

UNDERSTANDING INTEGRATION POLICIES IN NORWAY AND THE IMPACT OF A SPECIALISED ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR

A CASE STUDY OF A QUALIFICATION MODEL WHICH AIMS TO
EDUCATE ADULT IMMIGRANTS AS HEALTH WORKERS
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Abstract

In recent years, the numbers of newly arrived refugees to Europe have peaked and increased the pressure on the local integration work in host countries. In Norway, refugees are offered an introduction programme, but the programme fails to prepare everyone to employment. An adult education centre initiated a new qualification model, “the Ryfylke model”, in 2015, which aims to qualify adult immigrants as health workers, and reorganised responsibilities in the public sector. A municipal agency implements a programme which is usually implemented by a workplace or an upper secondary school. This thesis explores integration policies in Norway and the impact of a specialised organisational structure through a case study of the Ryfylke model. The study analyses and discusses how and why the Ryfylke model crosses horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway. Semi-structured interviews with 22 informants constitute the empirical data.

The new model crosses specialisation principles in the organisational structure because the existing ways to achieve vocational qualifications are not appropriate for adult immigrants, and require a client approach to organisation. A specialised organisational structure complicates the implementation of integration policies if the organisations do not recognise their work in a broader context. National authorities should require a nation-wide standard by the end of any vocational qualification, but the municipality should have the authority to design the method. An advantage at the local level is proximity to the policy problem and ability to adapt the public service to the clientele and area-specific needs in different sectors.

Key words: integration, introduction programme, vocational qualifications, organisational structure, public policy, education, horizontal specialisation, vertical specialisation

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Stavanger, 30.07.2017

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1 Introduction

In contemporary European societies, debates about immigration stand on top of the agenda. The governments have defined a need to intervene, a policy problem (Peters, 2015), to avoid that certain groups are left out of the society. Integration is considered the preferred strategy many places to incorporate newcomers and ensure the participation of foreigners in the host society.

In Northern and Western European countries, state-led integration policies have been developed since the late 1990s to ease the integration process (Gebhardt, 2016). In Norway, newly arrived refugees are offered a programme of Norwegian language classes, Social Studies and measures to prepare for working life, regulated in The Introduction Act (2003). The objective of the Norwegian government is that 70% of the participants engage in ordinary education or work by the end of the programme (White Paper 30, 2015-2016: 53). In 2016, 46% of the participants advanced to ordinary education or work after the introduction programme, and the statistics demonstrate that the programme is more efficient in some municipalities than others (Ministry of Integration and Diversity, 2017, July 6th). Studies that try to explain the various results, point to the local unemployment rate (Blom & Enes, 2015), personal competencies of the bureaucrat who coordinates the programme (Djuve & Kavli, 2015), or simply conclude that no single dependent variable can explain the differences (Rambøll, 2011). In 2015, the numbers of newly arrived refugees peaked and increased the pressure on the local integration work. Therefore, the question is: Has Norway got good enough policies to integrate immigrants?

This thesis explores the task of integrating adult immigrants into a new society. Integration is a broad concept. Ager and Strang (2008) offer a conceptual framework of integration, and identifies the core domains of integration as education, housing, health and employment. My study deals with education and employment. Adult immigrants constitute a heterogeneous group with different formal and personal qualifications. Some can document former education from other countries, while others lack elementary schooling or do not have the proper documents to prove their competencies. My thesis pays attention to people who start afresh and seek vocational qualifications at the upper secondary educational level in Norway. I carry out a case study of a new qualification model, called “the Ryfylke model”, and I wonder: What are the opportunities for an adult immigrant to gain a trade certificate in Norway?

A public adult education centre in Norway initiated the Ryfylke model in 2015. The model aims to qualify adult immigrants to the profession Health Worker. I apply the term “adult immigrants” because

the candidates in the Ryfylke model are a mixed group of refugees, people who have come to Norway through family reunification, and labour immigrants. However, most of the candidates have a refugee background. The Ryfylke model can be regarded as a hybrid of two regulations in the The Education Act (1998) to achieve a trade certificate (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b). The model reorganises responsibilities in the public sector because an adult education centre implements a qualification programme which is usually implemented by a workplace or an upper secondary school.

Hernes and Tronstad compared the introduction programme in the Scandinavian countries. They argued that “integration is a policy area that crosses both horizontal and vertical administrative chains of command” (Hernes & Tronstad, 2014: 17), and that such multi-level governance is likely to cause dilemmas in the distribution of responsibilities. For example, there is an inherent tension between the Norwegian labour- and educational authorities because they belong to different sectors. Proba samfunnsanalyse (2015b) identified that it is challenging to apply education as a mean to qualify for a job for unemployed people while receiving social benefits.

1.1 Research question and problem area

The Ryfylke model intrigued my interest about the complexity of integration as a policy field. The aim of my thesis is to map the organisational structure in Norway which relates to the integration of adult immigrants. I operationalise integration as *the accessibility of vocational qualifications in adulthood for immigrants*. I take on an organisational theoretical approach, and I carry out a case study of the Ryfylke model across vertical and horizontal specialisation principles (Gulick, 1937). My research question is:

How and why does the Ryfylke model, which aims to qualify adult immigrants as health workers, cross horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway?

The research question is developed based on the assumption that the formal organisational structure affects the behaviour of organisations and individuals. The dependent variable is *organisational structure*. I apply an instrumental perspective to public organisations sketched by Christensen, Lægreid, Roness, and Røvik (2007), and I understand organisations as a mean to pursuit a set of specific goals. I have chosen Gulick’s principles as a theoretical lens because the principles are a fruitful analytical tool to investigate the implications of the organisational structure on the policy output. It enables me to question how the specialisation principles affect the behaviour of public sector

employees. Based on observations and the theoretical framework, I arrived at the following hypothesis:

A specialised organisational structure of the public sector makes it difficult to implement holistic integration policies.

To uncover the research question and investigate the hypothesis, I have developed four working questions which guide the following analysis. I will ask: (1) What are the implications of choosing one specialisation principle over another? (2) Has the adult education centre mandate to do what they do? (3) What is the purpose of the Ryfylke model? (4) Why did the adult education centre detach from the organisational structure?

1.2 The Ryfylke model

I will start out by introducing the Ryfylke model more thoroughly, and the available means to achieve a trade certificate in Norway. The adult education centre in the municipality of Strand initiated the Ryfylke model, aiming to qualify adult immigrants as health workers. Ryfylke is a coastal district in the Rogaland county in the southwestern part of Norway. Ryfylke comprises eight municipalities, in which Strand is one of them, and there are no large cities in the district. The municipality of Strand has 12,662 inhabitants (Statistics Norway, 2016), and can be characterised as a middle-size municipality in Norway. The municipality is semi-rural in which transportation to other places depends mainly on boat or ferry.

Generally, adult education centres in Norway offer language tuition, primary- and lower secondary education, and special needs education for adult residents according to the regulations of The Education Act (1998) and The Introduction Act (2003). The health work education is subject to the county, and is usually facilitated by an upper secondary school or a workplace, rather than a municipal adult education centre. I was puzzled by the peculiar organisational structure of the Ryfylke model. Why did an adult education centre provide what appeared to be upper secondary education?

The idea of the Ryfylke model started off with an observation that many immigrants struggled to enter the labour market or ordinary education, even after the introduction programme and several years of Norwegian language courses at the adult education centre. Immigrants have a mixed background, but a common observation is difficulties to advance from language courses to work or ordinary education. Staff at the adult education centre in Strand discussed how they could avoid their students becoming

destined to unemployment, and started to think about combining language training and vocational training (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b).

The Education Act (1998) declares two ways to gain vocational qualifications like health work, see figure 1. To become a health worker in Norway you can either (1) enrol in upper secondary school for two years, and then carry out an apprenticeship for two years regulated in §3-3, or (2) document five years full-time relevant work experience regulated in §3-5. Both approaches end in a theoretical and a practical examination in which you need to pass. Enrolment in upper secondary school requires completed primary- and lower secondary education. The experience-based trade certification does not require formal schooling, but most candidates attend a theory course about 100 hours in the subject to prepare for the theoretical exam (Bratsberg, Nyen, & Raaum, 2017). Norway has no general national system to recognise foreign work experience for those who wish to present themselves as candidates for the experience-based trade certification (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2016, March 14th). The certification relies on work experience in Norway.

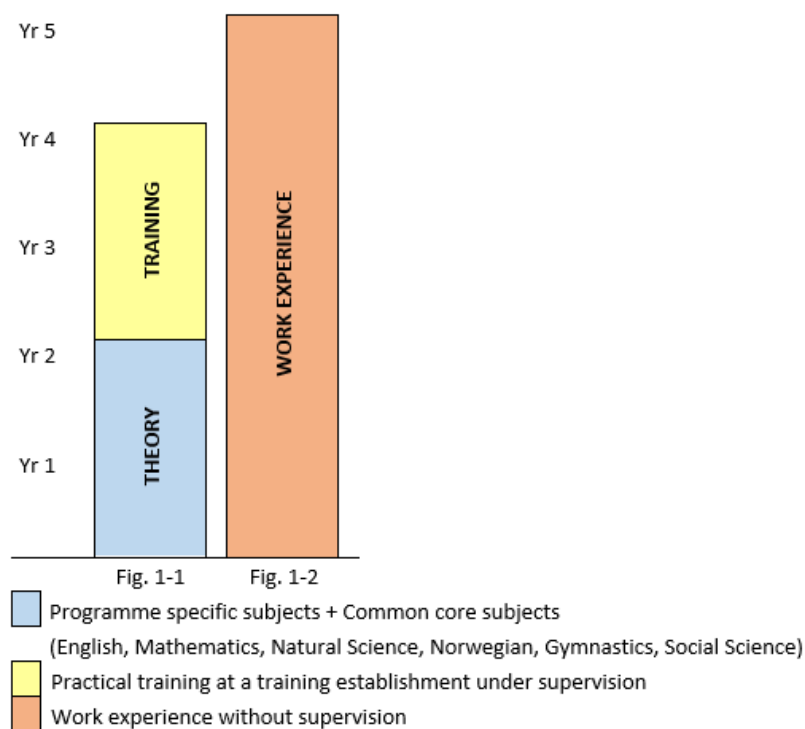


Figure 1. Measures to gain a trade certificate in Norway. Figure 1-1 illustrates the ordinary vocational training regulated in §3-3 which entails theory in upper secondary school and apprenticeship at a training establishment under supervision. Figure 1-2 illustrates certification based on documented work experience regulated in §3-5. The figure is based on data from the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training and The Education Act (1998).

The Ryfylke model can be understood as a hybrid of the two ways to achieve vocational qualifications (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b). In the Ryfylke model, the candidates are offered classes in health-related

subjects, Norwegian language tuition and an apprenticeship simultaneously over four years, see figure 2. The candidates qualify for the experience-based trade examination. It enables vocational training to people who do not fulfil the requirements to enrol in upper secondary education. However, the candidates are schooled in the health-related subjects at the adult education centre as if they were enrolled in the upper secondary school, but the common core subjects (e.g. Mathematics and English), which are obligatory for everyone enrolled in upper secondary school, are excluded. The Ryfylke model is not an establishment, and still in the first try-out. Formal approval by the national authorities was required because of divergences to the Education Act. The actors started to implement the model 10 months before national authorities finally approved the model on a temporary basis as an attempt to try out new pedagogical or organisational ways to teach (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017a).

Vedøy and Nødland defined four ways in which the Ryfylke model stand out to other models: (1) A municipal learning centre facilitates the programme, not an upper secondary school or a workplace, (2) the candidates are a predefined group of adults, explicitly adult immigrants, (3) there is no established arrangement to support the candidates financially while partaking in this programme, and (4) the design of the programme is adapted to the candidates (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b: 11).

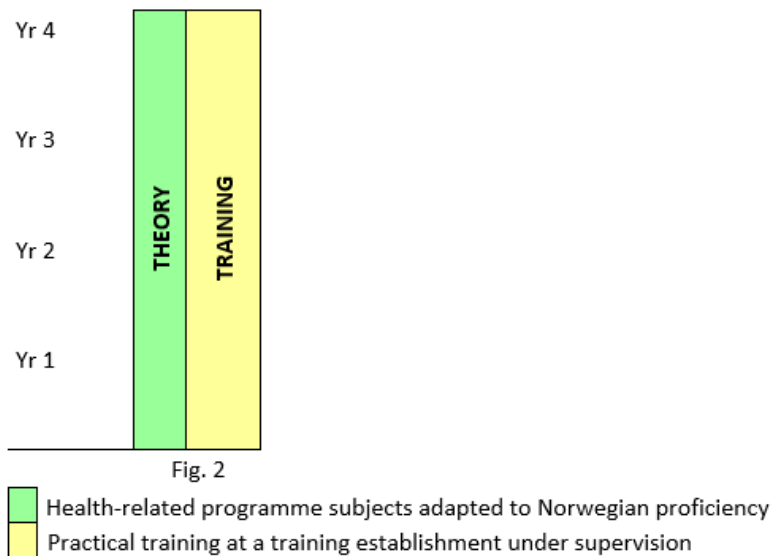


Figure 2. The Ryfylke model. Figure 2 illustrates the Ryfylke model, in which theory runs parallel with training at health institutions. The figure is based on data from Vedøy and Nødland (2017b).

The Ryfylke model offers a new design where the different parts are paralleled, not in sequences. The theoretical part implies two days a week of schooling at the adult education centre, in which three teachers are currently involved in the programme. Two of them have a professional background in health science, while the third is a Norwegian teacher. The candidates intern three days a week at a health institution, and intern nine months in each institution before rotating to another place. The

apprenticeship is unpaid. The health-related subjects are equal to the ordinary education at upper secondary school, but the teaching is adapted to the candidates' Norwegian level. Generally, upper secondary schools require language proficiency at intermediate level upon enrolment, technically called B1-level, based on the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (Høst & Reymert, 2017). Contrary to have B1-level as a requirement to enrol, the Ryfylke model strives for the candidates to prove B1-level at the end (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b: 29).

The realisation of the Ryfylke model required untraditional cooperation among many public organisations. The actors are the adult education centre, the municipal authority, the local Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV)¹, the county administration, and the health institutions in which the candidates intern. National authorities such as the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training and the Ministry of Education and Research have also been involved in the process to approve the qualification programme. Vedøy and Nødland (2017a) observed that the integration administration was positive to the model, while the education administration was rather sceptic. Does the organisational structure affect the way individuals think and act?

1.3 Contextualisation

A case study is often chosen because it allows the researcher to examine key social processes in a suitable context, and not because the case is extreme or unusual in any way (Bryman, 2004). It is necessary to present relevant regulations in the Norwegian integration system and characteristics of the health work profession to understand the context and complexity of the Ryfylke model. Section 1.2 outlined the ways you can achieve vocational qualifications like health work in Norway. In this section, I present The Introduction Act (2003) which is relevant by being the first qualification measure most of the candidates in the Ryfylke model was exposed to. Thereafter, I elaborate on how integration and educational responsibilities are delegated vertically in the public sector. In the end, I characterise health work in Norway, the work responsibilities, and recruitment.

1.3.1 The Introduction Act

The Introduction Act was adopted in Norway in 2003, and the introduction programme became implemented in 2004 (Tronstad, 2015). Prior to this law, the activities relating to integration of immigrants had been decided locally (Djuve, 2003). The Introduction Act §1 (2003) frames the purpose

¹ The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) manages employment schemes and social benefits. NAV manages 1/3 of the National Budget in Norway and administrates 60 different allowances and benefits. All municipalities are required to have a local NAV office. NAV's main goal is more people active and in work, and fewer people on benefits (NAV, 2016, May 20th).

of the programme: “to increase the possibility of newly arrived immigrants to participate in working and social life and to increase their financial independence”. The introduction programme is two years fulltime, and consists of Norwegian language tuition and social studies. Work placements are often applied to prepare the individual for working life.

The introduction programme in Norway is offered to newly arrived refugees and their family members between 18 and 55 years of age. The participants are entitled financial benefits from the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) whilst participating in the programme. The design of the programme is decided locally, and it is compulsory to develop individual plans which takes the individual’s competencies into account. For example, an illiterate has other needs than a graduate of higher education to qualify for a job in Norway, and the content of the programme should be adapted accordingly. Still some municipalities implement a standardised track with equal content for all participants (White Paper 30, 2015-2016: 53). If the introduction programme is completed and the participant has not gained employment or enrolled in ordinary education, the individual may be eligible to receive social benefits from NAV. At the adult education centre in Strand, some of the candidates started at the health work programme while engaging in the introduction programme.

1.3.2 Delegation of responsibilities

Integration is a broad concept and involves the work of many actors. The public sector in Norway is made up of three vertical levels: the national, the regional, and the local (Christensen, Egeberg, Larsen, Læg Reid, & Roness, 2010). In my case study, a municipal agency initiated a programme which is normally facilitated by the county. Therefore, a central feature of this thesis is the delegation of integration and educational responsibilities across vertical administrative levels in the public sector.

The local municipality is obligated to provide primary- and lower secondary education, and special educational assistance for all residents (The Education Act, 1998: §13), and is accountable for the implementation of the introduction programme. The municipalities can decide how to organise the introduction programme. Language courses and social studies are often delegated to the adult education centre (Proba samfunnsanalyse, 2015b).

The regional level is meant to solve tasks which are too big for a municipal authority (Christensen et al., 2010). The county is responsible for offering upper secondary education to all residents, and is accountable for all examinations at this level (The Education Act, 1998: §13). Norway launched an Education Reform in 1994. Then, vocational training was organised as upper secondary education, and an individual right to attend upper secondary education for every 16-19-year-olds was adopted, which had negative consequences for the enrolment of adults at this educational level (Høst, 2010). The

national authorities required the counties to prioritise youth. Adults would only be admitted in upper secondary education if there were openings in the established classes (Høst, 2010). Supposedly, adults aiming for vocational qualifications would be taken care of by the experience-based trade certification, and most upper secondary programmes for adults were dismantled (Høst & Reymert, 2017). Increased immigration in recent years has demonstrated that this setup does not serve all residents. Some counties have re-established public offers to adults, but it is first and foremost in the capital, and of temporary character (Høst & Reymert, 2017). Most counties report to provide extra tuition in English and Norwegian to adult immigrants in vocational training, but few counties have developed unique educational models for this target group (Høst & Reymert, 2017). The responsibility of upper secondary education to adults is frequently outsourced to private actors, which costs approximately 20,000-30,000 NOK for one year tuition (Rogaland Kurs og Konferansesenter, n.d.), but the counties make their own decisions as to how to deal with the issue.

1.3.3 Health work in Norway

Health work is the profession to be investigated in my case study, but the structural challenges for adults to gain a trade certificate are general and applicable to other professions. This section offers a brief introduction to the profession of health work. Health work is not a collective term for people working in the health sector, but refers to an occupation at the upper secondary educational level.

The curriculum for health work states that “health workers perform care, basic nursing and milieu therapy for patients and users of health and social services” (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, n.d.-a). Health workers shall contribute to promote physical and mental health, to assist people with different needs, and to treat various kinds of illnesses. Health workers are employed in the municipal health and social services, e.g. nursing homes, and in the specialist health service, e.g. hospitals. Searching on vacant positions in the municipal health service in the southwest region of Norway, the salary for a health worker is 325,000-390,000 NOK annually based on seniority, compared to a nurse who earns 370,000-470,000 NOK. The socioeconomic status of health workers in Norway can be compared to other professions such as dental assistants, medical secretaries, and childcare workers.

The Norwegian government has presented a growing concern about a future shortage of health workers in the workforce with a prospective elder boom. Statistics Norway has projected a shortage of up to 52,000 health workers in 2030 (White Paper 13, 2011-2012: 55). With a labour shortage, and immigrants at the adult education centre in Strand who seemed motivated to work in the health

sector, several societal challenges can be handled at the same time by channelling immigrants to this profession (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b).

Adults have traditionally dominated the recruitment of health workers. In 2010-2011, about 60% of those who obtained a trade certificate as health worker were over 25 years old (Skålholdt, Høst, Nyen, & Tønder, 2013: 14). The Norwegian Directorate of Health acknowledges the labour shortage of health workers. The directorate initiated a campaign in 2007 to recruit more people and to educate unskilled workers, aiming to qualify 4500 health workers yearly (White Paper 13, 2011-2012: 106). In 2017, applicants for health and youth subjects in the ordinary upper secondary schools increased the most compared to other vocational education programmes (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017, July 25th), but the number of applicants is still below the national objective. Adults remain important in the recruitment policy. Among the immigrant population in Norway, health work is the most popular profession compared to other vocational educations measured in the total number of trade examinations in 2011 (Høst & Reymert, 2017: 17).

1.4 Literature review

The shortage of health workers and the challenges for adult immigrants to achieve long-term employment are well-known policy problems. Increased immigration have demonstrated that the Education Reform from 1994 does not provide sufficient qualification methods to everyone (Høst & Reymert, 2017). Adult immigrants with poor language skills, and little formal education, tend to fall between different regulations when vocational qualifications are considered (Proba samfunnsanalyse, 2015a). Consequently, some counties have re-established upper secondary educations which targets adults, but these are of temporary character (Høst & Reymert, 2017). The national government has tried to address these issues, and attempts to find new educational models to qualify adults to skilled workers.

The White Paper 16 (2015-2016) and the White Paper 30 (2015-2016) recommended to promote vocational programmes which are flexible and adapted to the individual to avoid the exclusion of immigrants. The White Papers emphasise that the challenge to integrate immigrants in the labour market is cross-sectorial, and require coordinated efforts. Obstacles to coordinate public policies across the municipalities, the counties and the labour authorities are lack of knowledge of each other's organisations, regulations, routines, and culture (White Paper 16, 2015-2016). Efforts should start as soon as possible after entry. Public actors are encouraged to integrate modules of ordinary education in the introduction programme, and thus coordinate teaching according to the Education Act and the Introduction Act (White Paper 16, 2015-2016).

Hernes and Tronstad (2014) compared the introduction programme in the Scandinavian countries. They recommended parallel courses, which combine language training and work training, rather than a sequential setup where language courses are taken before work-related programmes.

Proba samfunnsanalyse (2015b) studied how Norwegian labour- and educational authorities cooperate to support adults without completed upper secondary education. The report concluded that cooperation across different agencies is challenging and demanding, and an underlying reason is that the organisations work to accomplish different purposes in the society, work vs. education. Proba samfunnsanalyse (2015b) found that personal relations and creative interpretation of the regulations were significant factors to ease the cooperation.

Unskilled workers tend to drift in and out of employment and make up the “reserve army of labour”, so there is a never-ending risk of unemployment and to rely on welfare benefits (Clegg and Dunkerley in van Krieken et al., 2000: 298). “Trade certificate at work”² is one attempt of a new qualification model, and is in the process to become permanent national policy. The model assists unskilled workers in the health sector to achieve a trade certificate as health worker while they work and keep their income (Vox, 2015). “Trade certificate at work” consists of work experience, adapted teaching, and excludes the common core subjects at upper secondary school (Vox, 2015). The model requires the individual to be employed at an institution before enrolment. Proba samfunnsanalyse (2015a) evaluated the model, and found that few of the candidates had an immigrant background.

Another attempt to establish new qualification models is to adapt upper secondary education. An adult education centre in Oslo, the capital of Norway, developed a four-year model in 2011 with health-related subjects, the common core subjects, and apprenticeship (Proba samfunnsanalyse, 2015a). One intention was to integrate language training with vocational training (Høst & Reymert, 2017). The model differs from the Ryfylke case because it is regarded as upper secondary education.

The Ryfylke model is another attempt to develop alternative pedagogical or organisational ways to teach. The national authorities have temporarily approved the Ryfylke model and its divergences to the Education Act (1998) based on §1-4. The Ryfylke model is not an establishment, and still in the first try-out. It is not clear at time of writing whether the model will continue or not.

² In Norwegian: «Fagbrev på jobb»

1.5 Structure

My research studies how and why the Ryfylke model crosses horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway. Now, as the characteristics and context of the Ryfylke model are known, I present the following structure:

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework, which guides the forthcoming analysis. Chapter 3 presents my methodological considerations: research design, semi-structured interviewing, delimitations, and ethical dimensions. Chapter 4 presents the data and main findings. The access to vocational qualifications is hindered by scarce work experience, poor language skills, and uncompleted primary- and lower secondary education. Chapter 5 analyses the Ryfylke model across the horizontal specialisation principles: client, sector, process, and place, and processes the implications of choosing one specialisation principle over another. Chapter 6 discusses the model across vertical specialisation principles, and considers whether the adult education centre has mandate do to what they do. I analyse the observed tension between the local, the regional, and the national level of the public sector, and consider centralisation and decentralisation. Chapter 7 emphasises the complexity in integration as a policy field, in which the purpose of the Ryfylke model is discussed, and why the adult education centre chose to detach from the organisational structure. Chapter 8 concludes that a specialised organisational structure complicates the implementation of integration policies if the organisations do not recognise their work in a broader context. National authorities should require a nation-wide standard by the end of any vocational qualification, but the municipality should have the authority to design the method. An advantage at the local level is proximity to the policy problem and ability to adapt the public service to the clientele and area-specific needs in different sectors.

2 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I present a theoretical framework rooted in political science and organisational theory. First, I define the concepts *organisation*, *public policy* and *organisational structure*. Then, I present *vertical* and *horizontal specialisation principles*, which are characteristics of organisational structure, based on the work of Luther Gulick (1937). At the end of this chapter, I present another dimension to organisational structure: a public organisation's *mandate*.

2.1 Organisation, public policy and organisational structure

Organisation can be defined as a "social unit" which "exist separately from the individuals who come into, go through and leave them, and they exist in order to realise a variety of goals" (van Krieken et al., 2000: 282). With this point of departure, I understand organisations in a holistic tradition and view them as wholes, rather than a collection of the isolated parts. Organisations are established to realise a purpose, and implies that they can be regarded as instruments.

Max Weber was the first to give critical attention to a specific kind of organisation, that is bureaucracy. He regarded organisations as an essential feature of the modern society closely linked to the division of labour in society (van Krieken et al., 2000). Social life in the 20th century in contemporary Western societies is frequently realised through organisations. Organisations are therefore a vital component of our social order, and an important feature to study how our society deals with current affairs.

Christensen et al. (2007) offer an organisational theory to the public sector in Norway, and introduces a structural-instrumental approach to investigate the relation between politics and policy. *Public policy* can be defined as "the set of activities that governments engage in for the purpose of changing their economy and society" (Peters, 2015: 1). Moreover, Peters (2015) apply the term *policy problem* of a condition which is undesirable. Policy problems constitute the rationale why a government chose to intervene in the society. Public organisations implement public policy, and can be regarded as an instrument to handle a defined problem. The structural-instrumental perspective to organisations considers organisations as a mean or a tool at the disposal for the leaders.

In relation to my research question, The Introduction Act (2003) can exemplify these concepts in a fruitful way. The policy problem, which the law attempts to address, is the difficulties for immigrants to integrate and enter the labour market. The activities, the public policy, which are meant to ease this process are language tuition, Social Studies, and labour market measures. The law delegates the

responsibility of such activities to the municipality, and policy is therefore connected to the concept *organisational structure*.

Organisational structure can be defined as a formal structure of positions and rules, which states who shall or can act on behalf of an organisation, which sub-unit they are in, and which larger units the organisation is part of (Christensen et al., 2007: 23ff). It is a normative structure which describes how different tasks should be carried out, and defines the interests that should be pursued. The structure is not descriptive. The structure present expectations about how the actors should behave, but do not explain how they do behave. The organisational structure refers to internal and external delegation of tasks among the employees in one organisation, or between many organisations (Christensen et al., 2007). In this thesis, I focus on the external delegation of responsibilities between organisations.

Peters (2015) argued that if a policy problem can be contained to a single functional area, the political conflict may also be reduced. However, some political fields involve the activities from many public organisations, which can lead to contradictions and overlapping goals. Christensen et al. (2007) defined refugee- and asylum politics as one such political field. When many actors are involved, contradictions are likely to increase, while fewer actors can reduce the conflict level accordingly. Building on this aspect, I search for contradictions in the produced data, and I ask: Why did the adult education centre decide to act against the policy problem?

The role of the bureaucracy, that is the public administration, is to prepare cases for political bodies, to implement the politics these bodies have adopted, and to control that the public and private actors behave according to the law (Christensen et al., 2010: 11). In this thesis, I reached public organisations which relate to the Ryfylke model: the adult education centre, an upper secondary school, health institutions and the local Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV). All these are public actors, but NAV is the only one which is public administration. Christensen et al. (2010) describe that public policy is often implemented outside the formal bureaucracy, such as in schools. The other organisations in my study are not public administration per se, but are linked to the public administration because they implement public policy.

The instrumental perspective to organisations (Christensen et al., 2007) is inspired by Weber's ideal type of a bureaucracy. A formal bureaucratic organisational structure defined by Weber is characterised by decisions based on formal rules and regulations, specialised work assignments, and hierarchy of authority (Østerud, 2007: 75). Furthermore, Weber believed that the dominant form of social action in a modern and efficient society required instrumental rationality. Building on this principle, Christensen et al. (2007) argued that organisational behaviour from an instrumental

perspective is distinguished by an orientation to goals, and a rational calculation of cause and effect. *Full instrumental rationality* refers to an organisation with clear and consistent goals, and complete overview of all alternatives (Christensen et al., 2007: 23). Applying an instrumental perspective to organisations and their activities, it is relevant to ask: What is the objective of the Ryfylke model?

The organisational structure does not predict the actual behaviour of the employees. Instead, the structure indicates the theoretical legal, social, and political context in which an organisation operates, and can affect the way employees define their work responsibilities. This is not contradictory to view organisations as instruments which exist to pursuit a goal. Organisations are supposed to do something, and the way they are structured can influence the objectives. Vertical and horizontal specialisation principles are one example to design organisational structure.

2.2 Vertical and horizontal specialisation

The organisational structure can be distinguished by *specialisation*, which relates to the formal positions and departments within one organisation, and responsibilities in relation to external organisations (Christensen et al., 2007). *Specialisation* can be understood horizontally, where responsibilities are delegated to different units and positions at one administrative level, or vertically, where responsibilities are organised in a hierarchy. There are advantages and disadvantages of a specialised organisational structure. Christensen et al. (2007) argued that a narrow problem area makes the workers specialise in each field, which can increase the capacity to solve problems, but also make it more difficult to see the impact of your activity in a broader perspective.

Vertical specialisation means that responsibilities are divided hierarchically at different levels within one organisation, or to several organisations at different administrative levels (Christensen et al., 2007). Egeberg (2003) argued that vertical specialisation has implications for the political leadership's potential to direct the administrative apparatus. When responsibilities are delegated vertically, the potential for political control and steering diminishes. Moreover, it increases difficulties to maintain a uniform nation-wide policy.

The organisational structure can also be specialised horizontally. Horizontal specialisation matters because the organisational boundaries "are supposed to determine which problems and solutions policy makers become aware of" (Egeberg, 1999: 162). Luther Gulick defined four principles to horizontal specialisation: sector, process, client and geography (Gulick, 1937). With the sector principle, the work responsibilities are organised by the purpose or sector that is served, such as education or health. The advantages of this specialisation principle are that the whole job is brought

under a single director who controls all agencies, measures are standardised, and the employees remain focused working for a clear purpose (Gulick, 1937). On the other hand, the risk of sectorial divisions is a failure to take local needs into account, and difficulties to adjust the services to the clients. Also, subordinate departments with other work tasks may be suppressed if the work does not correlate with the primary interest of the organisation (Gulick, 1937).

Secondly, tasks can be divided by the process or method which is used to deal with the task, such as accounting or teaching. Here, the professional worker performs a specific method which underlines the technical skills and efficiency. The disadvantage is that the departments may put more attention to how things are done, than to what is accomplished, and ultimately lose track of overall objectives. The method may be regarded as an end, rather than a mean to accomplish a purpose (Gulick, 1937).

Thirdly, tasks can be organised by the client principle, meaning the person that is dealt with, such as an immigrant or an unemployed. The great advantage according to Gulick (1937) is that the service is simplified and coordinated in contact with the client, and it enables a holistic approach to the issue by placing the individual in centre. The organisation is built around the client's needs, and it eliminates the hassle for the individual to be thrown back and forth between different bodies. However, problem arises as the client principle require the employees to handle a broad spectre of tasks, and may suppress technical expertise and efficiency accordingly. In my case study, the clients are the candidates enrolled in the health work programme at the adult education centre.

The fourth and last principle is geography. This principle forms an organisational structure which follows a territorial division of the society (Gulick, 1937), such as a municipality or a school. The advantages are greater coordination of activities, and ability to adapt the public services to the needs in a local area, independent of sector, process or client. The disadvantage is that appropriate geographical boundaries can be difficult to establish. If some tasks do not follow the territorial boundaries it may complicate the work instead of simplifying it (Gulick, 1937: 474).

The public administration in Norway is mainly organised by the sectorial principle (Christensen et al., 2007). Nevertheless, the principles are abstract and theoretical, and elements from several principles may be combined in any organisation because it is impossible to aggregate all the work based on only one principle (Gulick, 1937). Herbert Simon, a scholar of modern administrative research, criticised Gulick's work. He argued that "the principles give no guide as to which of the four competing bases of specialization is applicable in any particular situation" (Simon in Egeberg, 1999: 158). Rather than simply a critic, Simon can be regarded as a scholar who continued the work of Gulick on how formal organisational structure constructs the reality and the decisions in any organisation (Egeberg, 1999).

Simon (1997) examined how the formal organisational structure influences decision processes and argued that the structure constrains the individuals' ability to act. He applied the term *bounded rationality*, suggesting that any organisation is limited in time and resources, which reduces the individual's capacity to know all potential action alternatives. Instead of idealising Weber's model of full rationality, Simon (1997) argued that organisations should acknowledge the bounded rationality, and divide responsibilities into departments, making complex task more comprehensible for the individual.

The main point of a specialised organisation structure and Gulick's principles, is that each principle has implications to the policy output. I intend to test Gulick's hypotheses about various organisational designs empirically in the case study of the Ryfylke model. My main interest is to understand how and why the Ryfylke model crosses horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway. To arrive at a valid explanation, I ask: What are the implications of choosing one specialisation principle over another?

2.3 Mandate

Another dimension to organisational structure and the implementation of public policy is *mandate*. Christensen et al. (2007) highlighted that all public organisations are characterised by a citizen-elected leadership. "Regardless of whether a public organization is close to or far removed from the political leadership, there is a democratically elected political leader at the top to whom the organization is accountable" (Christensen et al., 2007: 6). The political leadership decides the public policy, but the outcome depends on the extent the employees behave as expected. Common to all public organisations is that they govern through a written body of regulations and laws (Christensen et al., 2007: 7). The mandate is deduced from the legal framework which defines the role and purpose of public organisations. Consequently, public organisations cannot do whatever they feel like, because they are established for some purpose and bound to govern under the democratically elected political leadership. The adult education centre in Strand carries out a task which is normally implemented by an agency at another vertical level, and I wonder: Has the adult education centre mandate to do what they do?

3 Methodological considerations

My study investigates how and why the Ryfylke model, which aims to qualify adult immigrants as health workers, crosses horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway. In this chapter, I present my methodological considerations. First, I present how the project idea was planned and developed. I elaborate on my connection to International Research Institute of Stavanger, why it is interesting to carry out a case study of the Ryfylke model, and the applied method of semi-structured interviewing. Thereafter, I elaborate on how I analysed the data, delimitations, and ethical dimensions.

3.1 International Research Institute of Stavanger

November 2016, I contacted International Research Institute of Stavanger (IRIS) to ask for a collaboration in relation to my thesis. IRIS introduced me to the Ryfylke model as they are evaluating the project on behalf of the adult education centre which initiated the model. The project fell immediately in my interest, and I was puzzled by the peculiar organisational structure. Why did an adult education centre provide what appeared to be upper secondary education? I would probably not have learnt about the Ryfylke model if I did not connect with IRIS. A formalised cooperation between IRIS and Aalborg University could not be established within the time frame of this thesis, and therefore, my study is independent of IRIS' research. I have conducted interviews separate from IRIS and it should be emphasised that IRIS is not accountable for any shortcomings or conclusions in this thesis. They are solely my responsibility.

The advantages of the connection with IRIS are manifold. First, IRIS helped me profoundly to understand the characteristics of the model through countless meetings and informal conversations, and offered me a workplace in their facility which I am indebted for. Second, IRIS provided contact information to the adult education centre, and then it was easy to get in touch with relevant informants. Third, many of the informants had been interviewed by IRIS, and knew about the logic of a research project beforehand which eased the process of data production. Fourth, researchers at IRIS supported me throughout the process with additional literature and input.

Even though my research is independent from IRIS, the collaboration has affected my research. One disadvantage of the collaboration could be that the informants assumed that I represented IRIS. "Are you doing the same as IRIS?", was a frequent question, and even though I tried to explain that I was not there to evaluate the Ryfylke model, the informants might have answered my questions thinking

that I was a part of the evaluation. Another challenge was to distance myself from the evaluation of the model, and avoid seeing the model through the eyes of IRIS.

3.2 Research design

I have chosen to carry out a case study of the Ryfylke model which aims to qualify adult immigrants as health workers. Kohlbacher defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Kohlbacher, 2006: 6). A case study is not a method, but a research strategy. It is a choice of what is to be studied, and enables the use of qualitative and/or quantitative methods. According to Kohlbacher (2006), case studies enables the researcher to gain in-depth knowledge about one case, takes the importance of understanding the context, and wants to understand the complexity of a social phenomenon.

The Ryfylke model consists of vocational training, Norwegian language training, and an apprenticeship. While the responsibilities and the health work education are not new, I find the complexity of the case primarily in the allocation of the responsibilities, not the isolated tasks. A range of public organisations at the local, regional and national level in different sectors have been involved in the Ryfylke model. Thus, I want to examine how and why the Ryfylke model crosses specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway.

3.3 Semi-structured interviews

I applied the method of semi-structured interviews. Now, I discuss dimensions to the methodological choice: the interview guide, sampling, how I conducted the interviews, and recording.

3.3.1 Interview guide

Bryman argued that the interview process in qualitative research is flexible, and considers how the interviewee frames and understands events, issues, cases, patterns, and forms of behaviour (Bryman, 2004: 321). I kept a flexible approach to the interview, and adjusted the questions during the process of data production. In the semi-structured interview, the researcher has a list of prepared questions in an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of freedom in how to reply, and questions may not follow exactly in the prepared order (Bryman, 2004). I chose to apply this method because it allows the interview to take an unforeseen direction, and to discuss new dimensions of the research topic which was relevant to the informant. The organisational structure does not determine any

actions, and interviewing was a fruitful method to understand the impact of a specialised organisational structure because it enabled me to ask how and why the individual act in a specific way.

All interviews were held in Norwegian. Translated interview guides³ are attached in Appendix A. I developed two main interview guides, one to the candidates and one to the public sector employees. The questions to the employees varied slightly according to the respective organisations' responsibilities, but by and large, the interviews were rather similar, to ensure comparability.

3.3.2 Sampling

The data consists of interviews with 22 people in total, 12 candidates and 10 employees. The represented organisations are the adult education centre, the local Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV), two health institutions, and an upper secondary school. I chose to interview the candidates who partakes in the model to include the client's perspective. A complete overview of informants can be found in section 4.1 where I present the empirical material.

The class teacher of the health work programme at the adult education centre functioned as a gatekeeper. A gatekeeper is a key informant who is of particular importance to the researcher, who frequently provide support, and direct the researcher to events or people likely to be helpful in the process (Bryman, 2004: 300). The class teacher directed me to other informants, and it was valuable to include many perspectives in the data. The class teacher contacted two informants on my behalf, and thereby organised parts of the sampling. I do not consider this fact unproblematic, but I believe the benefit of accessing informants was greater than the risk. The risk of relying too much on a key informant is that "the researcher is seeing social reality through the eyes of the key informant" (Bryman, 2004: 300). I bore this in mind and attempted to keep a critical mind to ensure that the impact on the direction of research was not excessive. Even though the class teacher influenced the sampling method, I am confident that the multiple perspectives give grounds for a nuanced investigation. Vedøy and Nørdland (2017b) emphasised in the evaluation of the Ryfylke model that the class teacher has been responsible for teaching, organising the apprenticeship, administration, and functioned as a driving force to carry out the programme. The class teacher's engagement in my research may stem from her personal ownership of the qualification model.

³ I applied a wordlist developed by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (n.d.-b) to translate concepts

3.3.3 Conducting the interviews

During the semi-structured interview I considered criteria of interviewing, such as asking simple questions, being empathetic in dealing with the interviewee, clarifying the interviewee's statements, and being open in responds to the answers (Kvale in Bryman, 2004: 325). To ease the occupation of the informants' time, all interviews were held in the work facility in a separate room during office hours. The physical space where an interview is located can influence how the interview proceeds. King and Horrocks (2010) define three important aspects of the location which may affect the interviewee: comfort, privacy, and quietness. While my interviews were conducted inside the organisation, it could potentially influence the informant's sense of privacy and comfort, and the answers might be affected by loyalty to the organisation. I tried to avoid being overheard or interrupted by having a sign on the door, but I experienced minor interruptions, e.g. a phone ringing.

As mentioned, all interviews were held in Norwegian. Even though the candidates did not speak Norwegian fluently, I did not experience big difficulties understanding them. Whether the candidates had trouble understanding me is another dimension. I repeated questions when necessary, and tried to talk slowly and clearly. Still, the language was occasionally a barrier, and could potentially limit the candidates' ability to express their thoughts. For instance, some informants replied "yes, I understand what you ask about, but it is hard to answer and explain in Norwegian".

Two interviews were held as a group interview (NAV and the upper secondary school). In a group interview, individuals will often argue with each other, and challenge each other's perception to a specific topic which leads to more realistic accounts of what people think (Bryman, 2004: 348). I found this applicable, as the informants elaborated on each other's answers. On the other hand, I experienced some difficulties, such as less control over the proceedings of the interview, and challenges to make room for both informants, as one talked more than the other.

3.3.4 Recording

The interviews were recorded and transcribed by me. I asked all informants for permission to record before the interview, and placed the recorder visible on the table. Recording and transcribing interviews helps to correct the natural limitations of your memories, and allows a more thorough examination of what people say (Bryman, 2004: 330). The group interview with employees at the upper secondary school was not recorded due to technical problems, and instead, I wrote notes during this interview. For this reason, I might have missed data or rephrased their viewpoints incorrectly. However, recording equipment may be off-putting for interviewees, and constitute a barrier to speak

freely (Bryman, 2004). I experienced that the interviewee would sometimes go on, and say more interesting things about the research topic after the recording machine had been switched off. In these situations, I wrote notes immediately. The quotes without direct reference to time and interview number in the following analysis stem from such situations.

3.4 Analysis

Analysis of qualitative data is a comprehensive affair because there are no formalised routines, procedures, or techniques to deal with the material (Holme & Solvang, 1998). I applied the interview guides as an analytical tool because they offered comparability between informants in different organisations. Moreover, I started the analytical process during data production. As the interviews gave me new insights, I took them into account, and kept a flexible approach throughout the entire research process to benefit from the advantages of qualitative research.

To structure the analysis, I divided the data into codes and themes. Coding is one of the main approaches to qualitative data analysis, and “entails reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving labels (names) to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance” (Bryman, 2004: 402). My strategy was to read through the transcripts multiple times. Guided by organisational theory, I highlighted the main points in the text, and applied codes such as “mandate”, “client”, “cross-sectorial cooperation”, “vertical specialisation”, and “integration”.

The interviews produced the primary data, and are complemented by a secondary analysis of The Education Act (1998) and The Introduction Act (2003). I have studied the available opportunities in the legal framework for adult immigrants to gain a trade certificate, and how education and integration responsibilities are delegated in the public sector.

3.5 Delimitations

The first class of this model, which started in 2015, has recently passed the middle of the program at the time of writing, and because the project is still in the first try-out, I will not discuss the success and efficiency of the qualification model. Whether the model is beneficial or sustainable is yet to see.

I have not participated in any meetings in the relevant organisations. Participant observation is more time-consuming, and I found this method out of reach. My conclusions are based on the informants’ narrative of reality. A combination of several methods could be more enriching, but I am confident that the multiple perspectives in the data are a valid basis to discuss the research question.

The county administration is not represented in the sample. I tried to reach the employee in the county administration who is responsible for the Ryfylke model. The county administration is the formal owner of the programme, and responsible for the final examination of the candidates. On those terms, it would have been fruitful to include their perspective, but the employee was busy, and I could not get an interview. Nevertheless, the informants at the upper secondary school are employed by the county, and represents the regional level of the public sector.

3.6 Ethical dimensions

I have read and considered the Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences, Humanities, Law and Theology (NESH, 2016), such as duty to inform about the research, and consent to participate. Relating to the duty to inform about the research, I wrote an information sheet which is attached in Appendix B, and sent it to informants prior to the interview. Those who had not been informed in writing were informed orally before the interview. I explained that they could withdraw from the study at any time, choose not to answer any questions during the interview, and that names would be anonymised. The candidates were informed about my research in class, and they signed up for an interview by writing their name on a list to confirm their consent.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have given some informants a pseudonym. A full list of informants, pseudonyms, and interview number is attached in Appendix C. I chose to reveal the real name of the qualification model in order to refer to IRIS' evaluation, and to describe the local context. Whereas the area and the work positions are known, some informants in this study might risk being recognised, but the adult education centre ensured me that they accepted this risk.

One major ethical consideration came up during the process of data production. As the informants provided contact information to other relevant interviewees in the same or other organisations, the informants knew about others who partook in my research. Several informants asked me about what other informants had to say about the project and the cooperation among organisations during or after the interview. Their curiosity was understandable, yet challenging for me because it could have had potential to solve misunderstandings. On the other hand, the duty of confidentiality is superior, and I did not want to breach the confidence that the informants had given me. I answered that I could not take on that role, and that they should rather speak to each other directly.

4 Case study: The Ryfylke model

To examine how and why the Ryfylke model crosses specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway, I found it necessary to approach several organisations. In this chapter, I present the informants and the data to be analysed. I define the actors in the health work programme, and how they relate to each other. Finally, I will present the main findings.

4.1 Data

The represented organisations in my study are, in no particular order: the adult education centre, the local Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV), two health institutions where the candidates carry out their apprenticeship, and an upper secondary school that offers training to become a health worker to their pupils. I interviewed twelve candidates in the programme, two managers at health institutions, three employees at the adult education centre, two counsellors at NAV, and three employees at an upper secondary school. Figure 3 illustrates all informants and to which organisation they belong.

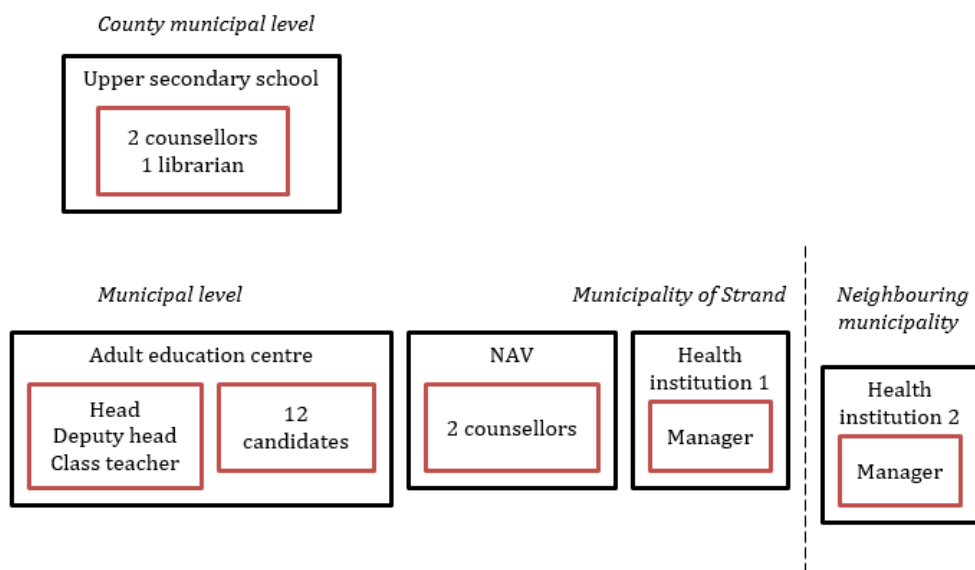


Figure 3. Organisational chart which illustrates the relevant organisations and the informants in this study. The upper secondary school is at the county level. All other organisations are at the municipal level. Health institution 2 is located in another municipality.

The candidates

The candidates in the qualification model constitute a heterogeneous group with differences in education, age, country of origin, Norwegian language proficiency, work experience, and family situation. Most of the candidates are women, have a refugee background from African or Asian

countries, have completed the introduction programme and receive benefits from NAV. Their previous education background ranges from an uncompleted lower secondary education to university degrees. The candidates provided insights about their opportunities to take on ordinary education at upper secondary level and university, their job prospects, and the integration process from a client perspective.

The adult education centre

The adult education centre initiated the qualification model. I interviewed three employees at the adult education centre: the class teacher of the health work programme, the head, and the deputy head.

The class teacher is a certified nurse with teaching qualifications. She is one of the co-founders of the project and works full-time with the health work programme. Her responsibilities are to teach the theoretical components of the education and to follow-up the candidates individually during the apprenticeship. She provided relevant information about the cross-organisational cooperation, as well as insights into the candidates' living situation as she knows the candidates very well.

The head at the adult education centre is a teacher by profession. She has previously worked as a teacher at the primary school-level and the adult education centre. She was employed as the head, the top leader of this organisation, in 2016 and was not involved in the initial phase of the health work project. Her work responsibilities involve all activities at the centre, such as ordinary Norwegian language courses and special needs education. The head offered another perspective to the health work programme as she saw it in relation to the other activities in the organisation.

The deputy head teacher was also one of the co-founders of the qualification model. He was in contact with the national authorities during the start-up phase, but is no longer a part of the project. He gave insights about the institutional system and the process to achieve formal approval by national authorities.

The health institutions

I spoke with two managers at health institutions where the candidates carry out unpaid apprenticeships. For the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to the managers as Rebecca and Hermine. Rebecca is the head of a residential care home for young people with disabilities, while Hermine is responsible for all the health institutions in a neighbouring municipality, such as home nursing care and a day-care centre. The candidates are entitled to a supervisor during their apprenticeship. Rebecca and Hermine provided insights about the cross-sectorial cooperation, the recruitment of

health workers, the significance of language proficiency at work, and comparison to the ordinary scheme at the upper secondary educational level.

The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV)

NAV's responsibility is to support the candidates financially. The majority of the candidates are adults with dependents and are entitled to financial assistance in order to cover basic living expenses while they engage in the unpaid apprenticeship. I spoke with two counsellors at the local NAV office. Their responsibilities are to guide jobseekers into work and to manage a broad portfolio of different social benefits. The candidates receive several and unlike types of benefits⁴ during the four years. The candidates have individual arrangements with NAV during the health work programme because they qualify for different benefits based on living situation, extra jobs, as well as dependents and immigrant status. Together, they provided insights about NAV's role in the Ryfylke model and refugees' prospects to enter the labour market in Norway.

The upper secondary school

The upper secondary school is not a stakeholder in the Ryfylke model, but was a relevant respondent in my study because the school implements several vocational programmes, including health work education. I interviewed three employees at an upper secondary school about the school's mandate. The employees were two counsellors and one librarian. As the upper secondary school is not involved in the implementation of the Ryfylke model, the informants I spoke with had little information about the model itself. However, they complemented the data with insights about the qualification measures to people with a foreign background in a broader context, the ordinary scheme at the upper secondary school, and requirements to enrol.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to the counsellors as Fredrik and Elisabeth. Fredrik has a broad work experience from public and private organisations. He works full-time with a project that aims to bring all educational institutions in the region together in a career centre to ease access to education for everyone. Elisabeth guides pupils coming from a minority background during their years at upper secondary school towards a trade certificate or higher education. The librarian assists pupils with a foreign background to find adapted teaching material.

⁴ Social benefits that applies to most of the candidates in the Ryfylke model: introduction benefit (introduksjonsstønad), transitional benefit (overgangsstønad), employment schemes benefits (tiltakspenger), qualification benefit (kvalifiseringsstønad) and financial assistance (sosialhjelp)

4.2 Main findings

Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I have produced a rich amount of data that explains how and why the Ryfylke model crosses vertical and horizontal specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway. In this section, I will present the main findings. The first two points below relate to *how* the model crosses specialisation principles. I recognised that the client principle is superior to other specialisation principles in many aspects. Additionally, I found a dispute between the county and the adult education centre, which relates to vertical specialisation. The last two points considers *why* the model crosses specialisation principles. I identified that neither of the two regulations in the Education Act to gain a trade certificate apply to adult immigrants.

4.2.1 The clients are the benchmark in the implementation of the Ryfylke model

A common finding is that the model uses the clients as a starting point. I define the candidates in the Ryfylke model as the clients. As mentioned in section 1.1, Vedøy and Nødland (2017b) emphasised that the design of the model is adapted to fit the candidates. During the interviews, I noticed that the informants at the adult education centre, the health institutions, and the local NAV office paid attention to the specific needs of the candidates. The class teacher commented on the importance of adapting the tuition to the clientele: “I can’t teach the subjects as if I were teaching a group of Norwegians, right? We have to work with the terms and concepts here. It becomes a totally different way to work”⁵ (Interview 1, 06:30-06:41). While the health-related subjects are adapted to the clients’ Norwegian skills, the Norwegian tuition is also adapted to fit the current themes in the health-related subjects. The content of the model is adapted to the clients, and so is the structure. The common core subjects, which are obligatory to everyone at the upper secondary programmes, are excluded in the Ryfylke model because the candidates are evaluated by the experience-based trade certification which do not require formal schooling.

Additionally, the amount of required work experience to assess the exam under the experience-based trade certification is halved. The regulation in The Education Act (1998) §3-5 requires five years of full-time work experience, but the candidates in the Ryfylke model carry out an apprenticeship totalling the equivalent of two and a half years full-time where they intern three days a week over a period of four years. Half the amount was approved because the work is under the same kind of supervision as

⁵ In Norwegian: «Jeg kan jo ikke legge opp programfagene som om det var en gruppe norske. Sant, her må vi jobbe med begrepene. Det blir jo en helt annen måte å jobbe på.»

the apprentices in the ordinary health work education from the upper secondary school (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b: 34)

Instead of preparing the clients to fit into the ordinary health work education, the Ryfylke model applies a flexible approach to make the organisational structure fit the clients instead of the other way around. The model is subject to the Education Act (1998) §1-4, which enables the development of alternative pedagogical or organisational ways to teach, and it is temporary approved by the national education authorities. The deputy head expressed a flexible approach to use the scope of action in the institutional system by taking advantage of such openings:

[The requirement of primary- and lower secondary school] would exclude a fair amount of our clientele. So, therefore, we ended up with §1-4 and to use the Education Act §3-5, which allows us to make a programme without formal schooling. *Then we can create any kind of school that we want.*⁶ (Interview 3, 1:30-2:00, emphasis added)

With the clients as the benchmark and a flexible approach to the institutional system, the adult education centre initiated a qualification programme across sectorial, methodological, and geographical specialisation principles.

4.2.2 Dispute between the county and the adult education centre

Vedøy and Nødland (2017b) concluded that the Ryfylke model stand out to other qualification programmes because rather than a workplace or an upper secondary school, the programme is being implemented by a municipal agency. While it is the adult education centre that implements the programme, the county authority is the formal owner of the project. According to the class teacher and the deputy head, the county administration has not been particularly involved in any phases of the Ryfylke model. According to Vedøy and Nødland (2017b), the county questioned the Ryfylke model's divergences to the Education Act, were sceptic about mixing two different regulations, and worried that the Ryfylke model could potentially crowd out the health work profession, but the county evaluated the local ownership as a crucial factor to succeed. The class teacher elaborated on the relation to the county administration:

The county has sent the application [for approval by national authorities] for us. Yes. That is basically what they did. They haven't participated in the planning, nor are they following up the project because they don't have the time. (...) That's probably how I view the position of the county. Not necessarily that they have a negative outlook, but that they have their own

⁶ In Norwegian: «[Krav om grunnskole] ville utelukke en god del av de som vi hadde hos oss. Så derfor endte vi opp med forsøk på §1-4 og bruke opplæringsloven §3-5, som gjør at vi kan lage tilbud uten formell skole. *Da kan vi lage hva slags skole vi vil.*»

priorities to keep up with. And they are probably busy. There are plenty of ordinary apprentices, and a lot of people who need apprenticeships.⁷ (Interview 1, 14:35-15:25)

The informants shared different opinions about whether the adult education centre could or should implement the programme. Not surprisingly, the adult education centre advocated that they were entitled to implement the programme, but I observed a disagreement with the regional level in this manner. One of the counsellors at the upper secondary school, Fredrik, expressed that there is a dispute between the two organisations:

Fredrik: Teachers are easily offended, and the project they [the adult education centre] has initiated, has upset people at our school.

Interviewer: Why?

Fredrik: No, you can wonder, but they are. And I've tried to solve it. At the time being, I haven't managed to do so, but I'm working on it.⁸ (Interview 18, 27:43-28:04)

Later, Fredrik posed an explanation in which the programme belongs to the upper secondary school:

The adult education centre is a learning scheme for immigrants, but now they are offering an upper secondary education, which should probably be implemented by us [the upper secondary school]. I think that would have been an advantage for them and for us.⁹ (Interview 18, 29:22-29:42)

The upper secondary school had not been consulted about the Ryfylke model in the initial phase, and Fredrik pointed out that his created a barrier for the cooperation with the adult education centre (Interview 18, 52:20-52:35). After the model was implemented, the class teacher from the adult education centre approached the upper secondary school to ask about lesson plans and to take advantage of the professional community. The lesson plans were not shared and since the upper secondary school did not have any stakes in the programme, the cooperation is currently undefined. On the other hand, the adult education centre got the impression that the upper secondary school regarded the Ryfylke model as a competitor to the ordinary health work education, which the class

⁷ In Norwegian: «Fylkeskommunen har sendt søknaden for oss. Ja. Det er vel i grunnen det de har gjort. De har ikke vært med og planlagt eller ei er med og følger opp prosjektet fordi de har ikke tid. (...) Det er kanskje det jeg sitter igjen med, at Fylkeskommunen ikke er negative, men at de har sitt og holde på med og sine prioriteringer. Og de har det nok travelt, det er masse lærlinger og mange som trenger lære plasser.»

⁸ In Norwegian: «Fredrik: Lærere er hårsåre vet du, så det prosjektet så de har dratt i gang er jo folk på huset vårt sure for.»

Intervjuer: Hvorfor da?

Fredrik: Nei det kan du lure på. Det er de i alle fall. Og jeg har prøvd og nøstet opp i det. Foreløpig ikke greid det, men jeg jobber med saken.»

⁹ In Norwegian: «Læringssenteret er jo et opplæringstilbud for innvandrere, men så har jo de tatt på seg et videregående skoletilbud som de da har lagt til som sannsynligvis vi skulle hatt og drevet, og jeg tror det hadde vært en stor fordel både for dem og for oss.»

teacher disagreed to, but the upper secondary school did not confirm this assumption. According to informants in both organisations, the cooperation is still left unclear.

4.2.3 Difficult to enrol at the upper secondary school

Another finding showed that adult immigrants faced difficulties to enrol at the upper secondary school. The deputy head at the adult education centre labelled the method to gain a trade certificate under The Education Act (1998) §3-3 as an “unfortunate long path” for adult immigrants. For an individual who lack elements of primary- and lower secondary education, the deputy head estimated a timeline of nine years to achieve vocational qualifications, which often becomes unbearable because the individual sees no end of it. He suggested this approach: two years of Norwegian courses, plus three years of primary- and lower secondary education, plus two years of upper secondary school, and, finally, a two-year apprenticeship (Interview 3, 16:12-17:28).

The informants at the adult education centre argued that the requirements to enrol in upper secondary school excluded many adult immigrants. Contrary, in the Ryfylke model, it is not a prerequisite to have completed primary- and lower secondary school or to prove language skill at B1-level. The head expressed the significance:

If they [the candidates] were required to have a primary- and lower secondary school education first, then they could basically attend the health work education at the upper secondary level. And second, I think that the path would be too long. So, we are providing them with a key to a door which they otherwise could not open.¹⁰ (Interview 2, 20:35-20:55)

The head acknowledged the advantage of having a primary- and lower secondary school education, but questioned the necessity of having skills in the common core subjects at the tenth grade level while working as a health worker in a health institution. The class teacher held the same position and claimed that the candidates without documents of a primary- and lower secondary school education managed equally as well as the others halfway into the qualification model.

The managers at the health institutions argued that the requirements to enrol in upper secondary school was secondary to the performance of the candidates. One of the health managers, Hermine, argued the following:

If you [a candidate] can keep up with the curricular, and hand in work requirements and take an apprentice’s final exam and deliver work assignments, exam type of things, then I think that proves that you are good enough. (...) If they do that, I don’t care if they had Mathematics or

¹⁰ In Norwegian: «Hvis de først skulle hatt grunnskole så kunne de bare gått helsefag på videregående egentlig. For det andre så tror jeg at den veien for de som er her akkurat nå ville blitt altfor lang. Så vi gir dem en nøkkel til en dør som de ellers ikke ville fått åpnet.»

Norwegian when they were twelve years old [laughter]. Maybe that's not the best thing to say about our school system. But some people are more practical than theoretical. So, if they can follow the teaching plan and show that they can do the work, then it is fine with me.¹¹ (Interview 16, 31:58-32:13, 32:48-33:11)

The candidates in the programme highlighted the importance of adapted tuition. For the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to one of the candidates as Lilly. Lilly was an Eritrean national and shared with me that she had been in contact with the upper secondary school because she was considering applying for an ordinary health work education. Lilly had reservations about attending school with native Norwegians, and wondered whether the ordinary education could be adapted to a group of immigrants. She worried about social exclusion because she did not speak Norwegian fluently, and concluded that the adult education centre would be a better place for her to further her education. The following passage exemplifies the complexity of taking on vocational training even if someone is eligible to enrol in the upper secondary school:

Before the [Ryfylke] programme was approved, I have studied a little about the upper secondary school nearby and so, I have gathered some information on how to study health work because I want to work with people. It is my ambition. Therefore, when they started this project I was so happy. Then it is manageable because the teacher is very good, and there are two [teachers]. We learn Norwegian and health science. And that is what we need because we cannot speak Norwegian very well. And we do not write well, not like ethnic Norwegians. So it is a good way for us to move on in education. Because it is special for immigrants that they teach us on easy terms. So I think it [the Ryfylke model] is a very good project for immigrants. I am very pleased. Very satisfied. And we are from different countries. So you are not afraid of being bullied by others if I speak wrong, but if you go into the society and go to the upper secondary school it can be a bit difficult. Maybe. Maybe. But, on the other hand, if you learn with Norwegian people then you learn fast, and maybe, I do not know, but I am satisfied here at the adult education centre.¹² (Interview 4, 10:23-12:15)

¹¹ In Norwegian: «Hvis du klarer å følge undervisningen de har, og levere arbeidskrav og tar fagprøve og leverer arbeidsoppgaver, eksamen type ting, så tenker jeg at det beviser at det er godt nok nå. (...) Så lenge de gjør det så bryr jeg meg ikke om at de hadde matte eller norsk da de var 12 [latter]. Men det er kanskje ikke så godt og fint å si om skolesystemet. Men noen er jo flinkere i praksisen enn i teorien. Så det er jo ikke, så lenge de klarer opplegget og følger det og viser at de kan så er det greit for meg.»

¹² In Norwegian: «Før det den prosjektet ble sånn godkjent jeg har undersøkt litt i videregående skole på [sted] og så, jeg var sånn, jeg har hentet litt informasjon hvordan jeg kan gå på helsefag fordi det var så det jeg vil jobbe med mennesker. Det er min vilje, ikke sant. Derfor når de har begynt med den dette prosjekt jeg ble så glad. Og så er det enkelt fordi hun er veldig kjekke lærer så det er jo to, vi får norsk støtte og så helsefag. Og så vi trenger, fordi vi er vi kan ikke snakke godt norsk, og skriver ikke godt, som norsk etnisk, ikke sant. Så det er bra for oss for å komme videre i utdanning og ja. Fordi det spesielt for utlending at de lærer oss forsiktig sånn enkel måte. Så jeg synes den er veldig bra prosjekt som utlending. Jeg er fornøyd med. Veldig fornøyd. Og så er vi fra forskjellige land. Så vi trives, ikke sant. En er ikke redd av andre at kommer til å bli mobbet eller hvis jeg snakker feil, men hvis du går inn i samfunnet lærer på videregående skole det kan være litt vanskelig. Kanskje. Kanskje. Men også på den andre grunnen hvis du lærer med norske folk da du kjempe, lærer fort, og så kanskje jeg vet ikke, men jeg trives her på skolen»

Lilly described the advantages to offer vocational training to adult immigrants in both organisations. One advantage of implementing the programme at the adult education centre is that the teachers' have specialised in teaching Norwegian as a foreign language. The advantage of engaging in an ordinary education at the upper secondary school, however, is that the candidates engage in an authentic Norwegian environment, as well as the teachers' expertise in teaching health-related subjects. On the other hand, the Ryfylke model offers a dynamic opportunity to engage with and practise the language in a Norwegian environment as the candidates spend three days a week at a health institution.

Informants at NAV discussed the complexity of qualifying adult immigrants as health workers, and mentioned difficulties to complete vocational education programmes as ordinary apprentice:

It's not always that easy to get an apprenticeship if you do not speak or write Norwegian very well. There are many who completed the upper secondary school, but do not get apprenticeship afterwards. (...) And then you must have completed primary school, which not everyone has. Then, the option is to be a candidate of the experience-based trade certification for five years. But then you must find an employer who accepts you for five years which is not easy to find.¹³ (Interview 17, 36:13-37:14)

The informant acknowledges that even adult immigrants who completed two years of upper secondary school may fall through, which opens the next section in which the clients have trouble to qualify as candidates of the experience-based trade certification.

4.2.4 Difficult to document five years full time work

The informants reported that it is problematic for adult immigrants to qualify as health workers under the general understanding of the experience-based trade certification regulated in The Education Act (1998) §3-5. Generally, the regulation is understood as a documentation scheme for people who have been working in Norway as an unskilled worker over a certain period of time (Bratsberg et al., 2017). Some candidates reported to have formal or informal experience with health and care services from other countries, but this is not recognised in Norway.

Rebecca, one of the health managers, spoke about increasingly sharpened formal requirements when recruiting. For example, Rebecca claimed that the deputy mayor in the municipality dictates that new

¹³ In Norwegian: «Det er jo ikke alltid det er så veldig, det er så veldig enkelt å få seg en lærlingjobb og gjerne ikke hvis du ikke snakker veldig godt norsk eller klarer å skrive, formulere deg, det er jo, det er jo, finnes jo, det er jo mange som er ferdig utdannet som ikke får seg lærlingjobb for eksempel. (...) Og da må du ofte ha fullført grunnskolen. Det er jo gjerne ikke alle som har. Og da er jo alternativet å gå som praksiskandidat i fem år før en tar fagbrev. Men da må en jo ha en arbeidsgiver som sier at det er greit at du er der i fem år, og det er jo heller alltid ikke så lett å få til.»

positions in the health institutions should be filled by people with a minimum three-year bachelor degree, and goes through with such commands from above (Interview 15, 33:19-33:30).

The candidates and the managers at the health institutions reported that smaller part-time positions are common in the health sector. The difficulties for candidates who wish to present themselves for the experience-based trade certification was exemplified with a part-time position. For example, if a candidate is employed in a 20% position, the candidate must work for twenty years as an unskilled worker in order to acquire the requisite hours to qualify for the examination. The deputy head teacher at the adult education centre made it clear that if the clients were hired without a trade certificate by the health institutions and could practice their vocation at work, for example during the “Trade certificate at work” as described in section 1.4, an initiative like the Ryfylke model would be unnecessary. However, the municipal health and social service in Strand requires trade certification as a health worker before employment (Interview 3, 10:00-10:27). My data indicates that it is difficult for unskilled workers to enter the labour market in Norway.

The traditional understanding of The Education Act (1998) §3-5 as a documentation scheme appears to benefit only those with several years of work experience in Norway and who are already a part of the labour market. Based on my data, adult immigrants without former education and poor language skills who want to qualify for a trade certificate seem not to fit into any establishments. The county is required to offer an opportunity to sit an exam for candidates who can document sufficient number of working hours, but is not required to offer schooling within this arrangement. Usually, the counties have depended on private actors that offers vocational training to adult candidates of the experience-based trade examination. However, the private actors require the individual to pay an amount of money which an unemployed person may not have the resources to cover such a cost.

The documentation scheme is not beneficial for adult immigrants who struggle to find work in the first place. The regulation of experience-based trade certification does not forbid a combination of theoretical training and work experience, but it has generally not been translated to such policy in practice. The regulation is not a barrier for adult immigrants to gain a trade certificate, per se. The obstacle is rather to figure out if and which actor(s) could and should be responsible to offer such a scheme and how such policy can be designed. My analysis showed that the access to vocational qualifications might be hindered by scarce work experience, poor Norwegian language skills, or uncompleted primary- and lower secondary education, which creates an unfortunate long path for some people to qualify for a vocation within the existing structures. My thesis continues by exploring how and why the adult education centre in Strand decided to combine elements of the upper secondary health work education with the experience-based trade certification in the Ryfylke model.

5 Vocational training across horizontal specialisation

The purpose of my research is to understand the impact of a specialised organisational structure of the public sector on the policy output, and to answer: How and why does the Ryfylke model, which aims to qualify adult immigrants as health workers, cross horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway? In this chapter, I explore the Ryfylke model across horizontal specialisation principles. I test out Gulick's hypotheses about various organisational designs of client, sector, process, and place. The main question is uncovered by asking: What are the implications of choosing one specialisation principle over another?

5.1 The client

Gulick presented that "organization on the basis of the persons served or dealt with (...) tends to bring together in a single department, regardless of the purpose of the service, or the techniques used, all of those who are working with a given group" (Gulick, 1937: 469). The great advantage is to enable a holistic approach by placing the individual at the centre. In the data that I have procured, I found many references to the clientele principle, and this particular principle seems superior to other horizontal specialisation principles in the implementation of the Ryfylke model. The adult education centre argued that they adapt their work activities to the clients. As elaborated in section 4.2.1, the clients are the benchmark of the Ryfylke model. The premise to develop the Ryfylke model was to adapt the structure and the content of the health work education to the specified target group. It required the actors to think less about how things usually are done, and to undermine the process principle. Clients from other municipalities were included in the health work programme, meaning that the model crosses the geographical principle, and the actors cooperate across sectors with different overall purposes.

In this thesis, an organisation is understood as an instrument to realise a purpose that is defined from above (Christensen et al., 2007). During the interview with the head, integration was defined as the fundament of all the activities at the adult education centre. The following passage demonstrates that integration is the purpose of the organisation in which the activities at the centre are justified based on the clients' needs:

Interviewer: (...) even though we have talked about it briefly, how do you define integration?

The head: Integration is a broad term. At our school, we talk about integration as becoming a part of something else. To become a part of the society. Those who are not integrated they stand on the outside looking in. We are probably the school with the highest number of

students who are not integrated. These are students with foreign backgrounds, but also disabled people. For us, the days are very much about integration. Learning Norwegian is one way to integrate, but it is not only about that. You must do more than that, but at least you'll have a language [to communicate]. As for those with disabilities, it is also about them getting involved in the society, and to offer them education, training or whatever it may be.

Interviewer: How does your position as head relate to integration?

The head: I want to say that [integration] is one of the most basic [parts of it]; it is the foundation for the job that I do. If I'm not thinking about integration, I have forgotten whom I am working for. Because it is the students that I am here for, whom I am the head for and work for. If I can help or contribute to their integration into our society in one way or another, it makes sense. And that's in relation to the health work programme as well. If it [the Ryfylke model] is a way to integrate them or give them a job then it makes sense, and then it doesn't matter that the project falls outside our regular activities [laughter].¹⁴ (Interview 2, 31:09-33:20)

The head expressed a willingness to take on new work responsibilities as long as the purpose of the task facilitates the clients' integration process. She stated that the purpose of the organisation is to equip those people who are on the outside of society with essential tools to participate with the rest of the majority population in work, education, and social life.

In relation to the client principle, Gulick argued that "the great advantage (...) is the simplification and coordination of the service of government in its contact with the consumer" (Gulick, 1937: 469). The clients avoid having to navigate between different bodies and the potential problem of receiving different or perhaps contradictory demands. In the preceding analysis, it became clear that adult immigrants who seek vocational qualifications tend to fall between different regulations and measures. The Ryfylke model points to a general lack of coordination between the public organisations with different specialisations. Requirements to enrol in the upper secondary school and requirements to have a trade certificate before employment are major barriers for adult immigrants to advance from language courses at the adult education centre and to avoid unemployment.

¹⁴ In Norwegian: «Intervjuer: Noe litt annet, selv om vi har vært inne på det. Hvordan definerer du integrering? Rektor: Ja, integrering er et vidt begrep. Hvis vi snakker om det her på vår skole så er det å bli en del av noe annet. Vi tenker gjerne en del av samfunnet. De som ikke er integrert står på utsiden en eller annen plass. Vi er vel den skolen der det er flest som ikke er integrert, da tenker jeg om fremmedspråklige, men også om funksjonshemmede. Så for oss handler dagene veldig mye om integrering. Det å lære norsk er en måte å bli integrert på, men ikke bare det. Du må gjøre litt mer enn det. Men da har man i hvert fall et språk. Og for de som er funksjonshemmede handler det også om å få være delaktige i et samfunnsniv og å ha hjelp til det med opplæring eller opptrening eller hva det skal være.

Intervjuer: Hvordan knytter din stilling som rektor seg til integrering?

Rektor: Jeg vil si at det er noe av det mest grunnleggende, det blir grunnlaget for jobben som jeg gjør. Hvis jeg ikke tenker på integrering har jeg glemt hvem jeg jobber for. For det er de elevene som jeg er her som jeg er rektor for og jobber for. Hvis jeg får hjulpet eller får være med å bidra for deres integrering i vårt samfunn på et eller annet vis gir det mening. Og det blir litt i forhold til helsefag også. At hvis det er en måte å få integrert dem, eller gi dem en jobb så gir det mening, så får det bare være litt sånn på siden [latter].»

The client principle implies that the public services are coordinated in one organisation. I understand the Ryfylke model as an attempt to bridge the gap which the clients tend to fall between when they seek vocational qualifications. Instead of carrying out responsibilities in separate organisations, the adult education centre expanded their work activities to simplify the service to the individual. The case demonstrates that the adult education centre organised the health work programme based on a group of people, not the general purpose of the service, the applied techniques, or the place.

The adult education centre spend a considerable amount of their time preparing their students to participate in the society. Egeberg (1999) argued that horizontal specialisation principles matter because the way an organisation is structured will determine which problems the policy makers become aware of. Another implication of the client principle is that the adult education centre becomes aware of the problems immigrants face because they see these issues up front. The adult education centre observed that this group did not fit into ordinary schemes of vocational training, which is a well-known policy problem, and aimed to establish the appropriate policy to change the situation. Fredrik, the counsellor at the upper secondary school, regarded the initiative in a similar manner: “The adult education centre had a problem, and then they wanted to do something about it, and thought, we will solve this, right? I think so. (...) I guess that’s the way it was.”¹⁵ (Interview 18, 28:13-28:25). The policy makers in this case, the workers at the adult education centre, proposed a solution to boost the integration process of adult immigrants by developing the Ryfylke model. The adult education centre took on an additional task and reorganised the organisational structure to provide a holistic service for their clients.

But how did the other public organisations involved in the Ryfylke model relate to the group of adult immigrants when their work activities do not solely deal with this clientele? A client approach to organisation was apparent among the bureaucrats at the local NAV office, which assists the candidates financially. NAV has a broad portfolio of social benefit measures, but still, the characteristics of the Ryfylke model did not fit into any established financial schemes (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b). The Ryfylke model required the employees at NAV to think beyond predefined procedures in their organisation. The procedures that the NAV bureaucrats must obey are decided by the national directorate, and demonstrated a hierarchy of authority. For example, the national directorate decides for how long an individual can receive a specific social benefit. I asked the NAV employees: “Who defines your work-related responsibilities?”, and one of the interviewees simply responded with laughter and said: “Yes, who is that? No, we are simply told what to do and those directives come

¹⁵ In Norwegian: «Læringscenteret de har jo hatt et problem og så har de satt i gang og tenkt at dette skal vi løse, ikke sant? Det tror jeg. (...) jeg tipper det er sånn.»

from [name] who is the leader here”¹⁶ (Interview 17, 1:30-1:45). Despite being bound by formal procedures, the bureaucrats are left with a scope of action to make independent decisions. The way to secure the candidates a living is still under construction halfway through the duration of the model. The informants at NAV were dissatisfied with the lack of standardised methods to serve the candidates in the health work programme at the adult education centre. The way to arrange the social benefits is still under construction. The informants expressed that they would prefer predefined procedures before the model was implemented (Interview 17, 13:40-14:27). Now, it is challenging when a benefit expires and the candidates in the Ryfylke model still claim financial assistance. The solution was to place different social benefits after each other, and required creativity:

They [the candidates] must be able to pay their bills. And then we just have to figure out what kinds of benefits they qualify for and simply give them those benefits. I’ve learnt we just have to be a bit creative [laughter].¹⁷ (Interview 17, 10:08-10:27)

The NAV informants sketched a client approach to organisation and attempted to make the system, here embodied as social benefits, to fit the individual. It supports the finding in Proba samfunnsanalyse (2015b) which concluded that creative interpretation of the regulations is a significant factor to ease the cooperation between labour- and educational bodies.

The health institutions demonstrated a flexible approach to the clientele principle by accepting the candidates from the adult education centre as apprentices. The clients of the health institutions are the patients. A secondary role of the health institutions is educational. They offer ordinary apprenticeships regulated in The Education Act (1998) §3-3, where ordinary apprentices have completed the health-related subjects before start. I wondered whether the candidates in the Ryfylke model required any reorganisation at the health institutions compared with the ordinary programme as they had not completed the health-related subjects beforehand and require language training as well. However, it was rejected by both managers. Hermine answered: “No, no, we have simply accepted them [the candidates]. We have only taken, well, they have just started and knew whom to deal with and to receive supervision from”¹⁸ (Interview 16, 18:11-18:25).

At the upper secondary school, the counsellors shared different opinions about which clientele their organisation works for. Elisabeth stated that their primary group is pupils between 16 and 19 years of age, and argued that older pupils with more life experience, regardless of nationality, disturb the class

¹⁶ In Norwegian: «[Latter] Ja, hvem er det? Nei vi får vel bare beskjed om egentlig hva vi har å gjøre og det er vel [navn] som er leder her»

¹⁷ In Norwegian: «De må jo ha noe å leve av. Og så må vi bare finne ut hva skal vi finne på for at de skal få den ytelsen. Så vi må bare være litt kreative har jeg forstått [Latter].»

¹⁸ In Norwegian: «Nei. Nei. Vi har bare tatt imot de. Så det. Vi har bare tatt holdt på å si de har bare begynt og så har de visst hvem de skal forholde seg til.»

environment since they could be a parent of the younger pupils. On the other hand, Fredrik argued that the upper secondary school should be more open to other people than the primary group. He requested another organisational culture where teachers are more willing to interact with the society and the private business sector (Interview 18, 10:02-10:30).

Høst (2010) argued that the Education Reform in 1994 required the upper secondary schools to prioritise youth. It explains that the county level organises their activities according to another clientele. Another primary group is not problematic for the integration of adult immigrants. The problem is rather that the county is given the mandate of vocational training, but seems to have forgotten about the people that fall outside of their primary group; these people also require vocational qualifications and may not be able to document the sufficient hours of work experience to qualify for the experience-based examination. I return to this aspect in the next chapter about vocational training across vertical specialisation.

I recognise that the client specialisation principle is superior in the organisation of the Ryfylke model. However, it is not unproblematic that the model neglects other specialisation principles. Gulick (1937) argued that whichever principle that defines the work have the potential to ignore the other specialisations. When the clients are the point of departure, the implication is that other organisational principles such as technical expertise, overall purposes, and geographical boundaries may be suppressed. In the next section, I will examine the sectorial principle. I explore the cross-sectorial character of the case, and discuss whether the organisations agree on the overall purpose of the Ryfylke model despite belonging to different sectors.

5.2 The sector

According to Gulick (1937), when responsibilities are organised by the purpose or sector that is served, measures are standardised, and employees remain focused working for a clear purpose. As mentioned in the introduction, Ager and Strang (2008) defines education, employment, housing, and health as core domains of integration, which implies that integration as a policy field crosses many sectors of the public administration. The Ryfylke model involves actors in the sectors of education, labour, and health. As the organisations belong to different sectors, I expected the organisations to be driven by various purposes and to justify their work accordingly.

The cross-sectorial character has implications for the financial arrangements in which the Ryfylke model falls between the different establishments. The model can be considered a hybrid of two paragraphs in the Education Act (1998): (1) the scheme for ordinary apprentices and (2) the work-experience trade certification (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b). While the first scheme is regarded as

education, the second is rooted in the labour section. The cross-sectorial character means that the organisations answer to different sets of regulations and authorities. Generally, candidates who work to accumulate sufficient hours of work experience before the experience-based trade certification are employed, and are paid as unskilled workers. However, the candidates in the Ryfylke model are not employed, and are not eligible to receive payments for their work because they are regarded as apprentices and require supervision. On the other hand, financial means to assist people enrolled in education, such as the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund, are not available to the candidates in the Ryfylke model because they qualify for an examination that is regarded as work experience. Additionally, NAV's measures are directed at work and not education. Proba samfunnsanalyse (2015b) reported that many of NAV's clients do not have an incentive to pursue education, because they risk losing their social benefits if they do so. In that case, is there a sectorial tension between the adult education centre and NAV?

The NAV informants in my study explained that the objective of NAV is to assist people into the labour market and to help them become self-reliant. In other words, to get people employed as fast as possible. Based on my data, I recognised that NAV and the adult education centre agreed on the overall objective, to integrate the clients in the labour market by the mean of vocational qualification. Potentially, there could have been a sectorial tension between the two organisations, because NAV does not have any predefined arrangements that enables them to support a qualification programme of four years. However, it is rejected. Rather, the local NAV office defined the qualification programme in their interest.

NAV informant: I think it would be difficult to make them [the candidates] self-reliant based on their own income. Too often, they need a long-term measure where they are followed up, and a combination of schooling, language, and work experience. And there is in no such measure with the equivalent duration that we can offer. So I truly believe in this.¹⁹ (Interview 17, 11:00-11:31)

Here, the informant recognised that the current setup that applies to their organisation is not good enough, and requested a long-term measure like the Ryfylke model. NAV was not required to take part in the Ryfylke model, but decided to do so because they agreed with the purpose, even if the administration required different methods.

Another cross-sectorial dimension in the case is between the adult education centre and the health institutions. According to the managers, the purpose of the health institutions is to provide health

¹⁹ In Norwegian: «Jeg tror det hadde vært vanskelig og fått dem ut til å bli selvforsørget med egen inntekt. For ofte trenger de jo et langsiktig løp hvor de blir fulgt opp og en kombinasjon av skole, språk og jobb og det er der på en måte ikke noe tiltak som vi kan tilby som er like langt løp da. Så jeg har virkelig tro på dette jeg altså.»

services of decent quality to their clients, which in this case are the patients. The manager Hermine emphasised that people who are interested in an apprenticeship in the interest of the organisation, and answered:

My view is that if people call and ask if they can get an apprenticeship, if they can get work training through NAV, I think all that is basically just a resource. So I say yes, as long as there's not going to be a bunch of people walking on top of each other, right? Because they must have supervision, and the training must have a purpose, but if we have the room and capacity to take them in, it is simply a resource. Because the work is busy enough. And they only increase the quality. They may accompany the patients on walks, or perhaps activities we don't have the time for otherwise. I don't know. That's just a plus. (...) What I don't understand is why that shouldn't be a resource? I don't understand how it is possible to look at it differently, because they start working in the summer, we need temporary staff, and then they apply for weekend positions, and then they apply for other positions and then you are recruiting, and you have trained them from scratch, so I think you have to look at that as a good thing [laughter].²⁰ (Interview 16, 18:59-19:45, 26:42-27:07)

Hermine explained that even though integrating adult immigrants is not the primary purpose of the organisation, it could still be justified by purpose as the organisation could recruit more staff. Hermine emphasised a limitation of time and human resources, and confirmed a labour shortage in the health sector. A sectorial tension between the health sector and the education sector is not evident. There is no contradiction between the purpose of the health organisations, which aims to provide health services of decent quality and wants to recruit more staff, and the adult education centre, which wants to prepare their clients for work. Instead, the purposes are mutually inclusive.

Gulick (1937) argued that a risk of sectorial specialisation is a failure to incorporate subordinate departments if the work does not correlate with the primary interest of the organisation. Vedøy and Nødland (2017b) found that the health work programme is not fully integrated into the adult education centre. The Ryfylke model required the adult education centre to reorganise their management by employing a new teacher with a professional background in nursing. The class teacher did not fill a predefined role, and a health professional had not been working in the organisation prior to the model. She has been working mainly on her own. After one year, a Norwegian teacher was included, and recently, another teacher of health science was employed. It indicates that the

²⁰ In Norwegian: «Min tanke er sånn at hvis folk ringer og spør om de kan få lærlingeplass, om de kan få arbeidspraksis igjennom NAV, jeg tenker alt det der er jo i grunnen bare en ressurs. Så jeg vi sier ja så sant det ikke blir en hele haug som går oppå hverandre sant. Fordi de må jo ha oppfølging og det må jo være en hensikt med det, men så lenge vi har plass og kapasitet til å ta oss av dem så er det jo bare en ressurs. For det er jo travelt nok. Og de øker jo bare kvaliteten. De kan være med å gå turer og kanskje ting vi ikke får tid til ellers. Jeg vet ikke. Det er jo bare positivt. (...) Det jeg ikke forstår, hvorfor det ikke skal være en ressurs? Jeg forstår ikke hvordan det går an å se på det på en annen måte fordi det er jo de ender opp med å jobbe på sommeren, vi trenger vikarer, og så søker de helgejobb og så søker de når det kommer andre stillinger, og så du rekrutterer jo, og så har du lært de opp i fra bunnen av, så jeg tenker at du må jo synes det er greit. [Latter].»

programme falls outside the ordinary activities at the centre. One implication is lack of recognition from colleagues who work for other purposes and apply other methods. Nevertheless, my data neither confirms or rejects this situation.

The responsibility to educate health workers is delegated to the upper secondary school. The counsellor Elisabeth, emphasised that the purpose of the upper secondary school is vocational training, not Norwegian language training. According to Elisabeth, the pupils should not use the right to gain an upper secondary education to learn basic Norwegian. Her statement demonstrates that the specialisation principles in the organisational structure enables the upper secondary school to be specialists in their field. Organisation by sector ensures standardised measures and employees who remain focused working for a clear purpose (Gulick, 1937). One implication is that the path to become a health worker is standardised across geographical boundaries. Standardisation eases the recruitment process and benefits the employee and the employer with a common frame of reference about the profession.

A specialised organisational structure constructs a narrow problem area, which can increase the individual's capacity to solve problems, but also makes it more difficult to see the impact of your activity in a broader perspective (Christensen et al., 2007). My data indicates that the upper secondary school organises by major purpose. The task to teach Norwegian as a foreign language is not defined as a responsibility of the upper secondary school. When immigrants are the considered target group, should the upper secondary school pay less attention to organising by purpose and more attention to clientele? Would it be better to expand the problem area, and combine vocational training and Norwegian language training in one organisation? There are many ways to learn a language, and the candidates whom I interviewed appreciated the ability to practice their language skills in the context of vocational training while being a part of an authentic Norwegian environment at the training establishments. However, a combination of several teaching methods and specialisations may neglect Gulick's principle of process and efficiency, which I turn to in the next section.

5.3 The process

The process principle is about dividing responsibilities according to the method, which is used to deal with the task. "Organization by major process, such as engineering, teaching, the law or medicine, tends to bring together in a single department all of those who are at work making use of a given special skill or technology, or are members of a given profession" (Gulick, 1937: 467). With the process principle, it becomes secondary for whom the work is carried out or for what purpose.

The Ryfylke model was initiated by an adult education centre that, according to the informants, had never provided vocational training before. Vedøy and Nødland (2017a) pointed out that the organisation had to navigate an unknown legal territory of the Education Act, which is generally not applicable to the adult education centre. In the interview, the deputy head teacher described the adult education centre as “amateurs” in relation to the legal framework when they, in form of a school and a municipal institution, tried to establish a new educational programme. They applied for something they had never done before, wanted to develop an offer that has never been done before, within a system they did not really know (Interview 3, 6:45-7:20). The deputy head recognised a bounded rationality in which they did not know all potential action alternatives (Simon, 1997). Yet, the project was approved and illustrates that the adult education centre overcame the methodological obstacles. The employees at the adult education centre gained sufficient knowledge about the legal framework, focused on the purpose, and developed a qualification scheme for the sake of the clients.

The process principle means that “the work is performed with the same machine, with the same technique, with the same motions” (Gulick, 1937: 467), and teaching was defined as one example of a process. However, I disagree and state that it is an oversimplification. Teaching is more than one method. It is a profession and a technical skill that applies to both the adult education centre and the upper secondary school, but the organisations have different specialisations within the field of education. The adult education centre specialises in teaching Norwegian as a second language to adults, while the upper secondary school specialises in vocational training.

Gulick argued that it is favourable to organise responsibilities based on the process principle because it “guarantees the maximum utilization of up-to-date technical skills and (...) make use of the most effective divisions of work and specialization” (Gulick, 1937: 467). The head and the class teacher at the adult education centre acknowledged that the upper secondary school holds great expertise in teaching health science, which could have strengthened the Ryfylke model. The head argued that the model would be more adequately driven at the upper secondary school because of the professional expertise in health work in this organisation. The candidates are taught twelve hours of health-related subjects and two hours of Norwegian grammar a week. With a curriculum consisting of mainly health science, she believed that it would be more beneficial to use the professional expertise in health work at the upper secondary school and strengthen the tuition with extra Norwegian instruction when necessary (Interview 2, 16:26-18:10).

The class teacher advocated that the adult education centre could implement the Ryfylke model, but agreed that it could be beneficial to run the programme at the upper secondary school:

I have been thinking that maybe this model belongs at the upper secondary school, actually. But there is nothing wrong with implementing it here. The advantage of being at the upper secondary school, then I would sort of...another teacher in health work, [name] was recently employed here, but otherwise I have been quite alone with my background. If the model had been at the upper secondary school, there would have been others to talk to with the same background. But again, the advantage of being here is many people with background in teaching Norwegian as a second language, right, which in turn has been, it is definitely a strength, too. But on the other hand, you also have that at the upper secondary school. There you have both.²¹ (Interview 1, 42:15-42:55)

The class teacher expressed the two-sidedness of methodological specialisation which the Ryfylke model strives to combine: technical skills in vocational training, and Norwegian as a second language. The consequence of implementing the qualification model at the adult education centre is the missing opportunity to discuss issues with other teachers of vocational programmes. When the client principle is superior to the process principle, it implies that the technical efficiency, which the process principle enhances, may be neglected. On the other hand, the supervisors at the health institutions, the professionals of various health sciences whom supervise the candidates, were highlighted as a technical asset by the class teacher (Interview 1, 53:32-54:09). The supervisors, the candidates and the class teacher have monthly meetings to ensure the individual's progression. The supervisors have a technical expertise in the subject and offer the class teacher an environment to discuss health science. A collaboration with other teachers of health science could potentially increase the efficiency of the Ryfylke model in which teaching methods and experiences are exchanged. With this in mind, why did the adult education centre and the upper secondary school not cooperate and take advantage of one another's specialisation?

Gulick argued that the process principle "encourages co-ordination in all of the technical and skilled work of the enterprise, because all of those engaged in any field are brought together under the same supervision, instead of being scattered in several departments" (Gulick, 1937: 468). It does not apply to the Ryfylke model where their work is not coordinated under the same supervision. My research shows that the employees at the upper secondary school were insulted at not having been included in the initial phase, and this created a barrier for the cooperation. Consequently, the cooperation is left hanging in the air because the organisations have misunderstood each other and no superior management facilitated the contact. The instrumental perspective to organisation, striving for full

²¹ In Norwegian: «Jeg har tenkt at kanskje hører denne modellen mer hjemme i videregående. Egentlig. Men det er jo ikke noe i veien for at den er her. Det er klart. Fordelen med å være på videregående da hadde også jeg på en måte... Nå har jo nettopp [navn] komt inn, men ellers har jeg jo vært ganske alene med min bakgrunn. Hadde det vært på videregående hadde det vært flere å snakke med med samme bakgrunn da. Men fordelen med her igjen, det er jo det at det er mange med norskfaglig bakgrunn sant, som igjen har vært, det er absolutt styrke det også, men på den andre siden igjen, det har du jo også på videregående. Der har man begge deler.»

rationality, may fall short in this aspect, as the employees do not have complete overview over the alternatives in other organisations.

The county administration is the formal owner of the Ryfylke model and ordinary vocational training, and could, for obvious reasons, take on a facilitating role to bring the two organisations together. The county administration refused to participate in my study, which is problematic because the viewpoints of those who did not agree to participate in the study may differ from those who did (Bryman, 2004: 88). The class teacher believed that the county was not de facto negative to the Ryfylke model, but had other priorities that may explain the county's position. However, the passivity of the county remains unclear as I have not heard their side.

The method of teaching is only a meaningful activity when it makes sense for the pupil and cannot be isolated from the recipients of this service. The Education Act (1998) §1-3 declares that education to any pupil shall be adapted according to the individual's abilities.

The sociocultural perspective to learning emphasises that learning takes place in an interplay between the individual and the society by communicating with others (Säljö, 2013). Lev Vygotskij analysed the Zone of Proximal Development, and argued that learning occurs when new elements are combined with what the individual already knows (Säljö, 2013). In this perspective, it is vital for teachers to know the individual's zone of proximal development and adapt the teaching accordingly. Teaching the health-related subjects to a group of 16-17-year-olds in the upper secondary school or a group of adult immigrants would require different methods to teach the subject, despite using the same curriculum. The main point of the zone of proximal development is that learning depends on previous knowledge. Teaching has no value if it does not make sense to the person who is learning.

In the case study, the process specialisation principle would require the teachers to have professional skills in the health-related subjects, Norwegian as a foreign language, and insights into the experience of adult immigrants. A related concept within the fields of education is Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which is a "dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010: 1). CLIL can be adapted to different contexts and realised in a range of models. The core is to teach a subject *with* and *through* a foreign language, rather than teaching a subject *at* a foreign language. Content and language integrated learning requires a thoroughly plan in which language and subject is integrated. Vedøy and Nødland (2017b) reported that a Norwegian teacher was not included until one year after the start. The Ryfylke model is not an example of CLIL, but has potential to become a method where a subject is taught *with*, not simply *at*, a foreign language.

I close this section about technical expertise by concluding that knowledge about the clients is an essential variable to provide meaningful teaching. It is unclear whether the upper secondary school or the adult education centre can provide the best service, because meaningful teaching requires a combination of technical expertise from both organisations. I suggest that a productive cooperation between the two organisations could enable maximum utilisation of expertise. A close cooperation independent of sector, method, and client can be facilitated by organising on the basis of geography, which is the final horizontal specialisation principle that I will discuss in the subsequent section.

5.4 The place

“Organization on the basis of the place at which the service is performed brings together all of those who work in a limited area regardless of the service they are performing or of the techniques they represent” (Gulick, 1937: 470-1). This principle is favourable because it enables the service to be adapted to local needs.

In the municipality of Strand, the short geographical distance between some of the public organisations surprised me. As mentioned previously, the class teacher functioned as a gatekeeper and provided contact information to other interviewees. I asked her whom I could contact at the local NAV office, and she responded: “Simply cross the road and ask for [name], the head of the department. It is the building over there, and I am sure you can reach them today before they close at 14:30.” It says something about the place in which the Ryfylke model is initiated. People know each other, and they know the opening hours of other agencies. The informants appreciated local solutions. To decrease transportation costs for the candidates, it is beneficial to offer the health work programme in the local area, rather than in a nearby city. On the other hand, the Ryfylke model crosses organisation by place because it exceeds the municipal border and established a cooperation with a health institution in a smaller neighbouring municipality. The informants rejected the suggestion that the geographical border could be a barrier against cooperation.

On the other hand, place and geographical distance was pointed out as one explanation by all informants at the upper secondary school as to why the current cooperation between the adult education centre and the upper secondary school is unsuccessful. The adult education centre and the upper secondary school are not co-located. Fredrik referred to another rural place in the county where adult education and upper secondary education is co-located, and where cooperation takes place to a larger extent. Based on this occurrence, Fredrik argued that the organisations would communicate and coordinate their work better if they also worked nearby each other. Then, the transition from adult education to upper secondary education could be more flexible. This adheres to what Gulick

claimed to be favourable of organisation by place. Such organisation may decrease the scope of misunderstandings among employees working for different sectors, processes or clients, and enable greater coordination of services. As the upper secondary school and the adult education centre in this case study are not co-located, I cannot determine the potential implications for the integration of adult immigrants other than from a theoretical perspective.

5.5 Interconnected specialisation principles

In the preceding analysis, we have seen that the Ryfylke model crosses the organisational structure of the public sector along the principles of sector, process, and geography for the sake of the clients. Egeberg (1999) processed the arguments of Gulick (1937) and agreed that the organisational design can affect coordination and information exchange in bureaucracies, and ultimately the policy output. Based on the theoretical framework and the empirical material, I argue that the client principle is a favourable principle to organise and deal with the policy problem in which certain groups struggle to enter either ordinary education or the labour market. A client approach to organisation bridges the gap for adult immigrants without documented qualifications when they seek vocational qualifications. It requires a holistic approach to policies, which are usually carried out by separate organisations.

However, the disadvantage of an organisational structure based on the client principle is that “it tends to sacrifice the efficiency of specialization, because it must after all perform several otherwise specialized functions through the same organization” (Gulick, 1937: 469). The class teacher at the adult education centre specialises in teaching health science, but has primarily been working alone and performed Norwegian tuition and health work tuition at the same time. The professionalism of the Ryfylke model can benefit from implementing in a community where the teachers carry both methodological specialisations and create synergy effects.

The stakeholders in the Ryfylke model belong to different sectors, but the actors managed to cooperate across sectors because they regarded the Ryfylke model as a way to serve the purpose of their organisation. The informants at NAV claimed that the model required them to be creative, referring to the process principle, but the health institutions continued their business as usual. While none of these actors demonstrated cross-sectorial disputes, I found a dispute between the adult education centre and the county. The adult education centre and the upper secondary school serve different clients, apply different methods, and are not located at the same place.

From the outset, the issues between the county and the adult education centre can be understood in many ways. The tension can be regarded as a sectorial tension as the actors work to pursue different purposes. The upper secondary school at the county level is responsible for upper secondary

education, while the adult education centre at the municipal level is responsible for primary- and lower secondary education, and Norwegian language training. However, they are both educational organisations in which education is the primary objective. One could speak of a municipal sector and a county sector with different purposes and technical expertise. Moreover, the upper secondary school and the adult education centre have different target groups, which means that the dispute can be understood by clientele. One example of specialisation by place is to organise tasks according to the local, the regional, and the national level (Gulick, 1937), which implies that the geographical principle is closely linked to vertical specialisation. I continue the analysis by exploring the tension from a vertical perspective because the administrative levels hold different amount of power. The power and autonomy of local governments depend on the national setting, but local governments are always subordinate to central governments (Emilsson, 2015). The administrative levels have contrasting power capabilities, as the municipalities do not have autonomy to issue a trade certificate like health work to their residents without the approval from national and regional authorities.

6 Vocational training across vertical specialisation

In this chapter, I consider vertical specialisation and question how and why the Ryfylke model crosses vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway. Vertical specialisation means that responsibilities are divided hierarchically at different levels within one organisation, or to several organisations at different administrative levels (Christensen et al., 2007). First, I consider the mandate of the adult education centre, and pose the subordinate question: Has the adult education centre mandate to do what they do? Then, I pay attention to the tension between the local, the regional, and the national level of the public sector. Finally, the aspects of centralisation and decentralisation are discussed, and I argue that integration policies to get a trade certificate could benefit from a flexible approach to the organisational structure in which authority to design the method is decentralised to the local level.

6.1 Mandate to provide vocational qualification

First, how does the Ryfylke model cross vertical specialisation principles? The Ryfylke model crosses vertical specialisation levels when the municipal adult education centre implements a programme which is normally facilitated by a county agency. The adult education centre depended on the county to get the model approved by national authorities, because the mandate to run vocational training has been delegated to the county, not the municipality. The national authorities hold the power to approve or reject the Ryfylke model, the county is responsible for the final examination of the candidates while the municipal agencies implement the matter and form.

The mandate of a public organisation to do something ultimately stems from Parliament and is governed through a set of regulations and laws (Christensen et al., 2007). It implies that the public organisations are not free to decide their own business, but must follow directions and act according to the mandate. The informants shared different perspectives about whether the adult education centre had mandate to do what they do. I asked the informants at the adult education centre to define the mandate of their organisation and thereafter whether the health work programme fit into this mandate. The class teacher got there first and advocated immediately that the mandate comprehends the Ryfylke model:

Interviewer: Do you have any thoughts about the adult education centre as school, as organisation, what is the mandate of the adult education centre on a general basis?

The class teacher: You wonder whether we actually have a mandate to provide the health work programme? Yes, I think so. (...) Indeed, it is absolutely within our mandate because here at

the adult education centre it is about preparing the candidates, to prepare them for work. They must learn Norwegian and they will be ready for work. And that is precisely what we do. Only that the method is vocational. So yes. I am not sure that everyone agrees with me, but that is my answer.²² (Interview 1, 49:02-49:27, 49:39-50:05)

The head argued that the mandate stem from the Introduction Act, namely to teach the participants Norwegian and Social Science and to focus on labour training. She believed that the health work programme could be justified within the mandate because the candidates learn Norwegian through vocational training and are thus prepared for work. On the other hand, she acknowledged that the Ryfylke model is besides the mandate. It is an extra service which the adult education centre is not obligated to provide: "I think it is not our mission. If you turn it around, we have not been given the mission to provide health work education to our candidates"²³ (Interview 2, 9:15-11:30, 12:42-13:20).

The deputy head teacher at the adult education centre referred to vertical specialisation, and emphasised that the mandate stems from the county administration which is the formal owner:

We do not really have a mandate. I must say that right away. As a municipal adult education institution, we do not have the mandate to give the training that we do. We have taken the mandate. So our application [for approval by the national authorities] went through the county. It is actually the county that formally owns the project. But the county is also familiar with a situation where you try out new methods and other organisations implements them.²⁴ (Interview 3, 12:46-13:11)

The understanding of mandate is not consistent between the informants at the adult education centre. It demonstrates that the organisational structure is normative, and that the institutional framework is subject to individual interpretation. The adult education centre has taken the mandate because they defined a policy problem because it relates to the purpose of the organisation. They decided to act by incorporating a new method, even though the mandate to implement such method is delegated to another vertical level.

²² In Norwegian: «Intervjuer: Har du noen tanker om voksenopplæringen som skole, organisasjon, hva som er voksenopplæringens mandat på et generelt grunnlag?

Kontaktlærer: Du tenker om vi har mandat egentlig til å drive med helsefagopplæring? Ja, jeg synes det. (...) Det er jo absolutt innenfor fordi her på voksenopplæringen handler det om at de skal få, de skal bli klare til arbeidslivet. De skal lære seg norsk og de skal bli klar for arbeidslivet. Og det er jo det vi gjør. Bare det er fagrettet. Så ja. Ikke sikkert at alle er enige med meg, men det er mitt svar.»

²³ In Norwegian: «Samtidig er dette på siden. Jeg tenker at det ikke er vårt oppdrag. Vi har ikke et oppdrag å gi dem et helsefag, hvis man snur om på det.»

²⁴ In Norwegian: «Vi har jo egentlig ikke mandat. Da må jeg si det med en gang. Kommunen har ikke mandat til det. Som kommunal voksenopplæring har vi ikke mandat til å gi den opplæringen vi gir. Dem har vi tatt oss til. Så vår søknad har gått gjennom Fylkeskommunen. Det er egentlig Fylkeskommunen som eier prosjektet formelt sett. Men Fylkeskommunen er også vant til at man driver med forsøk og at andre gjør tingene.»

6.2 Tension between the local, the regional, and the national level

The county holds the mandate of the Ryfylke model in their position as the formal owner, but has not been particularly involved in the implementation. The teaching responsibility has been outsourced from the county to the adult education centre. The vocational educations to adults provided by public actors are first and foremost in the capital and of temporary character (Høst & Reymert, 2017: 11). The informant Fredrik explained that the county in question has usually outsourced the responsibility of upper secondary education to adults and depended on the services of private actors. However, the county authority has recently decided not to do so any longer which means that the upper secondary schools will sooner or later be held more responsible to provide adult education on a broad basis, according to Fredrik (Interview 18, 30:16-31:44).

The engagement towards the Ryfylke model differs across the vertical levels. The national education authorities hesitated to approve the project, and the county declined to facilitate the process. The deputy head and the class teacher at the adult education centre expressed that it was inconvenient to convince the national educational authorities to believe in the project. Gulick (1937) argued that central administrative heads hesitate to delegate real power to local officials because of difficulties to maintain a nationwide policy. Are the national authorities afraid of divergences to a standardised measure, or to lose power to develop public policy? Actors at the national and regional level held reservations about the structure and content of the Ryfylke model. The county questioned the divergences to the Education Act, were sceptic about mixing two different regulations and worried that the Ryfylke model could crowd out the health work profession (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b). The Ryfylke model challenges standardised models of vocational education and integration, and can explain the tension between the vertical levels in the public administration.

The Ryfylke model is created locally, bottom-up, in which the actors did not wait for formal approval by the national authorities before they implemented the programme (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017a). The health institutions offered the adult education centre more available apprenticeships than they needed which indicates a local will to facilitate unemployed residents of the municipality into the labour market. The locals saw a policy problem and aimed to act against it, regardless of support from authorities at higher vertical levels and the exact outcome of such qualification programme.

Christensen et al. (2010) argued a two-sidedness of the municipality as an administrative body. The municipality is (1) an instrument to the central government to implement national policy according to the regulations and (2) a self-governing local body which can define local interests, priorities and objectives (Christensen et al., 2010: 142). Moreover, the municipalities have historically developed

local policies which have later been institutionalised as national policy (Christensen et al., 2010). The Ryfylke model demonstrates such two-sidedness. The municipal actors saw that the current national regulations were not sufficient to qualify adult immigrants to the labour market. The head at the adult education centre stressed the economic interest of the municipality to offer a programme such as the Ryfylke model:

When you [a municipality] choose to settle refugees, you can take it so far. What can you offer them [refugees] after Norwegian language courses? (...) If you have two years of introduction programme and then you do not know anything, it can easily become expensive for the municipality too. Because there are no jobs for them. In the long term, I think this can be profitable. I think so. But one must dare to bet and believe in it.²⁵ (Interview 2, 26:56-27:06, 27:26-27:49)

The municipality is the first level of government to feel the impact of new immigration trends and has a different proximity to new and emerging problems than the state (Gebhardt, 2016). It explains why the local actors supported the Ryfylke model and chose not to wait for reaction from the state or the county. It is in the interest of the municipality, though also the other administrative level, to offer qualification schemes to adult residents without work and reduce the public expenditure on unemployment benefits. The proximity to the problem and its consequences explains the unlike positions to the Ryfylke model which are found at the local, regional, and national level.

6.3 Centralisation and decentralisation

Another aspect of vertical specialisation is centralisation and decentralisation. These concepts refers to the location of decision-making authority and political control, in which centralisation implies strict control and limited scope of action to make local decisions (Østerud, 2007: 104). In relation to the introduction programme, Hernes and Tronstad (2014) emphasised the delicate balance between central government control and municipal room for manoeuvre. Detailed laws with well-defined requirements to the municipalities offer clear instructions about integration work in which measures are standardised and the municipalities become an instrument of state-led policy. On the other hand, detailed laws may limit the local scope of action to develop innovative schemes for the individual and adapt measures to the local context. The objection to decentralisation is that local initiatives require competent employees in the municipal sector with knowledge about alternative measures and capabilities to take advantage of the flexibility (Hernes & Tronstad, 2014: 84). Moreover, vertical

²⁵ In Norwegian: «Når man velger å bosette flyktninger, man kan jo dra det så langt. Hvilket tilbud har man å gi dem etter norskopplæring? (...) Hvis man to år intro og så vet man ingenting, da kan det fort bli dyrt for kommunen også. Fordi det ikke er arbeidsplasser til dem. På sikt så tror jeg dette kan bli lønnsomt. Det tror jeg. Men man må tørre å satse og tro på det.»

specialisation diminish the potential for political steering and control from above (Egeberg, 1999), which can lead to variations in public services across the country. Despite of a bounded rationality (Simon, 1997), the local actors, who developed the Ryfylke model, demonstrated competence to learn about alternative measures and techniques to take advantage of the opportunities in the institutional framework. If the Ryfylke model succeeds, it supports the argument to decentralise authority when integration policies are considered.

Emilsson (2015) studied integration policies in Denmark and Sweden over time. He argued that there are signs of increased governmental control of integration policies, and limited scope of action for local governments to formulate their own interests and priorities. The centralisation trend seems to be applicable not only in these two countries, but across Europe (Emilsson, 2015). Nevertheless, research in the field of local and national integration policies argue that the local level are more capable to find pragmatic solutions to integration and to take the specific problem, political and policy settings into account (Emilsson, 2015). Local actors can be of crucial importance in the development of successful integration policies.

Gebhardt (2016) explored the relationship of states and cities in conducting immigrant integration policies, and pointed at the irony of nationwide integration policies. National policies may undermine the flexibility at the local level that is required to ensure efficient policies. Gebhardt (2016) claimed that integration policies such as the introduction programme have led to a centralisation of integration policies in which they are “a tool to strengthen, streamline and harmonise immigrant integration policies from a state’s perspective” (Gebhardt, 2016: 743). Then, local integration work and practices are subject to governmental control and governed by the state. As the state takes over, the government claim to know a more efficient way to conduct such policies than the municipalities. The irony is that standardised measures makes it difficult to provide a flexible manner to specific and changing local needs which is required to make the mainstream policies efficient (Gebhardt, 2016: 753).

The deputy head at the adult education centre argued that they could find better solutions to integration because they work closer with the candidates than the bureaucrats working at the national level from an office in Oslo, the capital of Norway, and he called for local integration policies and decentralisation. The national educational authority decides the formal competencies in which a health worker shall hold to qualify for the title, while the regional authority decides whether the candidate demonstrates such competencies through a practical and theoretical examination. The Ryfylke model is a new method to get there which is grounded at the local level with the client in centre, contrary to a top-down initiative from the state. According to Østerud (2007), decentralisation

can stimulate initiatives because the people are more responsible for their own neighbourhoods and the results of creative efforts are evident in the local area. Moreover, Gebhardt (2016) concluded that integration policies would benefit from increased cooperation with local authorities and a “more realistic and pragmatic outlook on immigration that put the needs of immigrants and their advancement in host society first” (Gebhardt, 2016: 754).

I conclude that new models to get a trade certificate could benefit from a flexible approach to the organisational structure in which authority to design the method is decentralised to the local level. The local actors do not have the power to define the final competence of a specific profession, but greater room to adapt integration policies locally can enable the workers to find appropriate methods and organise based on the needs of the client. If the Ryfylke model succeeds, it will demonstrate that municipal actors can find suitable and pragmatic solutions to integrate their residents, despite taking on a task which is not a specialisation of the municipality. In such case, it will be beneficial to decentralise authority to establish qualification measures at the local level instead of waiting for approval by higher authorities because the integration process should start sooner rather than later (White Paper 30, 2015-2016).

7 The complexity of integration as a policy field

In the two preceding chapters, we have seen the ways the Ryfylke model crosses horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector. With an instrumental perspective to public sector organisations and their activities, it is relevant to uncover the research question by exploring the purpose of the qualification model. I place the evaluation of the Ryfylke model by International Research Institute of Stavanger (IRIS) under scrutiny, and I argue that the evaluation contributes to institutionalise the model. I analyse integration as concept because the purpose of the Ryfylke model highlights a complexity of integration as a policy field. My main argument in this chapter is that integration is embodied with complexity, which complicates the organisational structure that is meant to deal with the policy field. The Ryfylke model demonstrates that coordinated efforts across public organisations to assist adult immigrants to vocational qualifications are not established, and it answers to why the case crosses specialisation principles in the organisational structure. Furthermore, I discuss the model from the street-level bureaucrats perspective (Lipsky, 1980) to understand why the workers at the adult education centre detached from the organisational structure and developed the Ryfylke model. Finally, I propose the prospects to generalise the Ryfylke model to other sectors, clients, and places.

7.1 The purpose of the Ryfylke model

In IRIS' evaluation of the Ryfylke model, Vedøy and Nødland (2017b) defined that the primary purpose is to provide formal vocational training to a group which does not fit in to the ordinary education system and neither advance in the labour market. Other purposes were also identified, and Vedøy and Nødland (2017b) concluded that the Ryfylke model can be regarded as an instrument with a threefold function for the clients: (1) to become qualified as a health worker, (2) to participate in the labour market and (3) to integrate in the local society. The model can be understood solely as formal qualification, but also in a broader context as a labour market measure, and to facilitate the integration process in general. The first function is relatively concrete. One indicator of this objective is whether the candidates will pass the final examination based on a nation-wide standard. The last two functions are more abstract and challenging to pursue and measure. What does it mean to participate in the labour market? A summer job, a temporary part-time position, or permanent full-time work? The purpose to integrate in the society is even more abstract. At what point can one claim to be integrated?

Vedøy and Nødland (2017b) argued that the objective of the model, and the distribution of responsibilities, were unclear in the start-up phase. Consequently, the actors had slightly different understandings of the project. At first, some of the health institutions thought the purpose was simply language training, not vocational training. It led to some confusion in the first couple of months about what kind of follow-up the candidates required at the training establishments.

The informants in my study formulated the purpose slightly different during the interviews. The head at the adult education centre responded:

Interviewer: What is the purpose of the model?

The head: Yes, that is a good question. The goal is to get more people to work, and to provide education. It is very important for all people. Education and to start working. And then they contribute to the Norwegian society through the job they are doing. In that way, they can give back. I think we need health workers in Norway. They will not be unemployed.²⁶ (Interview 2, 21:10-21:48)

The head defined the purpose as formal qualification, and linked it to increased possibilities to find a job. The class teacher agreed to it as formal qualification, but included other aspects of integration, and expressed her opinion like this:

It is about integration. When they [the candidates] are at the workplace, to start working, connecting with the locals. It says itself. To become economically self-reliant, establish acquaintances and friendships, basically to get to know each other.²⁷

While the head emphasised the increased prospects to contribute in the economy, working as health professionals, the class teacher emphasised the social aspects of integration at an individual level. Both managers at the health institutions defined the purpose as language progress and cultural knowledge, and formal competencies related to health work.

The Ryfylke model has not had a steering group in which experts oversee that a project follows protocols, and provides input based on experience to influence strategic decisions. The class teacher argued that a steering group would improve the programme and the coordination among the actors. Initially, she assumed that the role of IRIS was a steering group, which was not the case. This was clarified after some time. Instead, the project group at IRIS contributed to formulate the objectives of

²⁶ In Norwegian: «Intervjuer: Hva er målet med modellen?

Rektor: Ja, det var et godt spørsmål. Målet er jo å få flere ut i arbeid, og gi utdanning. Det er veldig viktig for alle folk. Utdanning og så få jobb. Og så bidra til det norske samfunnet i den jobben de gjør og sånn sett får de gitt tilbake. Jeg tenker at vi har bruk for helsefagarbeidere i Norge. Det er ikke jobber som man går og blir arbeidsledig.»

²⁷ In Norwegian: «Det handler om mer enn kvalifisering – det handler om integrering, når de kommer ut på arbeidsplassen, komme ut i arbeid, snakke med lokalbefolkningen – det sier seg selv. Bli økonomisk uavhengige, knytte kontakter, etablere vennskap, å bli kjent.»

the health work programme. The purpose of IRIS' evaluation was to document the work and give input in the further development of the model (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b: 16). Contrary to *action research*, "in which the action researcher and a client collaborate in the diagnosis of a problem and in the development of a solution based on the diagnosis" (Bryman, 2004: 277), IRIS characterised their evaluation as *trailing research*. "Trailing research takes a position in between the traditional research ideal of observing and being objective, and the role as a change agent predominant in action research" (Olsen & Lindøe, 2004: 372). One effect of the evaluation is that it helps to institutionalise the Ryfylke model. The informants at the adult education centre shared with me that the work of IRIS was crucial because it required them to reflect upon aspects which they had not given considerable amount of thought before. IRIS' evaluation enables generalisation to other sectors, places, and clients.

Christensen et al. (2007) argued that organisational behaviour is characterised by an orientation to goals, a rational calculation of cause and effect where the objectives to be accomplished are clear and consistent. The development of the Ryfylke model does not go along with an instrumental perspective to organisation because the objective of the model was not predefined or consistent. The objective has rather been developed and clarified in the implementation process with IRIS' contribution. The lack of a clear objective does not mean that the co-founders have not made rational choices. Rather, it indicates that the co-founders defined a problem, and were determined to do something about it, regardless of the precise outcome as long as it facilitated integration. The co-founders believed in the programme to such an extent that they started the implementation before formal approval by national authorities. The candidates carried out 10 months of their apprenticeship before they knew whether it could be approved as vocational training. However, the county has accepted the training from the very start in the aftermath (Vedøy & Nødland, 2017b: 35). Conversely, to start implementation before approval, and not waiting for the structure to be in place, can demonstrate a rational choice because it benefits the candidates' integration process to start a qualification programme sooner rather than later (White Paper 30, 2015-2016).

7.2 A complex policy problem which exposes the organisational structure

The objective of the qualification model was understood in many ways, and answers to why the model crosses specialisation principles of the public sector in Norway. The actors believed that the objective was work experience, networking, language progression, education, trade certificate and to become financially self-reliant. The policy problem, which the Ryfylke model addresses, is difficulties for adult immigrants to enter the labour market, and illustrates a complexity of integration as a policy field. The

solution is multidimensional because integration involves the activities in many sectors. The complexity increases, as there is no established and agreed definition about *integration* as concept.

Ager and Strang (2008) offer a conceptual framework of integration which I find relevant in order to understand integration policies and the impact of a specialised organisational structure of the public sector. They identified key areas of integration as education, housing, health, and employment. These areas can be regarded as markers of successful integration, and as means to facilitate the process (Ager & Strang, 2008). However, integration cannot be reduced to such indicators, and involves social connection to the society (e.g. bonding and bridging forms of social capital (Putnam & Goss, 2002)), and ideas about citizenship. Ideas about citizenship are the foundation of integration because access to civil rights underpin important assumptions about the concept (Ager & Strang, 2008). These rights do not determine integration, but affects the way integration is translated to practice. Language and cultural knowledge, and a sense of safety and stability, are defined to facilitate the integration process (Ager & Strang, 2008). The conceptual framework uncovers the complexity of integration, and demonstrates that successful integration depends on coordinated efforts by many actors from all relevant sectors. While integration is multidimensional, the organisational structure of the public sector, which is meant to deal with integration, is neither straightforward.

Gebhardt (2016) argued that the national governments in Europe are increasingly controlling and regulating integration as a policy field. The establishment of ministries for integration, national tests and curriculum of the integration programme can exemplify this process. Prior to the Introduction Act in Norway, the activities relating to integration of immigrants had been decided locally (Djuve, 2003). One implication of the state-led regulations is an institutionalisation of integration in which the concept is filled with state sovereignty, according to Gebhardt (2016). The state is responsible of hard policies, such as access to the territory and residency rights, whereas municipalities are responsible of softer policies, such as social service and housing. When integration is filled with state sovereignty, the concept may be detached from the needs that emerge in everyday life at the local level (Gebhardt, 2016). For example, the introduction programme in Norway, the right to access public language courses, and eligibility to receive benefits from the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV), are defined by residence status. The national government seems to have taken the power to define what integration is about, and to whom it is necessary to offer integration measures. Nevertheless, at the municipal level, the individual and the local society may benefit if immigrants' access integration measures depends on personal needs rather than formal entitlements. The municipalities are free to provide training beyond what the law requires, for example to persons not covered by The Introduction Act (2003). Still, local governments are always subordinate to central governments (Emilsson, 2015), and the real opportunities to go beyond the national requirements are

unclear. Emilsson (2015) argued that the national governments, the superior actor, use power to ensure that the local actors carry out the directives, and the instruments from above to do so can be seen as sticks or carrots. In Norway, the Ministry of Integration and Diversity supply the municipalities with an integration grant for each settled refugee and respective family member. The integration grant becomes an instrument to direct the municipalities to integrate these categories of immigrants. The local municipalities can include others, but the integration of other immigrants is not recognised at the national level as a public responsibility.

I operationalised integration as *the accessibility of vocational qualifications in adulthood for immigrants*. The accessibility might be hindered by scarce work experience, poor language skills, or uncompleted primary- and lower secondary education. Residence status is another variable which determines the access to a qualification measure like the Ryfylke model. Contrary to the introduction programme, it is not only refugees and their family members who have been admitted to the health work programme at the adult education centre in Strand. Two candidates who are not covered by The Introduction Act (2003), illustrate that their residence status prevent them from receiving benefits from NAV regardless of personal needs to facilitate the integration in the local society. Consequently, the candidates must find other financial sources for four years, which complicates their real opportunity to engage in the qualification programme which is unpaid.

For the purposes of this thesis I will call the two candidates Victoria and Eline. Victoria comes from Thailand, is married to a Norwegian national, and depends on her husband. She emphasised that her personal goal after the programme is financial independence. Being asked about whether she received support from NAV, she responded:

Nothing. Not a dime. Nothing. It's just my husband who supports me. No help, no money, nothing from NAV. And I've never been to NAV before. Because I know I do not get help. If I go to NAV, yes, I can wait, but because I have a Norwegian man so the Norwegian man must support me. I don't have a chance at NAV. I must depend on my husband.²⁸ (Interview 5, 4:27-5:09)

Eline, originally from Romania, joined her husband who found work in Norway, and is a labour immigrant. Eline worked 30% position in a health institution before the Ryfylke model, and expressed NAV's response to her request:

²⁸ In Norwegian: «Ingenting. Ingen noe øre. Ingenting. Bare min mann som støtter meg. Ingen hjelp ingen penger ingenting fra NAV. Og jeg har aldri vært hos NAV før. Fordi jeg vet at jeg får ikke hjelp, hvis jeg går inn til NAV, ja kan vente, fordi jeg har norsk mann så norsk mann må støtte meg. Jeg har ikke mulighet, sjanse til NAV. Jeg må henge med min mann nå.»

Not everyone [in the Ryfylke] gets support from NAV. And since we are immigrant workers I have been told that we have chosen to come here and stay here so we are required to manage on our own. (...) There's nothing NAV can do.²⁹ (Interview 6, 4:17-4:40)

Moreover, Eline also expressed difficulties to enter the health work programme:

Eline: You [Norwegian authorities] are very good at receiving some people, but sometimes they get a little too much, and those who only need a little help do not get anything. I did not get access to that course from the beginning, but I have complained so many times that afterwards they were tired of me.

Interviewer: At this programme or at another course?

Eline: At this, at the health work programme. But I have complained so many times [laughter], and in the end, they were fine, and said just come, just come.³⁰ (Interview 6, 22:55-23:31)

Eline pointed at rigid structures in the integration system in which the opportunity to attend integration measures seems to be determined by residence status, not personal or local needs. Family reunifications with Norwegian nationals, and labour immigrants, are assumed to be more resourceful and capable to integrate without social benefits. Their reasons to migrate differ from refugees who were forced to flee, but the residence status does not determine the individual's challenges to integrate in the local society, per se.

Personal needs to facilitate the integration process seem more central than formal duties and entitlements in the admission to the Ryfylke model as the adult education centre accepted a mixed group of immigrants. NAV on the other hand, seems to obey the national regulations which decides the eligibility to benefits according to residence status. It comes down to a question about how extensive the government want to intervene to solve a problem of public interest. Is it undesirable for the public if a person who has entered the country through family reunification with a Norwegian national, or as a labour immigrant, face difficulties to integrate into the society? Or is it rather a private responsibility to bear the cost of a qualification programme when a person has entered the country by choice?

Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2002) criticised *methodological nationalism*, that is the assumption that "nationally bounded societies are taken to be the naturally given entities to study" (Wimmer & Glick-

²⁹ In Norwegian: «Ikke alle får støtte av NAV. Og siden vi er arbeidsinnvandrere jeg har fått beskjed at vi har valgt selv å komme her og bo her så vi må klare oss. (...) Det var ingenting de kunne gjøre.»

³⁰ In Norwegian: «Eline: Dere [norske myndigheter] er veldig flinke til å ta imot, men av og til altfor mye for de som ikke fortjener det, og de som trenger egentlig bare en småhjelp får ikke det. Jeg fikk ikke plass på den kurs fra begynnelsen av, men jeg har klaget så mange ganger at etterpå de var kanskje lei av meg.

Intervjuer: På dette kurset eller på et annet kurs?

Eline: På dette, på helsefagarbeider. Men jeg har klaget så mange ganger [latter] til slutt de var helt greit, bare kom, bare kom.»

Schiller, 2002: 304). Methodological nationalism implies that the national discourse is taken as a natural point of departure. The concept is fruitful to include in my case study because it offers a critical perspective to the state as the defining actor of integration policies. Methodological nationalism implies that migration is perceived and structured to clear-cut categories, such as refugee, family reunification, and labour migration where the categories are underpinned by a national character. As exemplified with Victoria and Eline, such categories have major implications on available integration measures. Critics of methodological nationalism argue that the state should not be regarded as the natural form of order. Migration has been understood differently in the course of time, and Ravenstein ([1889] in Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2002) was the first to do a systematic analysis of migration. Ravenstein did not differ analytically between domestic and international migration, and treated all movements of people as a single phenomenon depending on economic opportunities in different areas. His analysis was written in a different time when the welfare state was not developed, and I do not aim to generalise across historical epochs. Instead, Ravenstein's work shows that it is not given to have the state as the natural reference to categorise migration.

The concept integration is embodied with complexity, which affects the organisational structure that relates to integration as a policy field. Peters (2015) argued that if a policy problem can be contained to a single functional area, the political conflict may also be reduced. This is not the case here. Rather, the integration of immigrants exposes the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway, and require coordinated efforts from public organisations across horizontal and vertical chains of command. The class teacher at the adult education centre emphasised the necessity to cooperate across established organisational structure to succeed with integration:

I think if we are going to be able to think ahead and about integration, the different parts, the agents, have to be thinking holistically. We cannot just look at our own responsibilities: I will take care of the money, you take care of the education. This lack of communication will get us nowhere. Rather, I believe a willingness to work together is essential for us to achieve a solution that will adequately benefit our new countrymen.³¹

The national government in Norway acknowledges that successful integration require multi-level governance in which actors at the state and the local level cooperate (White Paper 16, 2015-2016: 95). Sectorial and vertical specialisation principles are recognised as barriers to such governance, and the government has encouraged actors to cooperate across organisational boundaries. The

³¹ In Norwegian: «Hvis vi skal tenke litt lengre og om integrering så må det til at de forskjellige delene, aktørene kan tenke helhetlig. Vi kan ikke sitte på hver tue: Jeg har med penger, og jeg har med utdanning. Da kommer vi ingen vei. Jeg tror det er så viktig for å komme frem til noe som kan fungere godt for de nye landsmennene vi har.»

government has recently put a more flexible approach to the policy problem by enabling local actors to combine education under The Education Act (1998) and The Introduction Act (2003). Still, it is necessary to understand the impact of the organisational structure on the way individuals and organisations think and act to overcome barriers to cross-sectorial cooperation. The Ryfylke model crosses specialisation principles in the organisational structure because the traditional ways to gain vocational qualifications are not appropriate for adult immigrants. My research suggests a client approach to organisation, and less emphasis on usual methods or purposes. The final working question remains: Why did the adult education centre detach from the organisational structure?

Lipsky (1980) developed the street-level bureaucrat theory, and claimed that policy ultimately comes down the people. One of Lipsky's main points is that street-level bureaucrats, the civil servants who have direct contact with the people, are in effect making public policy. Peters processed Lipsky's theory, and argued that "legislatures may not want to write laws that are too precise and too detailed" because they "lack the expertise in many (if not most) areas of policy but are also faced with social and technological circumstances that often change rapidly" (Peters, 2015: 95). Consequently, street-level bureaucrats enforce policies in a range of areas, and examples of such bureaucrats, are the NAV workers and public teachers. Lipsky argued that the street-level workers are left with considerable power to apply their own strategies, and bend the rules either positively or negatively for the clients. As a street-level bureaucrat, the workers at the adult education centre have the power to make public policy.

When public programmes are implemented, the individual who administrates the task "tend to develop ideas about how to improve the policies for which they are responsible" (Peters, 2015: 67). The implementers of public policy can therefore be important contributors in shaping policy and adjust the laws. The frontline bureaucrats in this case, the employees at the adult education centre, know where the shoe pinches, and developed ideas to improve the policies accordingly. Even though researchers claim increased governmental control in the area of integration (Gebhardt, 2016), the Ryfylke model demonstrates that frontline workers have power to develop their own policies.

The frontline bureaucrat theory offers an understanding to why the upper secondary school and the county have not responded to the integration of adult immigrants. Adult immigrants are likely to be excluded from vocational programmes before having the opportunity to enrol in upper secondary education in the first place. Then, the organisational structure, with its described work tasks and formal positions, will not expose the employees at the county level to the policy problem. The specialisation principles in the organisational structure means that the upper secondary school is

specialised in vocational programmes and work to assist those pupils who fulfil the requirements to enter such programmes, not to serve those who do not fulfil the requirements.

7.3 Prospects to generalise the Ryfylke model

My data demonstrates potential to generalise the health work programme at the adult education centre to other sectors, places and clients. The Ryfylke model does not only point to a scarcity of health workers, but more generally to difficulties for adult immigrants to fit into existing qualification schemes. Informants at NAV and the adult education centre mentioned the potential to transfer the model to other sectors and professions, such as construction.

Regarding organising by place, other municipalities and adult education centres in the region have already paid attention to the Ryfylke model, and are interested in applying the model in other areas. On that note, my analysis suggests that organisation by place, where adult education and upper secondary education are co-located, could be beneficial for the maximum utilization of expertise. Then, teachers with technical specialisation in vocational training and Norwegian as a second language could coordinate their efforts, and increase the professionalism in the programme. I think this aspect should be considered if the model has another try. Co-location can enable better coordination in adult immigrants' progression from Norwegian language courses to vocational training, and offers an environment where the staff can share their expertise and lesson plans.

Finally, the education system in Norway does not only exclude adult immigrants. Youth and adults of Norwegian nationality may face similar issues to enter the labour market without formal education. The model, characterised by paralleled components of theory and practice, can be applicable for students that have dropped out of school.

I conclude that the educational system is rigid for those who do not manage the established methods to achieve a trade certificate. To avoid that certain groups are left behind in society, it is necessary to think beyond predefined organisational boundaries and to focus on the client's needs. The system should be adapted to the clients, not require the client to fit into the system. The client principle enables holistic measures (Gulick, 1937), but this organisational specialisation principle is not unproblematic. Organising by client can potentially lead to inefficiency, variances in public services across the county, and to confuse employees if they work without a clear purpose. These issues should be addressed if the Ryfylke model becomes a permanent method.

8 Conclusion

My thesis is a contribution to understanding the dynamics of the organisational structure that relates to integration as a policy field. I have established that organisations and employees in different sectors have different technical expertise, serve different clients, purposes, and places, which affect the way the individuals define their work responsibilities. This thesis presented the following research question:

How and why does the Ryfylke model, which aims to qualify adult immigrants as health workers, cross horizontal and vertical specialisation principles in the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway?

Based on a rich amount of data, I have discovered that the adult education centre organised the Ryfylke model based on a group of people, not the general purpose of the service, the applied techniques, or the place. The health work programme crosses the process principle as the adult education centre expanded their teaching activities to include a curriculum and method that the organisation had never done before. This point also relates to how the model crosses vertical specialisation because the mandate of vocational qualification come from the county level, not the municipal level. The stakeholders in the Ryfylke model come from different sectors, but the actors managed to cooperate cross-sectorial because they regarded the Ryfylke model as a way to serve the interest of their organisation one way or another.

The Ryfylke model, which aims to qualify adult immigrants as health workers, crosses specialisation principles in the organisational structure because the existing ways to achieve vocational qualifications are not appropriate for adult immigrants. The Norwegian education system is linear and hard to access from the outside if a person is from another country and enrolls into school. The labour market is likewise difficult to enter without formal documents of appropriate education. Adequate solutions to integrate adult immigrants require the frontline workers to think outside of the box, beyond the organisational structure, when the client's profile does not fit into any establishments. My analysis demonstrated that adult immigrants expose the organisational structure of the public sector in Norway and exemplifies a gap in the interpretation of the legislation, especially the ways to gain a trade certificate.

The Ryfylke model illustrates potential in the current institutional framework to apply existing regulations in new ways to serve adult immigrants' path to vocational qualifications. The regulations in The Education Act (1998) and The Introduction Act (2003) do not exclude adult immigrants from

gaining vocational qualifications, but the embodied policies have not been coordinated and adapted to the particular target group. Based on the processed data, I advocate a combination of Norwegian language training, work placements, and vocational tuition to strengthen the integration process of adult immigrants, rather than implementing these elements sequentially. These educations have different owners, and require cooperation across a specialised organisational structure.

The national government calls for holistic measures to integrate adult immigrants into the society (White Paper 16, 2015-2016; White Paper 30, 2015-2016). Moreover, the government recognises that holistic measures are of cross-sectorial character. As such, I proposed the following hypothesis:

A specialised organisational structure of the public sector makes it difficult to implement holistic integration policies.

My analysis has illustrated that it is an oversimplification to conclude that a specialised organisational structure on its own complicates the implementation of holistic integration policies. The benefit of specialisation principles is the ability to make the workers specialise in a field, for example by providing vocational teaching, teaching adults as a group, or Norwegian as a second language. However, specialisation principles can complicate the implementation of integration policies if the organisations do not recognise the impact of their work in a broader context. Coordinated efforts in the public sector and knowledge about other organisations' activities, responsibilities, and procedures are necessary to implement successful integration policies. Furthermore, the organisations must recognise that they are driven by different principles, purposes, and priorities, and that the organisational structure may affect the way individuals think and act. When there is a shared understanding of the effect of the organisational structure, then the cooperation among the many actors across sectors and different vertical levels can improve.

Gulick's clientele principle is a good starting point to develop holistic measures. The principle demands the employees to work for the clients, rather than requiring the client to fit into the system. I suggest that the client principle should not be regarded as the definite way to organise integration policies because it neglects other important aspects, such as technical expertise. My main argument is that it is necessary to keep a flexible approach to the organisational structure when people do not fit into predefined categories, but fall between the different regulations, sectors, and agencies. The organisational structure should not be a barrier for the individual to exercise his or her competencies in the labour market.

The development of a holistic approach to integrate immigrants could benefit by delegating authority from the national government to the counties and the municipal authorities, or to acknowledge the

power among street-level bureaucrats to affect the outcome of public policy. Integration policies could be more efficient if the national government had more confidence in the local actors who work up-front and observe policy problems in their everyday work. The Ryfylke model demonstrates that local actors can develop and design qualification programmes. I conclude that the national authorities should require a nation-wide standard by the end of any vocational qualification, but the municipality should have the authority to design *the method* and *the way to get a trade certificate*. An advantage at the local level is proximity to the policy problem and ability to adapt the public service to the clientele and area-specific needs in different sectors. Finally, if some municipalities proved better than others, and would lose or attract candidates from other places, it can function as an incentive for the least successful municipalities to come together and find appropriate integration measures across vertical and horizontal specialisation divisions.

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Appendix A: Interview guides

The candidates

- Presentation
 - Can you start by telling a little bit about yourself? What do you do during a regular day? Do you have family? For how long have you been in Norway?
 - What about your education? How many years did you attend school in your country of origin? And how many in Norway or other countries?
- The Ryfylke model
 - What do you think about studying health work? Do you enjoy it? What do you learn at school? What do you learn during your apprenticeship? What are simple tasks? What do you find difficult?
 - Have you taken on extra shifts or summer jobs since you started your apprenticeship?
 - Are you motivated to complete your education? What is your goal after you have completed the theoretical part and the apprenticeship?
 - Have you considered applying for upper secondary school or higher education in Norway?
 - Do you have other dreams about what you want to do for a living?
- Integration
 - How do you feel about living in this area? Do you feel that you are a part of the local community? If so, how and why do you feel so? Have you considered living elsewhere in Norway?
 - What is the most important thing for your well-being?
 - Do you have someone to talk to if you have any problems or questions about the Norwegian society? To whom do you turn to?
 - Have you heard the word “integration” before? What do you think “integration” mean?
- Cooperation between organisations
 - What do you think about the cooperation between the agencies involved in the Ryfylke model (e.g. the adult education centre, NAV, trainee places, the county authorities, upper secondary school)?
 - How often do you have guidance meetings with the head teacher and your supervisor at the health institution? Does the health institution know what you learn at the centre?
 - Have you received help from NAV or other municipal agencies after you arrived in Norway? Have you attended the introduction program? What kind of assistance does NAV provide for you? How often do you contact NAV? Do you find it easy or difficult to get in touch with NAV? Do you receive the help that you need?
- Concluding remarks
 - Other things you want to add about the project?

The public sector employees

- Presentation
 - Can you tell me a little bit about yourself? What kind of background do you have? What are your

previous work experiences, and can you talk a little about your position in the organisation?

- Organisation, work tasks

- Which activities are carried out in this department?
- What are your work-related responsibilities considering the Ryfylke model and in relation to other areas?
- What kind of tasks do you spend the most time on? Which tasks do you like the best, and which do you find the most challenging?
- What is the most important thing for you in your job? What is your motivation for going to work?
- Who defines your work-related responsibilities? Do you have any influence in determining your daily tasks? Who is it important for you to cooperate with to be able to do a respectable job?
- How do you define "integration"? What do you consider successful integration? Does your position relate to integration in any way?
- What is the mandate of the organisation? Is the Ryfylke model within or beyond this mandate?
- Does the upper secondary school adapt their teaching activities for adults? And does the upper secondary school adapt their teaching activities for immigrants?
- Are there any differences between candidates in the ordinary health work education and candidates in the Ryfylke model? If so, how and why is this?

- The Ryfylke model

- What is the purpose of the model?
- What distinguishes this model from other measures directed at adult immigrants? How does this model differ from other activities in your organisation?
- How are the candidates greeted at the health institutions by colleagues, patients and the patients' next of kin?
- What has the contact been like between you and the candidates in the Ryfylke model? Do you perform services for the candidates beyond your formal duties (e.g. translate letters, contact other agencies)?
- Has the model required any reorganisation?
- What do you think about copying the model to other municipalities or other fields of study?
- What are vital factors for the model to be sustainable and/or permanent?
- Have you met any obstacles in the legislation in developing and implementing the project (e.g. the Education Act, the Introduction Act, financial benefits from NAV)?

- Cooperation with other organisations

- In relation to the Ryfylke model, what is this organisation responsible for? Which other agencies can you define, and what are their responsibilities (e.g. adult education centres, NAV, trainee places, the county authorities, upper secondary school)?
- What is the cooperation with other agencies like? Easy/difficult? Do you know case handlers or employees in other public organisations personally?
- Do you think the size of the municipality had any influence on the development of the project? If so, how?

- Concluding remarks

- Other things you want to add about the project?

Appendix B: Information sheet

Request for participation in research project about education to adults with an immigrant background

Background and purpose

I am a Master student of International Relations and Development Studies at Aalborg University. My thesis is about integration, and I define education and employment as key factors to integrate into a new society.

The adult education centre in Ryfylke developed a four-year education programme in 2015 to qualify adult immigrants as health workers. The programme combines apprenticeship, health-related subjects and Norwegian language tuition.

I will investigate what public organisations in Ryfylke think about the programme, and in which ways the programme can be said to cross traditional distribution of responsibilities in the public sector.

The study poses questions like: How is integration defined by different professions in the public sector? What affects the cooperation in the public sector which relates to educational measures for adult immigrants? Is the size of the municipality relevant in this context?

The purpose of the study is to investigate how policies to qualify adult immigrants to working life in Norway can be more holistic and functional.

What happens to the information about you?

I want to conduct interviews with the candidates at the adult education centre, teachers, supervisors and other public employees in the municipality or the county who are involved in the Ryfylke model. The interview will last approximately 30 min to 1 hour.

The interview will be recorded and transcribed by me. Audio recordings are deleted at the end of the project, 31.12.2017 the latest. The interviews will be used in my master's thesis. All personal information is confidential and all information will be anonymised. It means that it will not be possible to identify the participants in the study.

All information is processed according to research ethics guidelines. It is voluntary to participate in the study and you can withdraw at any time without giving any reason. You can also choose not to answer any questions during the interview.

Zachary Whyte at Aalborg University is my supervisor.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact: Marianne Nårstad Jensen mail / phone

Appendix C: List of informants and pseudonyms

Organisation	Position	Pseudonym	Interview number
The adult education centre	The class teacher		1
The adult education centre	The head		2
The adult education centre	The deputy head		3
The adult education centre	A candidate	Lilly	4
The adult education centre	A candidate	Victoria	5
The adult education centre	A candidate	Eline	6
The adult education centre	A candidate		7
The adult education centre	A candidate		8
The adult education centre	A candidate		9
The adult education centre	A candidate		10
The adult education centre	A candidate		11
The adult education centre	A candidate		12
The adult education centre	A candidate		13
The adult education centre	A candidate		14
The health institution in Strand	The manager	Rebecca	15
The health institution in neighbouring municipality	The manager	Hermine	16
The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV)	Two counsellors		17
An upper secondary school	A counsellor	Fredrik	18
An upper secondary school	A counsellor	Elisabeth	-
An upper secondary school	A librarian		-