter.

Chapter 6. Regulating the integration efforts

Government authorities use a variety of governance tools to steer the municipal integration work. The report shows that the statutory schemes in the Introduction Act have been implemented by the municipalities to a large degree, but not necessarily in full. This applies, for example, to full-time and one-year programmes. In light of the findings in Chapter 3, which indicate that a lack of full-time programmes is linked to a limited provision of measures, and Chapter 5, which shows that the support for a full-time programme as an effective instrument has been slightly weakened, there is reason to believe that the regulatory challenges are due to a combination of two factors: government subsidies do not always compensate for local deficiencies in the provision of measures, and the regulatory framework does not neutralize the impact of local attitudes to the instruments. Individual adaptation requires programme advisors to have both the capacity and ability to exercise discretion. This means that the content of the programmes cannot be micro-managed through regulations and incentives. In addition, the programme advisors are largely at the mercy of the local provision of measures. Stronger governance instruments aimed at the front line employees will, therefore, not necessarily have the desired effect if there are no regulatory measures in place to safeguard the availability of good programme elements in the individual municipalities. One governance tool that has not been used is stricter formal criteria for Norwegian teachers' and programme advisors' qualifications.

Governance also takes place in the form of financial support and financial incentives. At the municipal level, establishing an inexpensive introduction programme can be financially efficient in the short term, since government subsidies for municipal introduction work are neither earmarked nor based on results. Our case studies show significant variation in how much of the integration grant is spent on the introduction programme, and how the financial framework conditions for the programme impact on the content and work methods. If central authorities want greater direct influence over the financial framework conditions for the integration work, consideration should perhaps be given to earmarking the grants. Other types

of financial incentives are performance-based grants, where municipalities would be rewarded based on the number of participants who pass a Norwegian language test or find employment or enter education after completion of the programme, and content-based grants, which could be linked to the use of specific programme components. In Chapter 11, we discuss these governance instruments and their implications in light of the findings in the report, and explain why we do not recommend them.

Financial incentives can also be introduced at the individual level. Participants generally seem to respond to the requirement for 300/600 hours of Norwegian language training – very many complete the statutory number of hours. It is more difficult to interpret the extent of unauthorized absence, but the group with an absence rate of more than 10 per cent is quite small. Ten per cent is the threshold for whether the absence has implications for the right to free training/participation in the programme. There was a certain increase in registered absence from the 2007 to 2011 cohorts, but we are reluctant to interpret this as a real change in participants' behaviour as we suspect that the change may have been the result of new registration practices.

The third main category of governance tool is related to dialogue, knowledge dissemination and local support. We have limited our analysis to support for the most central instruments and work methods in the legislation, and find that the relatively loose form of governance that takes place through dialogue and knowledge dissemination appears to be well established within the framework of the introduction programme. The level of support for the most important instruments and work methods is generally high. In line with earlier research, we found in Chapter 5 that support for work methods and instruments within the introduction scheme seems to coincide with the use of these. Attitudes to the instruments do not, however, affect whether programme advisors make deductions to the participants' introduction benefit for unauthorized absences. Such deductions are largely made regardless of whether programme advisors believe the instrument is effective and ethical or not. However, the inclination to make deductions is influenced by programme advisors' assessments of the quality of the programme content – they are less likely to make a deduction for absence if they think the quality is poor. Organizational factors, such as a programme head's support for work-oriented measures in the programme and the employee's workload, also impact on the decision of whether to make a deduction.

The fourth form of governance we have touched on here belongs to the category of control. The County Governor's supervisory role in the municipalities, and IMDi's and Skills Norway's monitoring of results, as well as awards and prizes in the field of settlement and integration are all in this group of governance tools that are applied *ex post* – after the policy has been implemented. We have given an account of the results of the County Governor's supervision of the full-time and one-year programmes. Controls lead to measures to correct shortcomings, but what is more uncertain is whether these cases might also have had an indirect effect in municipalities where no supervision has been carried out.

Chapter 7. Narratives about motivation

Within the framework of the introduction scheme, people with different abilities and circumstances encounter different local arrangements for theory and practice. What is it that stimulates and what is it that destroys motivation? We explore this through a qualitative

interview survey with a sample of participants on the introduction programme at two different points in time: about halfway through the programme and either just before or after completion. Based on the participants' different levels of confidence and drive, we define four types of participants: *the driven*, who combine a high level of confidence with a high level of drive; *the satisfied*, who combine a high level of confidence with a low level of drive; *the impatient*, who exhibit a high level of drive and low level of confidence; and *the unsteady*, who have low levels of confidence and drive. Not unexpectedly, there is a tendency for the participants who have a high skill level at the start of the introduction programme – in terms of education and work experience from their native country – to dominate the driven group. We also observe that the expectations of participants in this category are often very high. They have attained qualifications, experience and a certain status in their native country, and are normally told at the start of the introduction programme that they will find a job if they learn Norwegian quickly. Their expectation is, therefore, that they will soon become part of the Norwegian workforce and Norwegian society – just as they were in their own country. High expectations can lead to frustration and disappointment and can shatter a person's confidence when dealing with the Norwegian system for validating prior learning and facing the prospect of working part time and/or as an on-call temporary worker. Participants who objectively achieve the same accomplishments, such as passing a Norwegian language test and transitioning to work, can have subjectively different experiences – because their expectations are different. We also see that expectations can be adjusted, for example by having education validated and finding an opportunity to use this in a relevant way in Norway. This is a daunting process that takes time, but which can be hastened by securing alternative relevant opportunities in the labour market.

Participants with a higher education or upper secondary education from their native country nevertheless have a big advantage compared to those who have little or no education upon arrival in Norway. Participants with an education know what learning entails, they have developed study techniques and work strategies that they can draw on, and several also speak English in addition to their native language. Participants who lack these attributes have a completely different starting point and also find that the learning process is slow. This means that they may never undertake work experience, they dread work experience or they have little benefit from it – because they lack the self-esteem needed to speak Norwegian.

Finding Norwegian friends – friends with whom they can speak Norwegian – enables participants to practice their Norwegian and learn about the local community, creating a sense of security, drive and belonging. This is carried over to the work in the introduction programme and Norwegian language training. The problem is that finding at least one Norwegian friend is a challenge, and a participant's Red Cross refugee guide is often the only one.

In most cases, a family is a safe and vital basic community, and the absence of family in Norway or the act of having to leave a loved one behind can take its toll; it can play on a person's mind and rob them of energy. In Chapter 8, the quantitative analyses show negative effects for transition to work where participants have minor children in a country other than Norway. At the same time, having family in Norway is something that can be draining and a worry: mothers and fathers also need to be effective parents when their children start kindergarten and school, even when the parents have little knowledge about such matters. Many participants have extensive care responsibilities, not only in relation to their children, but also for spouses and relatives who are ill or disabled. Providing for a family also carries a financial responsibility, and some family members may therefore have to forget about their own wishes for education after completing the introduction scheme, even where they think it would have improved their prospects in the labour market.

Chapter 8. Work and education after the introduction programme

For the men in the first cohort of participants we follow in this evaluation – those who started the programme in 2007 – the overall transition to work and education reached a peak of 68 per cent five years after the programme started. For the women, the overall transition to work or education five years after start-up was 52 per cent. However, this was not a peak for the women; the transition to work continued to rise in the subsequent years covered by our data, albeit very slowly. The share in full-time work is, however, significantly lower. Thirty-eight per cent of the men were in full-time work five years after start-up, rising to 40 per cent six and seven years later. Thus, the proportion in full-time work levels out, but does not see any decline during the period covered by our data. The proportion of women in full-time work was 17 per cent five years after starting the programme, increasing to 18 and 21 per cent six and seven years after start-up respectively.

A relatively high percentage of both men and women work part time. Additionally, the long-term trend has been an increasing proportion of part-time workers who, according to the definition used here, are not dependent on the welfare state. This may imply that part-time hours are relatively long, or that part-time workers have at least two jobs.

Four years after the start of the programme, 22 per cent of the participants in the three cohorts are in the group undertaking some form of education. Most of the former participants' educational activity is at upper secondary level, either basic studies or final qualifications. When examining the level of educational activity by track, we see that, as may be expected, it is higher among the track 3 participants, and that the same number take higher education and upper secondary education on this track.

Transition to work or education is what is largely measured and reported on an ongoing basis in terms of the results of the introduction programme. At the same time, one of the main goals is for as many participants as possible to become financially self-supporting. However, among the participants who started the introduction programme in 2007, 2009 and 2011 respectively, a significant proportion were dependent on public benefits in 2014. Nevertheless, the percentage dependent on the welfare state in 2014 is far higher for the 2011 cohort (61 per cent) than for the other two cohorts (46 and 44 per cent).

We have also examined possible lock-in effects in the programme. We conclude that it is likely that this type of programme entails some lock-in effects, but that this is probably not a widespread problem. However, there are strong indications that many of the participants are not qualified to work after two (or three) years in the programme. As we have seen, many of the participants who find employment do not work full time. Additionally, a significant proportion are in an ordinary (paid) job whilst participating in the programme. Our assessment is that, overall, these findings give grounds to conclude that lock-in effects are not among the most serious problems associated with the introduction programme.

Multivariate analyses of the significance of individual characteristics show that age, gender and family situation have a large impact on the transition to work. Young people and those without children have a far higher transition to work rate than older participants with many children. Country background is also correlated to transition to work, even when controlling for age, gender, track, Norwegian language test and education, indicating that there are some important individual characteristics that the available variables do not measure, and that these are correlated to country background. Qualitative interviews with adult education centre staff lead us to suspect that the track categorization and registry data on education do not make a clear enough distinction between different levels of low education. For example, several of the

Somali participants do not have reading and writing skills in any language. Literacy training was not registered separately in the NIR until after our participants had been assigned a track (with a few exceptions). We also have no data on health.

We see that education measured by track has a bearing on the transition to work, but perhaps less than would be expected based on the bivariate analyses. Passing a Norwegian language test, however, has a major impact, and the track categorization reflects Norwegian test results to some degree, since many more of the participants on tracks 2 and 3 pass such a test. The level of education as recorded in the education register in 2014 is of little importance when we simultaneously control for track and Norwegian test, with the exception of the positive effect of education at upper secondary level.

Chapter 9. Implementation, work methods and results of Norwegian language training and social studies

A high proportion of participants who have a right and/or duty to undertake Norwegian language training and social studies *complete the hours they are entitled and/or required to take*. Among those who started their studies in the period 2007 to 2011, 78 per cent completed the relevant number of hours. When we include participants who were granted an exemption from the requirement to undertake this training, the proportion who passed or were granted exemption rises to 85 per cent. The proportion that completes the training in the sense that they undertake the 300/600 required hours is highest among track 1 participants.

The proportion of participants who *pass a Norwegian language test* is significantly lower. Four out of ten participants who had the right and/or duty to take the course, and who started Norwegian language training in the years 2007 to 2011, had passed the written Norwegian language test 2 or higher by the end of 2016. There are major disparities in the pass rate between different participant groups. Young people are far more likely to pass the test than older groups, and women have a higher pass rate than men. Participants on tracks 2 and 3 are also much more likely to pass the test than track 1 participants. There are also major disparities between the different country groups, even when controlling for age, gender and track.

We also find that the *size, organization and forms of cooperation at the adult education centres and the teachers' competence* have a bearing on the participants' results. Effective cooperation with primary and secondary schools and civil society seems to benefit the participants by increasing the likelihood of passing the Norwegian test. The breadth of the provision of measures in the form of fast tracking arrangements on track 3, distance learning, combination paths with subjects at primary/lower secondary level and combination paths with upper secondary education are also associated with a higher pass rate. Last but not least, we find that advanced formal competence among the teachers is associated with better results among the participants. Track 2 participants are shown to benefit from the teaching qualifications of social studies' teachers and their completion of 50 hours of further education in social studies. Overall, for all tracks, we find that participants at adult education centres where a high proportion of teachers have qualifications in teaching Norwegian as a second language have a higher pass rate than those at centres with a lower proportion of teachers with such a qualification.

Chapter 10. What elements of the introduction scheme work?

What elements of the introduction scheme work? One of the clearest findings is that user involvement works – particularly for men. Work-oriented measures also work –for women on track 2. The transition to work is hindered when there is no full-time programme, particularly for men. Documented proficiency in the Norwegian language – unsurprisingly – also has a major impact on the transition to work.

However, we find that organization and cooperation have little effect. We also find limited effects from key measures such as on-the-job-training and language practice. The most surprising results are perhaps that we find little effect from on-the-job-training, while we actually find that user influence has a positive effect.

At the same time, the diversity in municipalities' results, solutions and methods makes it extremely difficult to quantitatively identify the success factors. This report was originally to be entitled 'What works for whom and WHEN?'. Our ambition was to explore which measures and work methods were successful in the short term and which were more effective in the long term. However, the findings indicate that it is just as interesting to discuss what works WHERE. Norwegian municipalities that run introduction programmes have chosen very different ways of working. This has led to differing results – some municipalities achieve much better results in the introduction scheme than others. Part of the variation can be explained by disparities in the degree of difficulty of the integration work and in local framework conditions. However, we also find large variations in the achievement of goals and work methods between municipalities with apparently equal framework conditions. It has also been observed that the successful municipalities do not work in the same way. Some focus heavily on Norwegian language training, which gives good results. Others focus almost exclusively on on-the-job-training and achieve equally good results. For some of the groups – particularly women on track 1 – the results generally appear to vary according to individual characteristics and to a lesser extent to characteristics of the municipality. This should not of course be interpreted as meaning that it makes no difference what the municipalities do. Perhaps the municipalities are already taking many of the same steps – and there is probably still considerable scope for identifying work methods that can help the women in groups with less measurable results from the introduction programme to achieve a better measurable outcome. At the same time, consideration must also be given to how realistic it is to expect a large percentage of mature adult women with little or no education to transition to an ordinary job or education. By the same token, we find some examples of municipalities that have far better results, including for women with characteristics that on average would indicate a low transition to work rate. Haugesund, for example, has demonstrated very good results for women on track 1, despite the fact that they do not seem to have a particularly straightforward participant group, a particularly low average age among participants, or a particularly low unemployment rate. It is therefore interesting to further examine how Haugesund has worked with this group,² which leads us to assessments of different uses of measures for different groups. It is difficult to study the effects of measures that are seldom used. We see that ordinary work as part of the

² The original design of our project entailed visiting the municipalities selected by the registry analysis as particularly effective for different groups of participants. Due to delays and errors in the supply of registry data, it was not possible to wait until after these analyses were complete to carry out the visits. We therefore need to make do with recommending further studies in this area.

programme in particular is used far more for men than for women, both on tracks 1 and 2. Perhaps this reflects the varying degrees of attachment to the labour market, but it would be interesting to investigate the root causes of such disparities.

Chapter 11. The road ahead for the introduction scheme

Is the objective of the Introduction Act being met? The overall goal ‘to increase the possibility of newly arrived immigrants participating in working and social life and to increase their financial independence’ is formulated in such a way that it will be difficult not to fulfil this to some degree.³ It is of course impossible to know how things would have been without the Introduction Act, but we find sufficient municipal variation in the achievement of goals that can be linked to work methods and programme content in the same municipalities to enable us to confidently assert that several of the measures in the programme have a positive effect on the transition to work. This applies to critical instruments such as Norwegian language training, work-oriented measures, user involvement and full-time programmes.

Whether the methods used to fulfil the objective of the Act have been effective or sufficient is less clear. This will to some extent be a discussion on whether the glass is half full or half empty. The proportion in work or education one year after completing the programme has remained stable at just over 60 per cent over the last five years. However, there is still a significant proportion of participants who neither pass a Norwegian language test nor achieve a sufficiently stable attachment to the labour market to be self-supporting and financially independent.

It is clear that the degree to which the objective of the Act is met varies substantially between the different municipalities, and that this can partly be a reflection of the variation in the use of instruments. The key instruments: language practice, on-the-job-training, primary/lower secondary education and ordinary work as part of the programme are used by the municipalities to a vastly different extent. Even the statutory requirement of full-time and one-year programmes is not met by all municipalities, which must be viewed as a serious finding eleven years after the scheme was introduced.

The effects of the measures are also quite moderate, and vary by target group. In terms of the transition to education and work, a participant’s age upon arrival in Norway has far more significance than if they undertake work experience as part of the introduction course. Language practice was not shown to have any effect in any of the subgroups we analysed. One likely reason for this is that the quality of language practice varies considerably. Another reason is that neither on-the-job-training nor language practice give the participants a formal qualification. Viewed in conjunction with the findings from the survey of programme advisors and of the municipal visits, this raises the question of whether the introduction programme consists of enough instruments that actually qualify the participants. In other words, are the measures designed and formulated in a way that bridges the gap between the participants’ competence before starting the programme and what is required to take part in the Norwegian labour market? The findings in this and earlier evaluations of the introduction scheme clearly indicate that the answer to this question is no. We therefore conclude that the further

³ Section 1 of the Act on an introduction programme and Norwegian language training for newly arrived immigrants (the Introduction Act)

development of the introduction programme should not only entail improvements to the existing provision; there should also be a new approach to the use of instruments.

There is a great need to develop educational paths that are adapted to this target group, and which lead to formal qualifications. Perhaps a new direction in integration policy is what is needed now, with skills training adapted for newly arrived immigrants. It is also high time for a systematic focus on testing and evaluating different methods for Norwegian language training for adults with little or no education. This does not mean there is no room for improvement within the existing framework of the introduction scheme.

Finally, we discuss the possibilities for adjusting the governance tools in the field of integration, whereby they are linked more directly to results or use of measures. Devising a fair result-based system for funding is particularly complicated given the major impact of the individual characteristics of the participants. A stronger link between government subsidies to municipalities and certain types of programme content could reduce the scope for adaptations based on local competence, labour market conditions and the provision of measures. As illustrated in Chapter 10, for example, the road to a good result may take a different form from one municipality to another. Additionally, if the subsidies are to be linked to a specific type of instrument, there should be reasonable certainty that the instruments are effective. If the funding is to be linked to the implementation of certain measures, we consider a full-time programme to be the most suitable one. In addition, the earmarking of grants may help to ensure more equal framework conditions for local integration efforts, but this is politically controversial.