

## **Social Trends 2000**

<b>Statistiske analyser</b>	I denne serien publiseres analyser av statistikk om sosiale, demografiske og økonomiske forhold til en bredere leserkrets. Fremstillingsformen er slik at publikasjonene kan leses også av personer uten spesialkunnskaper om statistikk eller bearbeidingsmetoder.
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# Preface

*Social Trends 2000* describes the living conditions in Norway at the end of the 1990s and how they have changed over the last 20 years. The book presents information about living conditions from various statistical sources in a comprehensive and easy-to-read form.

This is the eighth time since 1974 that Statistics Norway has published *Social Trends*. Starting with the previous edition (1998) the publication was given a somewhat different format than before. We cut down the number of pages and articles but now publish a new and updated edition of *Social Trends* every two years. We have also updated our set of social indicators that show how major characteristics of the living standards of the population have changed from 1980 to today.

*Social Trends 2000* consists of eleven articles or chapters describing the composition of the population and families, health and care, education, employment, income and consumption, social security, housing conditions, social and political participation, leisure and culture and crime. Each of these chapters corresponds to a set of social indicators in the tabular appendix. The introductory chapter focuses on the more overarching development trends, particularly those in evidence across the chapter divisions.

*Social Trends* is meant to be a gateway to statistics about people and households, a relevant reference work for everyone interested in social affairs and an important supplement to social studies textbooks in upper secondary and higher education. The presentation form does not require the reader to be experienced in reading statistics.

Dag Ellingsen was in charge of the work on the publication in cooperation with an editorial committee consisting of Arne S. Andersen, Ingvild Hauge, Jan Erik Kristiansen and Berit Otnes.

Else Efjestad and Kirsten Aanerud edited the text and Liv Hansen prepared the figures. Dag Ellingsen translated the Norwegian edition into this unabridged English version. Apropos Translatørbyrå proofread and edited the English version.

Statistics Norway,  
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Svein Longva



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# Social Trends 1980-2000

## Ten trends from the last two decades

1. The proportion of employed women has reached almost the same level as men, and women with small children are no exception. A large number of women still work part-time, however.
2. The "education revolution" has had a great impact on the lives of young people, and women have been in the forefront here too. An increasing number of Norwegians are getting a higher education, and women are in majority at universities and colleges.
3. With more women in the labour force, other women are being paid to provide the care that has previously been provided for free by women. Better parental leaves and more childcare facilities have made it easier for women to have paid jobs.
4. Family life is characterized by a higher rate of divorce, postponed marriages and births, and an increasing number of couples living and having children together without being married.
5. Previously rare in Norway, non-western immigrants have now become a natural part of daily life, particularly in the cities.
6. The living standards of non-western immigrants are still far below that of Norwegians in most areas.
7. Economic trends have to a larger extent influenced living conditions, producing both the highest rate of unemployment and the highest number of persons employed in the post-war period.
8. The ripple effects of the economic trends have been many, partially explaining the rise in people receiving social assistance, the growth in the proportion of rich people, greater centralization and huge fluctuations in the housing market.
9. The educational reforms taking place throughout the 1990s have had a significant impact on the lives of children and young people aged 6 to 19 years.
10. The Cash Benefit for Parents with Small Children (a cash payment scheme for parents who do not send their children to state subsidized kindergartens) has in the short period it has been in effect become a popular benefit, and may for that reason have a major impact on the living conditions of young children and their parents. As of today, it has not resulted in major changes in the care of the youngest children.

In *Social Trends 2000*, living conditions will be presented topic by topic: Health, employment, crime etc. This introductory chapter will point out some trends or social phenomena that have had a significant impact on the development of living conditions, which become apparent in each of the topics covered in this book. We will focus on two periods: The 1980s and 1990s will be our longest period of time, while the middle and latter part of the 1990s will be our focus when analyzing shorter term changes.

## Long-term trends

### Women's entry into the labour market ...

The beginning of women's liberation is often dated back to the 1970s. However, it was not until the two following decades that we saw the massive entry of women into a steadily increasing number of social spheres previously more or less restricted to men. Two such arenas are of special importance: The educational system and the labour market.

In 1980, six out of ten Norwegian women aged 25 to 66 years were in the labour force, by the end of the 1990s the proportion had grown to almost eight out of ten. The most pronounced change has occurred among mothers of small children: In 1980, only 46 per cent of mothers of children under the age of 3 were in the labour force. Today, those without paid work are in the minority: Only one out of four women with children below 3 years is not in the labour force, although it is important to keep in mind the fact that those on leave are counted as members of the labour force. The employment rate is even higher among women with children aged 3 to 6 years, with 84 per cent employed. Women

also seem to be more protected from unemployment because they work to a greater extent in services and often in the public sector.

### ... and education system

In 1980, 55 per cent of Norwegian students aged 19 to 24 years were men, 45 per cent women. By the end of the 1990s the proportions were close to opposite: 40 per cent were men, 60 per cent women. This change has occurred simultaneously with the explosion in the number of students.

Women have yet to reach the upper echelons in education and work, and are few and far between among the ranks of senior executives in business. Furthermore, some of the occupations where women are in the majority are typically occupations providing many of the caregiving services that women otherwise have provided in the home. It is also a fact that both men and women still make rather traditional choices concerning their education, especially those choosing vocational training.

### The ripple effects

The entry of women into the labour market and educational system has also had knock on effects in other spheres. The remarkable growth in the care sector is an example: Because children and the elderly cannot be taken care of in the home to the same degree, public alternatives have been established, leading in turn to an increase in the number of jobs offered to women.

Women have also fought successfully for family-friendly parental leaves, making it possible for women to give birth to children without losing touch with the labour market for years or for good. In 1998, 74 per cent of the women giving birth



received maternity benefit, an increase of close to 20 percentage points since 1980. The length of the benefit period has undergone considerable expansion in this same period.

The combination of a full-time paid job and considerable unpaid private responsibilities has put many women in a situation where time has become a scarce commodity, causing stress and strain that might lead to health problems. The work/family equation is partially balanced because women do less housework, but up to now there has been no sign in the time budget surveys indicating that men compensate for the loss of time spent on such work. The fact that we spend, overall, less time on housework might have other explanations, including, for example, the prevalence of labour-saving appliances in the home.

But men are assuming a greater role in caring for their children, most clearly indicated by the rising share of men taking all or part of their share of the parental benefit. In 1998, more than 30 000 men took time off from work to take care of their small children. This was more than half of the men who had the right to take paid leave of absence. In 1980, the number of men taking paternity leave amounted to no more than a busload (55 persons), which of course was closely related to the few family leave rights men and women had at that time.

Lengthy studies is a contributing factor to the postponement of other events in people's lives. Today, the average woman gives birth to her first child at a much higher age than was the situation only 20 years ago. This is also due to the fact that many women want to get started in their careers before marrying and taking on the

responsibility of raising a family. Because more young men and women attend school for a longer period of time, they are also older before they become homeowners.

### **Immigration from non-western countries**

In 1980, 29 500 persons of non-western origin, Eastern Europe included, lived in Norway. By 2000 their number had increased to 167 000. Most of the immigration from the Third World has taken place in urban areas, and particularly so in Oslo.

In recent years, immigration has had a considerable impact on the population-increase. Firstly, this impact is due to immigration itself. Secondly, immigrants, particularly first-generation immigrants from non-western countries, have a higher rate of birth than Norwegians. Thirdly, immigrants are on average younger than the rest of the population, which means they have a lower rate of mortality.

### **Poor living conditions**

Both data from different official registers and the surveys of living conditions give us the impression that non-western immigrants are on average worse off than most Norwegians: They have lower incomes and less education. A higher proportion receives social assistance, is unemployed, or reports being socially isolated or excluded. They commit more crimes than Norwegians, even when taking into consideration that immigrants more often are young men living in cities.

Health is an exception: Immigrants do not report having more illnesses or problems. But we have to take into consideration that non-western immigrants are over-represented in young age groups where health problems usually have not surfaced. Among non-western immigrants

older than 45 years, an alarming proportion report disabling illnesses, with, for example, a large number developing diabetes.

### **The effects upon Oslo**

The overall impact of immigration on Norway is rather marginal in most areas of social life. As mentioned above; immigrants are more frequently registered as offenders, although their offences make up only a small percentage of all crime.

Turning our attention to social trends in the Oslo area, we find that the impact of immigration has been significant in many fields. Oslo is a city characterized by social polarities: Areas of very good and very poor living conditions are concentrated on either side of the capital. In those areas where the worst living conditions are found, immigrants are likely to constitute a considerable proportion of the population and of those living under such conditions. The school system is also affected by the change: Every fourth pupil in Oslo has a mother tongue that is not Norwegian.

### **Economic trends**

The last 20 years have seen more social change than the rest of the post-war period. The recession of the early 1980s was followed by a period of prosperity lasting till 1987, which in turn collapsed into the longest recession in post-war history. The economic indicators did not point upwards until 1993, but since then many of the upward trends have lasted through the rest of the decade.

The ups and downs of the economy have naturally influenced the labour market. The rather long-lasting period of relatively high unemployment at the beginning of the 1990s was unknown in the Norwegian post-war economy. The subsequent

surge in the number of people receiving social assistance was partially a result of the high unemployment rate. Sickness statistics follow an economically determined pattern. In prosperous times more people are off sick. This is not only because more marginal people are working, but also because more people "dare" to be gone from work when they are sick. The opposite is the case when the economy sours.

### **Economic ripple effects**

Important consequences were also observed outside the labour market and social security systems: An influx of students entered the educational system. While many young people went on to school because the modern labour market demands highly skilled labour, the universities and colleges also took in their share of those who could not find a job. At the end of the 1990s the opposite has happened: Times are good for people seeking employment, and some of the pressure has been taken off the educational system. The cohorts of young people are also smaller than they were at the beginning of the 1990s.

After having been deregulated in the mid-1980s, the housing market has in fact become a market, where supply and demand has a much larger impact on prices. As a result of this change, prices have fluctuated widely with the economy. A major factor here is interest rates. High interest rates through the last half of the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s had a major impact on the finances of younger homeowners. Conversely, the subsequent decline in interest rates improved the finances of younger people, while senior citizens are losing some due to lower interest rates on bank deposits.

Housing prices influence the decisions of homebuyers interested in moving. These movements are in turn influenced by the situation in the labour market. Migration inside Norway has shown centralizing and decentralizing patterns, often following economic trends. A high rate of unemployment produces a low rate of geographic mobility and vice versa: There is little use in moving to other parts of the country where there are few jobs. On the other hand, prosperous times will often provide the incentive for job-related moves. Greater migration to centralized areas has, however, been a general trend in the last 20 years.

The period of prosperity seen since 1993 has had many positive effects on other social indicators, which we will deal with later. On the other hand, economic recession as seen at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, seems to produce repercussions of a negative and lasting character. The number of persons receiving social assistance, for instance, has declined since 1995, in step with the economy. But this downward trend occurred long after the shift in the labour market. The number of such clients is also still significantly higher than the level seen before the start of the recession. There are many reasons for this, but a reasonable hypothesis would be that each period of negative labour market trends leaves behind groups of households and employees that are not completely able to "get back on their feet" after a setback.

### **Our standard of living is higher ...**

The last 20, not to mention the last 50 years have been a period where almost everybody has experienced an improvement in their material standard of living. We own a larger range of goods considered useful, our houses are more spacious and have more amenities, our incomes

are higher, we travel more often and over longer distances and have more choices with respect to leisure time. A good indicator of wealth is the proportion of money spent on food compared to what is used on other expenses. The lower the proportion spent on food, the better off we are. The last 20 years or so have seen a substantial development in prosperity measured by this indicator: While 20 per cent of our total consumption expenditures were spent on food in 1998, the percentage was 12 in 1998.

### **... but are we better off for that reason?**

The respondents to the surveys of living conditions have to answer a lot of questions, but not questions like: *How are you, taking everything into consideration? How do you (really) feel? Are you better or worse off than five years ago?* The lack of such questions leaves us with the task of having to compile several more indirect indicators from a variety of fields in order to answer such overarching and subjective questions. There has been no lack of warnings concerning the negative consequences of the modern welfare society. Pessimism has been tied both to trends already observed, and to trends believed to be in the making. Some of the trends have manifested themselves in some of the social indicators, but on the whole the impression is that things are not as bad as predicted by the "pessimists".

### **Too early to announce the death of the family**

Divorce rates have had a tremendous increase since the 1970s. More and more couples are living in consensual unions and split up at a much higher rate than married couples. In the past most couples married when they became parents, but now it is just as common to live together or be single as it is to be married when

the first child is born. More and more households consist of only one person.

The statistical trends pointing towards the dissolution or breaking up of the family system are evident, but other trends are also surfacing: From 1994 to 1998, the number of divorces stabilized and slowly decreased. When people choose to live alone, this does not mean that they have always lived on their own or will always continue to do so. Living alone is often an intermediate station in many people's lives.

When young people do not marry in the traditional sense it is often because they replace marriage with a consensual union rather than that they prefer to live alone. The similarities between consensual unions and marriages are many: They both usually consist of a mother, a father, children, the usual possessions, the usual division of household chores and ways of living together. The only difference is a few pieces of paper, to put it colloquially.

On 1 August 1993 a new law gave homosexual couples the right to enter into registered partnerships. Close to 1 400 partners have been registered up to now. Consequently, this group of people also has the opportunity to live under conditions closely resembling a conventional marriage. To sum up, a lot of new opportunities have been created to live in social units other than marriage and the traditional family. Because many of these new alternatives have so much in common with the traditional form of family life, it is far too early to proclaim the "death of the family".

### **Have we lost interest in politics?**

Some important indicators show a clear trend towards a decreasing interest in politics: Voter turnout has declined in the

last 20 years, and fell to its lowest point ever in the last municipal council and county council elections. Less than 60 per cent of voters cast their votes in the 1999 municipal council election. At the same time a steadily decreasing percentage of the population joining or becoming actively involved in political parties.

It is hard to say whether this is caused by a lack of interest in politics in general, or by lack of interest in party politics. Along with the decrease in the general interest in elections, voter turnout beat all records in the referendum on Norwegian membership in the European Union in 1994. More people also report taking part in political discussions and demonstrations, signing petitions and appeals, or participating in other kinds of political action.

### **Do we thrive on stress?**

Families with two persons in the labour force have become more and more common, and often both of them work full-time. Many people report having a hurried pace at work. At the same time, the time budget surveys show a steady increase in hours spent on leisure activities. This does not have to be a paradox, families with small children may have tighter time schedules, while other groups have more spare time.

However, another result of statistical analysis is more paradoxical: In a high proportion of families with good incomes, the mother or father report that they have thought about cutting back their work schedules for a while. In practice, they do not do as they say, even though they should be able to afford a small decrease in income and their employers are open to more flexible working arrangements. Is it possible that being very busy holds some attraction? Does it imply having an important job, doing exciting things in

your free time, taking good care of your children and socializing with interesting people?

### **The paradoxes of health**

Are Norwegians healthier? It is difficult to find a definite answer to this question. In trying to describe the state of our health and national health service, we are met by a series of paradoxes:

Our health apparently has become both better and worse. In health surveys, more and more people report having some sort of chronic condition or ailment, which affects their daily life to some degree. At the same time, however, a very high proportion of the population still think they enjoy good health. In particular, the youngest pensioners report increasing rates of good health. Life expectancy has increased since 1980, particularly for men. Part of the reason for this is the reduction of deaths caused by cardiovascular diseases.

Apparently we get less in return for our efforts to achieve better health. Both the government and private sector are spending a lot more money than before on health services: One example is that the number of doctors in Norwegian hospitals has almost doubled over the last 20 years. The number of other health professionals has also increased significantly, and the only area showing a decrease is nursing assistants.

The range of care and treatment has, however, not increased as much as the additional resources would indicate. Exact measurements of care and treatment are difficult to obtain, and working hours have decreased during the period in question, but the discrepancy between resources and range of services are still so significant that it can be characterized as a paradox.

### **We still keep in touch**

Some forms of social contact have been weakened by a higher rate of urbanization, more people in the labour force and increased pressure on time, but other categories of social contact have been strengthened. There is less contact between neighbours, but more and more people are forming close friendships. Women in particular often have many friends in whom they can confide. There are no signs of less contact with other members of the family. Increasing life expectancy has increased the percentage that have parents, grandparents and even great-grandparents alive.

### **Everyday life is not dominated by crime**

Crime statistics can be used as confirmation of the gloomiest predictions. There are many sources of errors, but the tremendous growth in the number of offences registered since the end of the 1950s probably has its parallel in an increasing probability of becoming a victim of crime.

But this does not necessarily mean that most people are more likely to be a victim of violent crime than they were 20 years ago. The surveys of living conditions from the period in question show a relatively small increase in the proportion of respondents being victimized by violence or threats of violence. There are reasons to believe that many of the most serious offences are committed by and victimize small groups of highly vulnerable people, while ordinary Norwegians, particularly those living in towns, have far more reason to fear crimes against property.

The number of inmates in Norwegian prisons has increased significantly since the mid-1980s. In recent years we have seen a stagnation and a small decrease in the

number of inmates on an average day. These numbers do not merely reflect crime trends, but also changes in sentencing and not least the capacity of the prison system at any given time.

One main reason behind the significant increase in the number of prisoners at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, was the expansion of prison capacity in response to the backlog of sentences yet to be served. Once the queues were gone, the number and proportion of people in custody increased. While the number of prison inmates has decreased, the number of people in custody has grown.

### Shorter term trends

#### Reforms in the education system

While we have witnessed a "revolution" in the number of people enrolled in higher education in the last two decades, the last decade has also seen a number of reforms within the educational system. This book is not concerned with the educational aims and effects of these reforms, our focus is on the effects of these reforms on the living conditions of children and young people, and the consequences for their families and for society as a whole.

The first reform (of 1994) was aimed at the upper secondary schools. All young people were given the right to three years of upper secondary education. On the one hand, this can be looked upon as a benefit to young people, giving them the right to demand an education. On the other hand, this right has an impact on the demands society makes of young people. An upper secondary diploma is considered almost obligatory when applying for a job. Another effect is that those who have trouble coping with the demands of the

educational system will have to struggle even longer.

The next reform, of 1997, had the most significant effects at the other end of the compulsory school system: All children now start school the year they turn 6, against 7 previously. This affected the kindergartens, which lost one cohort of children. For families, it means that 6-year-olds have to be in a combination of school and after-school programmes, a combination that might not always be viewed as safe and secure as the kindergarten. For children it means a prolongation of school by one year.

#### A period of prosperity

The year 1993 was a turning point. After a rather long period of negative economic trends, the number of unemployed persons started decreasing, housing prices went up and the number of people on social assistance also gradually declined. In line with trends usually seen as positive, we also experienced social trends normally seen as negative: increased centralization, an increase in the consumption of alcohol and increasing economic disparity.

#### Greater inequality

The degree of inequality in income is usually measured by comparing the total income of the poorest 10 per cent with that of the richest 10 per cent. Throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s this ratio was, with a few exceptions, rather stable. But 1993-1997 saw a change towards greater inequality in income. Put simply, the poor did not get poorer but the rich got richer.

The increasing inequality coincided with the economic boom, and reflects the fact that prosperous times provide good incomes for most people. The main reason why the rich got richer was the increase in their capital income, with share

dividends leading the way. The 1992 tax reform also played a role because it lowered taxes on such income. The inequality is also reflected in the differences in wealth, particularly financial wealth (securities, bank deposits etc.).

### **Labour shortage**

At the start of the 1990s there was a widespread concern about unemployment rates and the vulnerable position of young people in particular. As the decade drew to a close we encountered what appears to be the opposite concern: Is our labour force big enough and qualified enough to handle the demand? How do we avoid early retirement among workers who are over 60 when there are not enough young people coming up through the system to fill the vacancies?

A typical product of the late 1980s and early 1990s is the Early Retirement Pension by Collective Agreement (AFP), a pension designed to enable old, worn-out workers to leave the labour force before the general retirement age of 67. The scheme has become popular, and steps aimed at making it less attractive have been discussed because people over the age of 60 are now needed in the workforce.

### **The Cash Benefit for Parents with Small Children**

The Cash Benefit for Parents with Small Children (Cash Benefit) was introduced in August 1998, offering monthly cash benefits to parents who do not send their children to publicly subsidized kindergartens. First given to parents of 1-year-olds, the programme was extended on 1 January 1999 to include parents of 2-year-olds. The benefit became quickly popular in the sense that many parents use it, although surveys indicate that many recipients would have preferred having their children in kindergartens.

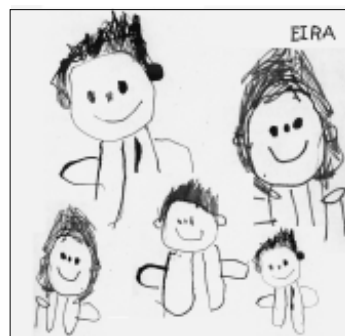
Because the Cash Benefit scheme is so new it has not been possible to gauge its long-term effects. So far there has been no decrease in the proportion of 2-year-olds in kindergartens, or significant increase in the use of child minders. A few more parents seem to be staying home somewhat longer with their children, but this goes only for the mothers. Fathers do not seem to be affected so far by the Cash Benefit scheme with respect to their work and family life. But the popularity of the benefit indicates that it could have important social consequences.





Even Høydahl, Halvard Skiri and Lars Østby

# 1. Population



According to preliminary figures, Norway had 4 479 000 inhabitants on 1 January 2000. Its population has increased by 44 per cent since 1 January 1946, when 3 107 000 inhabitants were registered as living in the country. The baby boom following the end of the second world war gave way to decreasing population growth in Norway. A high number of births and low mortality kept the population growing through the first three decades after the war. The growth was 1 per cent per year in the 1950s and declined to one-third of a per cent at the beginning of the 1980s. Since then the growth rate has increased somewhat, as an effect of higher fertility rates, sinking mortality and substantial net migration from abroad. The population increased by 0.8 per cent in 1999.

As in the rest of Western Europe, the fertility rate is too low to maintain the population in the long run without positive net migration. However, Norway's population is growing at a faster rate than most other countries in Western Europe because of high fertility, a favourable age structure and net migration from abroad. This chapter describes the processes behind the changes in the number of inhabitants and the composition of the

population in recent decades. These changes usually take place slowly because of the long period of time needed before a new trend has significant effects on the whole population. To understand the current situation, we have to go back further than the changes that have taken place in recent years.

## 1.1. The composition of the population

### Immigration affects the age structure

The population pyramid seen in figure 1.1 shows the population of Norway at the beginning of 1999 by age and sex. The shape of the pyramid is caused by the number of births through most of this century, the mortality in these birth cohorts and immigration and emigration.

The immigration taking place in recent decades has brought about no insignificant growth in each of the cohorts born after 1950. While previously cohorts immediately decreased after birth, immigration from abroad has spurred growth in each birth cohort up to the age of 40 to 42, even though some still die at an early age. The small birth cohorts of

Figure 1.1. **The population, by sex and age. 1 January 1999**



Source: Population Statistics 1999, Statistics Norway.

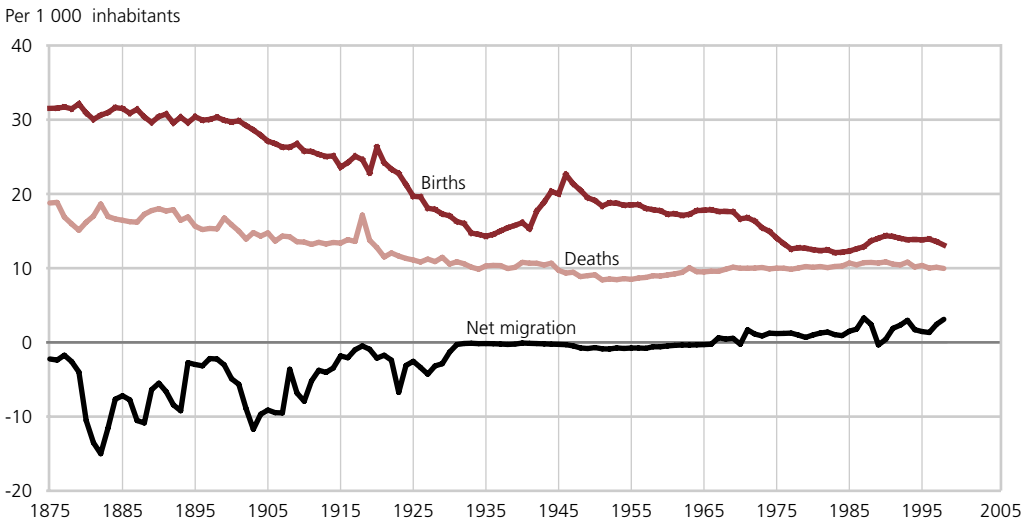
will still be some 51 000 persons left in each of these cohorts, a higher number of pensioners than in any cohort born before 1945 (Skiri 1995).

**Fewer children and more elderly people**

Despite increased immigration, the changes in the fertility rates and to some extent the decrease in the mortality rates still affect the age structure the most. Through most of the 19th century the age composition of the population was rather stable; 35 per cent of the population was below the age of 15, 55 per cent were aged between 15 and 60 years and approximately 10 per cent above 60. From 1930 to 1980, however, the proportion belonging to the oldest group doubled. At the same time, the proportion of children (aged 0 to 14 years) decreased throughout the 20th century to 19 per cent in the mid-1980s. The proportion belonging to the age group in the middle increased to well above 60 per

1977-1984 are likely to grow 10 to 15 per cent before decreasing. When they reach the age of retirement in the 2040s, there

Figure 1.2. **Births, deaths and net migration<sup>1</sup> per 1 000 inhabitants. 1875-1999**



<sup>1</sup> Before 1951: Migration to other continents, then positive net migration (immigration minus emigration) to all countries. Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

Table 1.1. **Population and population growth, 1901-1998**

Period	Mean population	Population growth 0/00	Age distribution (per cent)		
			0-14	15-59	60+
1901-05 .....	2 285	5.6			
1911-15 .....	2 448	9.9	35 <sup>1</sup>	54 <sup>1</sup>	11 <sup>1</sup>
1921-25 .....	2 710	7.0			
1931-35 .....	2 857	5.6	30 <sup>1</sup>	59 <sup>1</sup>	11 <sup>1</sup>
1941-45 .....	3 037	9.0			
1951-55 .....	3 361	9.8	23 <sup>1</sup>	63 <sup>1</sup>	13 <sup>1</sup>
1961-65 .....	3 667	7.8			
1971-75 .....	3 958	6.5	24	57	19
1981-85 .....	4 127	3.3	21	58	21
1986-90 .....	4 206	4.3	19	60	21
1991-95 .....	4 311	5.6	19	60	21
1996 .....	4 381	5.2	20	60	20
1997 .....	4 405	5.7	20	60	20
1998 <sup>2</sup> .....	4 431	6.3	20	61	19

<sup>1</sup> Figures based on the preceding five years.

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary figures.

Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

cent in the early 1950s, but then declined back to 60 per cent as the small birth cohorts from the inter-war years grew up.

The cohorts of people 80 years and older are growing year by year. In 1970 this group of people numbered approximately 90 000 persons, while their number in 1999 was above 190 000.

106 boys are born for every 100 girls, a rate that is rather stable. Later on, the rate is affected by the excess mortality among boys, and by immigration and emigration. Today there is a surplus of men up to the age of 58, and a surplus of women among those aged 59 years and up.

## 1.2. Births and fertility

### A new decrease in the number of births?

At the beginning of the 1980s the number of births in Norway was low and slightly decreasing. As in many other countries in Western Europe, there was a concern that the number of births would decrease even more, and that this after a short

### Box 1.1. Definitions of fertility

There is no single, adequate measure sufficient to indicate fertility trends. *The number of births* is the yearly number of children born alive in the country. This number is, among other factors, influenced by the size and age-pattern of the generation of the mothers.

Fertility can be measured on the basis of the number of births in one or several calendar-years as *period fertility*. *The Total Fertility Rate* (TFR) measures the average number of live-born children born to a woman who lives through her entire fertile period. TFR is calculated as the sum of all one-year age-specific *fertility rates* (annual number of live-born children per 1 000 women aged 15 to 49 years). TFR is a hypothetical measure in that it is not the actual number of children born to the women, but indicates how many children they will have if the fertility pattern continues to be like it is today. *Cohort fertility*, on the other hand, is a measure of the fertility in a certain birth cohort of women.

*The level of reproduction* is the value of the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) that, in the long run, is sufficient to keep the size of the population at the same level (if there is no emigration or immigration). In Norway, the level of reproduction equals a total fertility rate somewhat below 2.1. The number is not exactly 2 (it is not sufficient for each woman to have two children), due to the fact that fewer girls than boys are born, and someone also has to compensate for the women who die before they have reached the end of their fertile years. Thus, in countries with high mortality, the level of reproduction is significantly higher than 2.1. High infant mortality, in particular, has a strong influence on the level of reproduction.

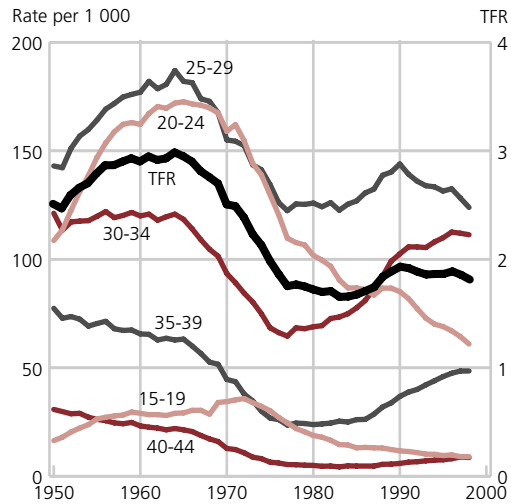
period of time would be followed by a decrease in the total population. In 1983 the number of births fell below 50 000, the same number as in 1854 when the population was one-third of that in 1983. This number of births equals the average woman giving birth to 1.66 children, which is 25 per cent below the level of reproduction (box 1.1). Throughout the 1980s the total fertility rate rose to 1.89 in 1989, and remained fairly stable up to 1997, deviating by just a few hundredths from the level of 1989. In 1998 the level declined to 1.81, having then decreased by 4 per cent in the course of two years. It is still too early to tell whether this is the start of a new trend (or not).

However, the Norwegian fertility rate is high compared to the situation in the rest of Europe. Among the larger countries, only Ireland has a higher rate than Norway. Bulgaria has a rate as low as 1.09, while Latvia, Spain, the Czech Republic and Italy all have a rate below 1.2. Differences in parental leave rights after birth might explain some of the differences between Norway and many other countries. The most striking feature of the Norwegian fertility level is its stability since the end of the 1980s. To make a comparison with Sweden, their fertility rate has been quite unstable, decreasing from 2.15 down to 1.5 from 1990 to 1998. This decline has to be seen in association with the major downturn in Sweden's economy during this period.

### Higher age among those giving birth

Significant variations in the pattern of fertility are concealed by the changes in the total fertility rate. Perhaps the most important trend is that of the increasingly higher age of the women giving birth. The average age at the time of giving birth has increased by three years since

Figure 1.3. Age-specific fertility rates. 1950-1998



Source: Brunborg and Mamelund 1994 brought up to date.

the beginning of the 1970s. The fertility of women below the age of 25 has been more than cut in half since 1955-1975, when fertility among younger women was at a peak. There is also a higher variation today in the number of children born to each woman. The proportion of mothers having two children is decreasing, while the number of those having less or more (than two children) is increasing.

The women in their late twenties had the lowest fertility rate at the end of the 1970s. This must be seen in association with the increasing number of women enrolling in higher education and entering the labour force at a time when society was badly organized for those wanting to combine raising a family with a career. The fertility rate then decreased moderately, followed by a period of stability. For many years after 1989, the increase in the number of births among women in their 30s was sufficient to counteract the decrease among younger women, but now it is no longer as strong. Fertility among women above the age of 40 has also

increased in recent decades, but their frequency of birth is not high enough to affect the total number of births to a significant degree. In 1998, children born to women above the age of 40 still constituted only 1 per cent of the total number of children born that year. 100 years ago this rate was 10 per cent (Brunborg and Mamelund 1994).

Variations in the yearly number of births and in age-specific fertility rates might occur without necessarily affecting the number of children that each cohort of women ends up with (on cohort fertility, see box 1.1). When measured this way, the fertility level is changing more slowly than the yearly number of births; the rate is to a lesser extent influenced by short-term changes in the (period) fertility rate. The cohort of women now approaching the end of their reproductive period (50 years), have all stayed above the level of reproduction. But if the birth pattern of 1997 is used as the point of departure, those born in 1953-1955 and after 1964 might be the first since the cohort of 1924 who are not able to reproduce themselves (Brunborg and Mamelund 1994 and Statistics Norway 1997).

### **Immigrants adopt the Norwegian pattern of fertility**

The extent to which immigrants (for definitions of immigration, see box 1.3) contribute to the relatively high level of fertility in Norway is a topic of frequent discussion. Many groups of immigrants, those from western countries in particular, have a fertility rate below the average of the population, while many groups from countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have higher fertility rates. If we exclude immigrants from the calculation of the total fertility rate in Norway, the rate will be only three-four hundredths of a point below the actual rate. The influen-

ce of immigrants on the total fertility rate in Norway is consequently relatively modest (though higher in Oslo), and it is not a major cause of Norway's relatively stable fertility rate in recent years. Data from other countries give reason to believe that the immigrants will adopt the Norwegian pattern of fertility the longer they live in the country. One indicator of this trend is the total fertility rate of female immigrants from the Third World who arrived in Norway as adults. The rate was 3.06 in 1994-1995, compared to 2.16 for those who arrived as children (Vassenden 1997).

## **1.3. Mortality**

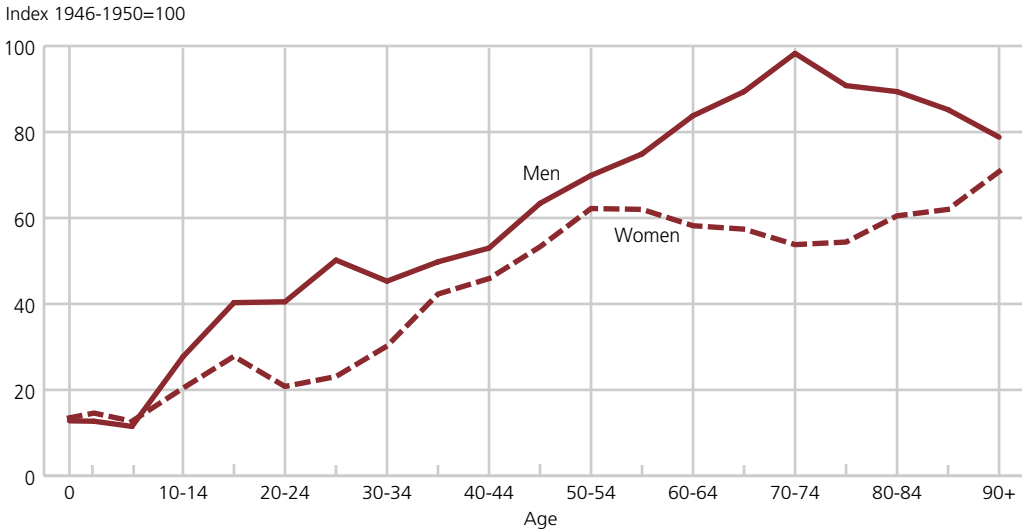
### **Decreasing mortality from cardiovascular diseases increases life expectancy for men**

In the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s the increase in life expectancy was relatively slow in Norway compared to other industrialized countries. This rather unfavourable mortality trend must be seen in relation to the increase in cardiovascular diseases in Norway through the 1950s and 1960s, affecting middle-aged and older men in particular. Among women of the same age, the reduction in mortality continued through these years. The trend since the mid-1980s has been far more favourable because of reduced mortality from cardiovascular diseases, and this goes for men in particular. From 1980 to 1998, life expectancy for men increased by three years to 75.5 years and by two years to 81.3 years for women. Mortality among elderly men has been reduced during this period, but not until the mid-1990s did it reach the same low

#### **Box 1.2. Life expectancy**

*Life expectancy* is the calculated average remaining lifetime at birth.

Figure 1.4. Mortality in 1996 compared to mortality in 1946-1950. Women and men in different age groups<sup>1</sup>. 1946-1950=100



<sup>1</sup> The age categories 1-4 years, 5-9 years and 10-14 years: The level of mortality is based on data from 1996, while the division by sex is based on the average in the years 1992-1996.

Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

level as in the years right after the second world war.

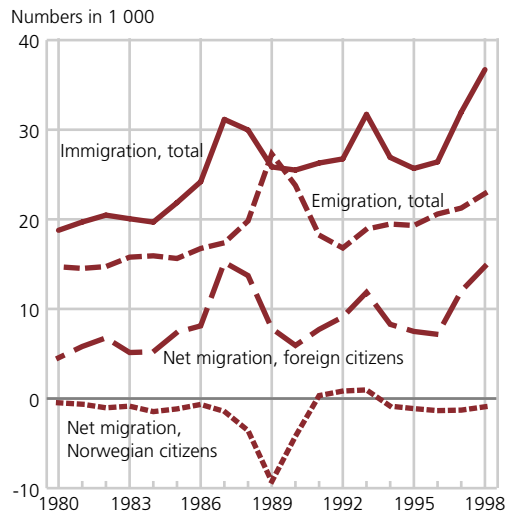
A significant decrease in infant and child mortality is one important factor explaining the increase in life expectancy. An average of 30 children per 1 000 births died within the first year of birth in the initial years after the war (Mamelund and Borgan 1996). Infant mortality is now at a low four per 1 000 children born. During the 1980s we fell behind our neighbouring countries regarding both mortality in general and infant mortality in particular. We are now back at their level.

### 1.4. Immigration and emigration

#### Immigration strongly affects population growth

Counted in numbers, annual immigration (or rather migration to Norway; see box

Figure 1.5. Net migration, emigration and immigration, by citizenship. 1980-1998



Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

1.3) is less than half the number of births, and emigration is usually less than half the number of deaths. While the number of births and deaths changes little from year to year, the fluctuations in immigration and emigration are considerable. Since 1980, net migration has, at its peaks (1987, 1988, 1993 and 1998), constituted about half the population growth. In 1998, the immigrants accounted for three-fourths of the population growth, both because of the immigration itself, but also due to the high number of births and the low mortality in this part of the population (Statistics Norway 1999).

As seen in figure 1.2, Norway has a rather short history as a country with a substantial immigration. Earlier migration from

Norway completely outnumbers the net migration of today, both in relative and absolute numbers. Since the end of the 1960s, Norway has had more immigration than emigration. This change is primarily due to the need for labour: Unskilled workers came from countries like Pakistan, Turkey, Morocco and Yugoslavia, the start of the oil industry attracted specialists from the United States and United Kingdom, and many others from our neighbouring countries came to work in the service sector and in construction. This immigration surplus remained stable at around per 1 000 of the population until 1985. As a result of the decreasing excess of births in this period, immigration had a greater impact on the growth in the population.

### **Box 1.3. Definitions of immigration**

*Immigration:* (A person) changing residence from a foreign country to Norway (registered migration to Norway).

*Emigration:* (A person) changing residence from Norway to a foreign country (registered migration abroad).

*Net migration:* The difference between immigration and emigration.

*Immigrant:* Person resident in Norway with different kind of "foreign" background. Three definitions are often used:

1) *Immigrant population:* Consists of first-generation immigrants (persons born outside Norway by two parents also born abroad) and second-generation immigrants (persons born in Norway by two parents born abroad). This is the most frequently used concept in the statistics published by Statistics Norway.

2) *Born abroad:* Persons who themselves are born outside Norway (classified by their mother's registered place of residence at the time of birth).

3) *Foreign citizens:* Persons without Norwegian citizenship. A Norwegian citizenship is granted at birth to children born to Norwegian citizens. Otherwise it can normally be granted after seven years of residence in Norway.

*Asylum seeker:* Person applying to Norway for protection because of persecution or a genuine fear of persecution for political, religious or ethnic reasons in their home country. Very few persons are granted asylum on a political basis, far more persons are allowed to stay on a humanitarian basis.

*Refugee:* Person who has been granted asylum is classified as a refugee in Norway. Those who have not applied for asylum usually arrive as resettlement refugees under the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

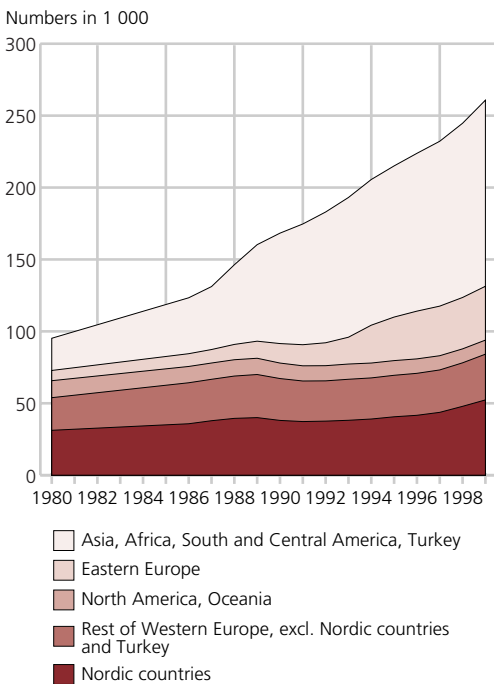
In the last 15 years there have been considerable fluctuations in the number of immigrants, depending on the reception of asylum seekers and refugees, and on the (highly) changing demands of the labour market. The asylum seekers and refugees have come from former Yugoslavia, Iran, Sri Lanka, Chile and Iraq in particular, while there are still many coming from countries like Turkey, Pakistan, Vietnam and the Philippines to reunite with their families. Those immigrants primarily seeking jobs now usually come from our Nordic neighbouring countries and the EU countries on the continent. Net migration from Third World countries has decreased significantly, down from more than 10 000 persons per year in 1987 and 1988 to about 2 500 in 1993, and then up to 6 700 in 1998. 1989 was

the only year of net migration from Norway: Many Norwegians then moved to Sweden, which then had a shortage of labour, and many Swedes went back home. About 10 000 Norwegian citizens now immigrate every year, while a few more emigrate.

**The Swedes constitute the largest group of immigrants**

Of the three most common definitions of "immigrants" (see box 1.3), we prefer to use the term "the immigrant population", consisting of those having two parents born abroad. By the beginning of 1999 there were 260 700 persons filling this description, or 5.9 per cent of the population. 230 000 persons were born abroad and later moved to Norway. 40 400 persons were born in Norway and are often referred to as second generation immigrants. People with a background from Asia (Turkey included), Africa or Latin America constitute a little less than half of the immigrant population. One out of five immigrants have their background in other Nordic countries, while the groups of immigrants from the rest of Western Europe and Eastern Europe respectively are somewhat smaller. People from Sweden now (1 January 1999) constitute the single largest group in the immigrant population, followed by people from Pakistan and Denmark. The situation has changed since the previous year, when people of Pakistani origin constituted the largest group.

Figure 1.6. The immigrant population 1 January, by country of background. 1980-1999



Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

160 000 Norwegian citizens with one parent born abroad and one born in Norway also live in our country, and most of them have been born here. 40 per cent of them had one parent who was born in another Nordic country, and the same proportion had a parent from another western country. The total number of people having some sort of foreign



background is 434 500 or 9.8 per cent of the population.

The immigrant population has doubled in the last 12 years, and a large share of the growth is a result of the increasing second generation. Even if there was no net migration, the immigrant population would grow for a period of time.

There are numerous ways of defining the group of third generation immigrants. According to our data from 1999, 79 000 persons resident in Norway had one or more grandparents who had been born abroad (of whom 60 per cent had their origin in Denmark, the United States or Sweden). These are the grandchildren of immigrants arriving in Norway up to the 1970s; quite a few arrived a long time before that. 4 400 persons had at least two grandparents born abroad. Close to 200 persons had three or more grandparents born outside Norway, and 20 persons were registered as having all four grandparents born in a foreign country.

### **The refugees stay, our neighbours leave**

Of those arriving for the first time in Norway in 1986-1990, 57 per cent were still resident in the country by the end of 1995. Only one out of four of the immigrants from Western Europe and North America were still in Norway, while the proportion was three out of five for those coming from Eastern Europe and four out of five for those coming from the rest of the world. Those who have arrived as refugees are most likely to stay, but also immigrants from countries like Pakistan and Morocco appear to have settled for a longer period of time or permanently (Tysse and Keilman 1997). Of those Norwegian citizens who left Norway in the years 1986-1990, somewhat more

than a third still lived abroad by the end of 1995 (*ibid.*).

## **1.5. Regional developments in the population**

### **Decreasing population in most of the municipalities**

As is the case for the country as a whole, three factors determine the regional development in the population: migration, births and deaths. When the effects of migration are added year by year, the total sum has a great impact on the two other factors. First of all it affects not only the geographical distribution of births, but also the relationship between births and deaths. When only elderly people are left, there will be more deaths than births.

Even though the total population in the country has increased by three-six per 1 000 per year since 1980, many municipalities still have experienced a decline in the population. Every year or so since 1980, between 40 and 70 per cent of the municipalities have had a decreasing population.

### **Reduced geographical mobility in the long term**

It is often said that geographical mobility is characteristic of a modern society, and that problems associated with the lack of social stability often originate in increasing geographical mobility. Migration between municipalities has been registered continuously since 1950. But within this period, however, the main trend is that of decreasing geographical mobility, even when the numbers are adjusted for the effects of municipality mergers. During 1998, about 4 per cent of the population moved from one municipality to another according to the Central Population Registry. This proportion is

**Box 1.4. Internal migration**

*Internal migration:* A registered change of residence by a person moving from one Norwegian municipality to another. Unmarried students who do not live together with their parents are registered as living in their parents' home as long as they study. Thus, migration by unmarried students is not registered.

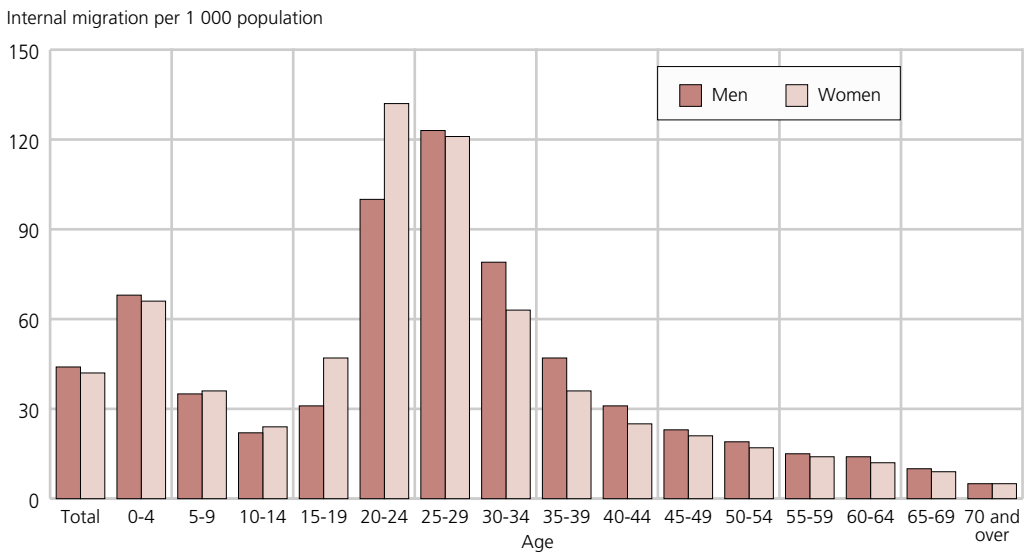
*(Geographical) mobility:* The number of internal migrations in a group of persons per 1 000 residents belonging to the same group.

somewhat higher than the lowest rate registered (3.8 per cent in 1992). Since migration is most common among young adults (see figure 1.7, although most of the education-related migration is not registered in the numbers underlying this figure), the proportion of people on the move will at any point in time depend on the age structure of the population.

Given the current mobility, each person will on average change his or her municipality of residence three times during his or her life. This number has been decreasing ever since the war. For a long time, mobility was higher among women than among men, but this has changed during the 1990s, and men now move just as often as women. Among those in the final years of their teenage period and up to the mid-20s, there are still more women than men who move. This is a consequence of the fact that women leave the home where they have grown up, and establish a relationship at an earlier age than men do. At the same time, more women than men are now in higher education, affecting mobility among young adults.

Migration *within* municipalities is not included in the measurement of mobility used in this chapter. As far back as data are available, this migration is more

Figure 1.7. **Age-specific mobility. Men and women. Internal migration. 1998**



Source: Population Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

frequent than that between municipalities. If all migration is counted, each person on average changes his or her residence about nine times in his or her lifetime.

### **The pattern of migration depends heavily on economic trends**

Along with the long-term decrease in the mobility, there are short-term fluctuations which must be seen in relation to the economic trends. Mobility was up by almost 10 per cent during the period of high demand for labour in the prosperous period from 1984 to 1987. With unemployment increasing towards the end of the 1980s, mobility decreased as much as 15 per cent towards 1992. From 1992 to 1997, a considerable part of this reduction was recovered. Mobility is now back at the level observed in 1988, but it is still much lower than that of the 1960s and 1970s.

Net migration from Northern Norway to the rest of the country has increased all through the 1990s up to 1997, reaching a peak even higher than the level experienced during the great wave of out-migration at the end of the 1960s. In 1998, net migration from Northern Norway decreased somewhat, and was back at the level observed in 1996. The maps in figure 1.8 show the net migration between the different regions, measured as yearly averages. The periods are set to give the best picture of the variations in the flows of migration. That is the reason why the years are put in groups giving periods of different length, but with similarities in the patterns of migration. But there are of course still some fluctuations within each period which are not illustrated.

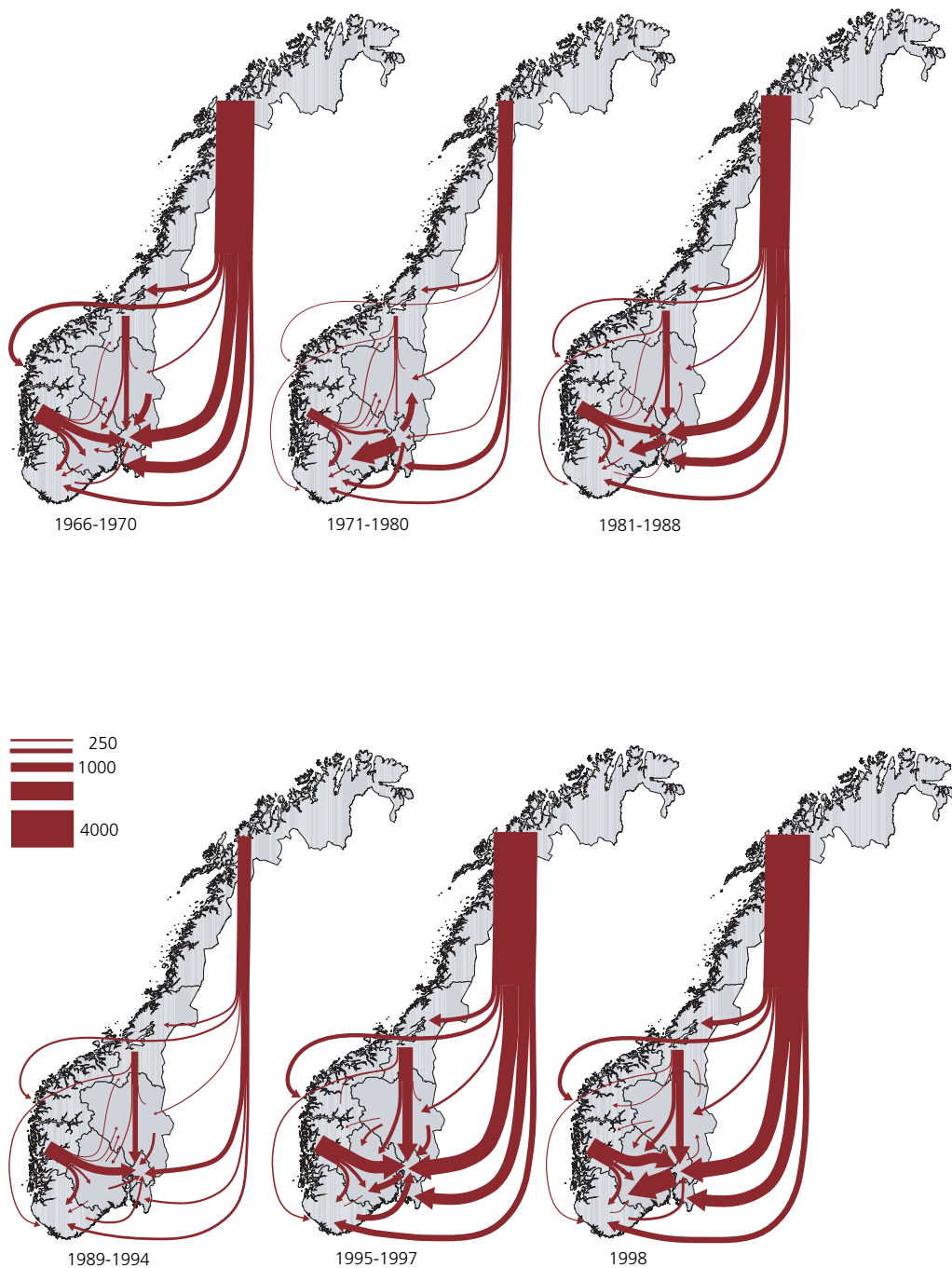
The maps give a picture of how periods with a strong degree of centralization have been succeeded by periods with a more balanced migration. There has been net out-migration from Northern Norway,

Trøndelag and Western Norway in all the periods (but not in each single year). Southern Norway (Agder/Rogaland) and the "Rest of Eastern Norway" (Østfold, Vestfold, Buskerud and Telemark) are the two regions that have experienced a migration surplus through all the periods. The migration pattern has varied between a surplus and a deficit in the two regions Hedmark/Oppland and Oslo/Akershus. In 1998, out-migration from Oslo and Akershus to the neighbouring counties in the south and east was high. This must be seen in relation to the significant lack of dwellings in Oslo, and the fact that considerable parts of the "Rest of Eastern Norway" is within commuter distance from Oslo.

### **Long-term centralization**

Long-term centralization is a continuous process, only reduced in some periods, as during the recession between the wars. In more recent periods, centralization also slowed down during the years in the 1970s when public services were expanded, and recently during the economic slowdown at the beginning of the 1990s. Long-term centralization is to a high degree determined by structural changes and driven by social progress in general, of which technological change is a major underlying factor. The different industries are distributed unevenly across the country, and have varying potential for growth from one part of the country to another. The decrease in the number of employees in the primary industries (agriculture and fisheries), the growth and decline of the manufacturing industry, and the strong growth of the service sector have in concert formed strongly centralizing and structurally determined flows of migration.

Figure 1.8. Net migration between regions. Average number per year in different periods. 1966-1998



Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

In previous periods of high net out-migration, the excess of births in the areas with a migration deficit was as high as needed to keep their proportion of the country's population at a fairly stable level. The migration pattern of today, however, yields a relatively pronounced redistribution of the population between the different regions. From 1980 to 1999, Oslo and Akershus together increased their share of the population in Norway from 20.0 to 21.7 per cent. The proportion living in Northern Norway at the same time decreased from 11.5 to 10.4 per cent. From an historical perspective, these are changes of an extraordinary character. Comparing the situation of today with that of 1980, there has been a decrease in the population of Hedmark, Nordland and Finnmark.

### **Fewer children in the peripheral areas**

The pattern of migration over the last decades has contributed to a situation where more and more women in their fertile years live in central areas, and also give birth to their children in these areas. Previously, young people who moved from the peripheral areas to the cities, often moved back home when they were going to have a family of their own. The new pattern of settlement implies a higher frequency of births in the central areas than in the other areas. In addition to this, the pattern of migration, in periods of improving economic trends, has a centralizing effect by itself. Immigration from abroad also leads to a concentration of people in the most central areas, even though there is a significant immigration from abroad to Northern Norway, and some peripheral municipalities having reception centres for asylum-seekers might experience high immigration.

The large cohorts of children and youth in the remote districts have been the basis for the highly centralized pattern of migration in the post-war period. This situation has now changed. For the first time in 50 years, the generation of young adults is smaller than the generation of (their) parents, and this is to a higher degree the case in the peripheral districts than in central areas. The fact that there are not so many people left who can actually move, will probably weaken the centralizing effect of the migration in the years to come, but the regional pattern of birth, however, will make the centralization continue. In this new situation the population in the peripheral districts will decrease, even if no one leaves.

### **Highest fertility in Western Norway, but the fastest growth in Oslo**

Women living in central areas are not more fertile than those living in the remote districts, but the changes in the pattern of migration have, as pointed out, implied to an increasing extent that women in their fertile years settle in central areas and live there when they give birth to their children. The tendency of women having their children at a higher age than previously, has reinforced this effect (Sørli 1995).

The differences in the pattern of fertility between the counties remain to a high degree the same as observed 30 years ago. In all counties in Eastern Norway the fertility rate is below the average of the country as a whole, while all other counties have a rate above the average. Western Norway has definitely taken over the role of Northern Norway as the part of the country having the highest fertility rate, but these differences have always been minor. Comparing the fertility rates of 1998 with those of the early 1980s, the

rise has been quite evenly distributed across the country. The two counties of Agder are the exceptions, having had a minor decrease. The rise has been most significant in Oslo, where the fertility rate is now higher than that of the early 1970s, something which has to be seen in relation to the large proportion of immigrants in the capital (Lappegård 1999, 1999a).

### **Big differences in mortality within Oslo**

The figures for 1998 rank Sogn og Fjordane as the county with the highest life expectancy in Norway. This is the case for both women and men, both of whom have a life expectancy 1.5 years above the average of the country. People in the neighbouring counties to Sogn og Fjordane also live longer. Finnmark is at the bottom end of the scale, with a life expectancy more than 1.5 years shorter than the national average for women and almost three years below average for men. The life expectancy for men in Finnmark is lower than the average rate in all other countries in Western Europe, but higher than that of all countries in Eastern Europe. The differences within the counties are even larger. The differences between the urban districts of Oslo are particularly large. While the life expectancy in the urban district of Vindern is 5.5 years above the national average among men and two years above that of women, some urban districts in the Inner East of Oslo have a life expectancy six-seven years below the national average for men and four-five years below that for women (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs et al. 1997). These significant differences within a small geographical area, indicate that living conditions and life styles are of great importance to mortality. For more information about mortality, see chapter 3 on health.

## **1.6. Changes in the patterns of families and households**

### **The family – facing a breakdown or new adjustments?**

Is the family as a social system in a state of crisis? Figures documenting a long-term trend characterized by fewer children, more childless couples, fewer marriages, more cohabiting couples and a higher frequency of couples breaking up, may all be seen as indicators of the family as a social institution being in a state of crisis. Or does the increasing plurality of ways of living together indicate rather that the family is a flexible institution, capable of surviving by changing its form and content (Noack 1999)?

### **One in four couples are cohabiting couples**

An individual's social bonds with family and household are of great importance to living conditions, and the family and household are themselves important sources of social contact. The structures of both families and households are undergoing considerable changes in Norway today. After 1980, probably the most

#### **Box 1.5. Sources of data**

Much of what is written in this part of the chapter is based on data from two large surveys: *The Fertility Survey 1977* and *The Family and Occupation Survey 1988*. Data on cohabitation from the most recent years are from *The Omnibus Surveys 1993-1998*.

The data on households mainly come from the Population and Housing Censuses, carried out every tenth year, the last time in 1990. In the last censuses, the residence registered in the Central Population Register has been taken as the point of departure, causing an under-representation of small households – partly because, in the Central Population Register unmarried students are registered as members of their parents' household.

**Box 1.6. Definitions of family and household**

To belong to one and the same family, in the way the term is used here, two conditions have to be fulfilled: The persons have to live in the same household, and they must be linked to the other members of the household either through marriage or in a parent-child relationship. Children also include adoptive and stepchildren.

*Households* can be divided into private households and institutional households. Here, the term refers to private dwelling households. All persons having the same address and living in the same dwelling, are counted as members of the one and same dwelling household.

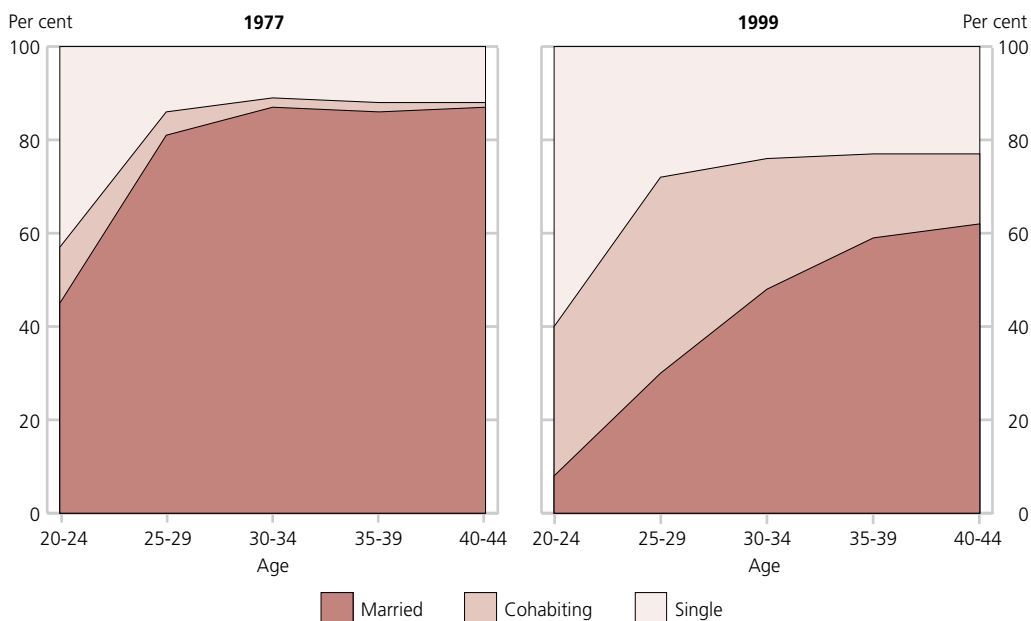
A *cohabiting couple* consists of two persons who have stated that they live at the same address in a relationship similar to a marriage, without formally being married to each other.

The *marriage rate* is the number of marriages in one year among unmarried persons in a given group, compared to the mean average number of unmarried people in the group in that year (per 1 000).

important change is the way cohabitation is affecting family life, in particular among young people. In 1999, the number of cohabiting couples is estimated to be about 250 000, while at the same time 840 000 couples are registered as married

couples. Among those living as couples, the ones cohabiting form the majority among those below 30 years of age, while the proportion of married people increases with age. The rate of couples cohabiting is highest in Northern Norway

Figure 1.9. **Women 20-44 years, by de facto living arrangement. 1977 and 1999. Per cent**



Source: Fertility Survey 1977, Family and Occupation Survey 1988, and Omnibus Survey 1999, Statistics Norway.

and Hedmark/Oppland, but married couples form the majority in all parts of the country.

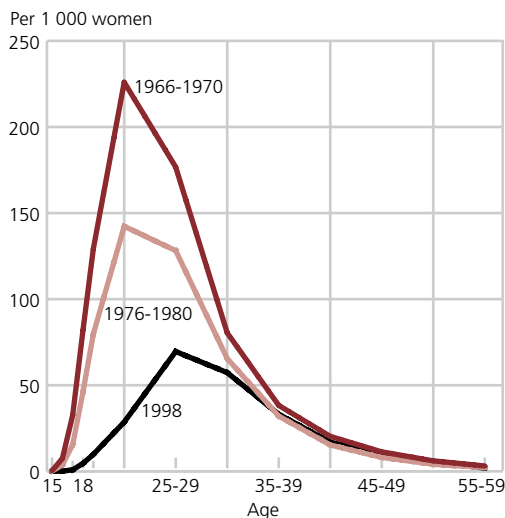
While new marriages are registered with a high degree of precision in the registers constituting the basis for the population statistics, the sources of information about those cohabiting are less reliable and contain fewer details. Figure 1.9 contains information from different surveys to give an optimal picture of the trend in the number of cohabiting couples.

Cohabitation was not unusual among young people 20 years ago (among women aged 20 to 24 years, 12 per cent lived in such a union). 20 years later this has become a common way of living together among all ages under 45, and it is not rare among the elderly. By comparing the two diagrams in figure 1.9, we also see that it has become more common to live without a partner among women aged 20 to 44 years. The proportion of married women in this age group has decreased drastically in this period, from 73 per cent in 1977, down to 42 per cent in 1999.

### **The number of marriages contracted has increased in the 1990s**

In recent decades there has been a dramatic decrease in the number of marriages contracted. At the end of the 1960s, 130 out of 1 000 girls 19 years of age would get married each year. In 1998, the corresponding rate was 10. However, there has been a small increase in this rate both in 1997 and 1998; in 1996 only seven out of 1 000 girls aged 19 got married. The long-term trend, however, is a decline in all age-groups, but the decrease is smallest among the oldest. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the average age at which the first marriage is con-

Figure 1.10. **Marriage rates among never married women in different age-groups. 1966-1970, 1976-1980 and 1998**



Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

tracted among women has increased by five years, from 23 to 28. Recent years have seen an increase in the number of marriages, partly because the number of people of a marriageable age has increased, but also because there has been an increase in the frequency of marriages contracted among both women and men aged 30 to 44 years. Among women in their 20s, however, the frequency has not changed much. The fact that more couples get married is probably due to a significant number of people catching up with previously postponed marriages. The increase is not so large, though, that there is reason to believe that cohabitation is not perceived as a permanent alternative to marriage for many couples. The increase in the number of marriages in the 1990s is also a result of the higher number of marriages among those previously married. The increase is due to the higher number of divorced people, not to a rise in the frequency of



marriages among them. Remarriage is more common among men than women.

### **Registered partnerships: Mostly men living in Oslo**

The law on registered partnerships came into force August 1993, and in the following five months 158 partnerships were contracted. Since then, about 120 new partnerships have been registered each year. As of today, a little less than 1 400 people are registered as partners. 146 are previous partners, having either divorced, separated or become surviving partners/widowed. The proportion of registered partners who have previously been married is not insignificant (around 14 per cent).

In 1998, 58 per cent of the new partnerships were between two men, which is the lowest proportion since the new law came into force 1 August 1993. In 1993 the proportion was 73 per cent, while in the following years two out of three partnerships have been between two men. Most partnerships were registered between persons aged 30 to 39 years. Half of those entering a registered partnership lived in Oslo.

### **Every second child is born out of wedlock**

The proportion of children born out of wedlock reflects the way (de facto) living arrangements are changing. This proportion is now close to 50 per cent; until the mid-1970s it was between 5 and 10 per cent. Most of this rise is caused by births to cohabiting parents, according to data from the Medical Birth Registry of Norway. Less than 10 per cent of the children are born to what is usually characterized as single mothers.

### **Decreasing number of divorces since 1994**

The number of dissolved marriages continued to grow during the 1980s, and was increasing every year up to 1993. Since 1994, however, there has been a decrease both in the number of divorces and in the proportion of marriages being dissolved. The divorce rate is highest among women aged 25 to 35 years, and men between 30 and 40. Provided that the pattern of divorces observed in 1998 will continue, 42 per cent of those who married that year will, sooner or later, divorce. No marriage cohort has actually reached this rate of divorce yet. 26 per cent of those who married in 1974 were divorced by 1997, and this is the highest rate registered up until then. This rate will probably continue to grow in the years to come. There are no corresponding statistics available registering the number of cohabiting couples who split up. Surveys indicate, however, that cohabitation is far less stable than marriage. These surveys have shown that cohabiting couples break up on average four to five times as often as married couples, but the differences are less for cohabitations that have lasted for some years (NOU 1999:25). The same studies indicate that cohabiting couples with children have a risk of breaking up three times as high as married couples with children.

### **Households are growing smaller**

There are a number of reasons why the average household is growing smaller: A long-term trend of decreasing birth rates (up to 1983) and age at which offspring move out of the home, the increasing age of those getting married, increasing divorce rates and life expectancy. These processes have been going on all through the 20th century, and the speed of change is probably as high as ever.

Table 1.2. **Private households, by size. 1970, 1980 and 1990. Per cent<sup>1</sup>**

Number of persons in the household	1970	1980	1990
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
1 .....	21	28	34
2 .....	25	26	26
3 .....	19	16	15
4 .....	18	18	16
5 <sup>2</sup> .....	10	8	8
6 or more .....	7	4	
Number of households in 1 000 .....			
	1 297	1 524	1 751
Average number of persons per household .....			
	2.9	2.7	2.4

<sup>1</sup> The proportion of households of one or two persons is in fact somewhat higher than presented in this table. Data on households from the population and housing censuses are based on the registered place of residence. There might be a deviation between registered place of residence and the actual place of residence due to a number of internal migrations that are not registered:

- According to the set of regulations used by the Central Population Registry some internal migrations are not to be registered. Most important is the case of single young people who move out of the home of their parents to attend school. They are still registered as living in their parents' home.
- Not all people who are obliged to report to the Central Population Registry actually do so. This is probably most often the case during the initial period after a couple has begun cohabiting or moved apart.

<sup>2</sup> In 1990: Five or more.

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1970, 1980 and 1990, Statistics Norway.

More and more households consist of one person. According to the Income Distribution Survey 1997 (Statistics Norway 1997), 41 per cent of the households consisted of one person. It was, however, still most common to live in a household of two persons. More than one out of four lived in such households.

According to the census of 1990, one in four persons in Norway lived together with their spouse/partner and own children below the age of 18. One in five were children living together with both of

Table 1.3. **Persons, by household size. 1970, 1980 and 1990. Per cent<sup>1</sup>**

Number of persons in the household	1970	1980	1990
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
1 .....	7	10	14
2 .....	17	19	22
3 .....	20	18	19
4 .....	25	27	27
5 <sup>2</sup> .....	17	15	18
6 or more .....	14	11	
Number of households in 1 000 .....			
	3 819	4 046	4 206

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, table 1.2.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, table 1.2.

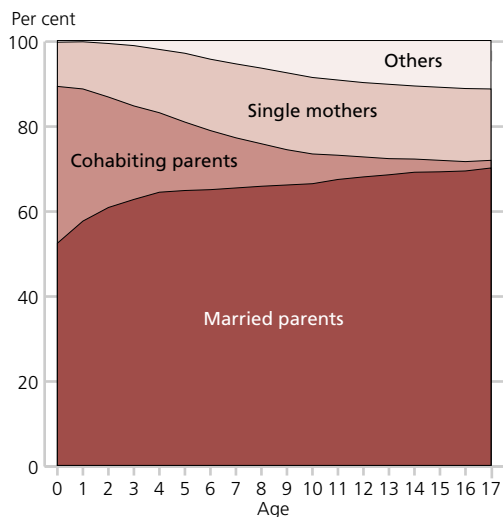
Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1970, 1980 and 1990, Statistics Norway.

their parents, and one in six lived together with their spouse/partner, but not with children under the age of 18. These three groups combined made up 60 per cent of the population. Among the remaining 40 per cent, half consisted of people living alone or young adults living together with their parents. The rest were equally distributed between the families of single mothers and fathers, cohabitants with and without children and a small mixed group consisting, for instance, of older children/young adults living with their parents.

### **Most children have married parents**

The new structure of families and households has had an effect on the family life of children, a life that has become characterized by changes to a much higher degree than previously. Still, among the about 1 million children aged 0 to 17 years, two out of three live with their parents who are married, another 13 per cent live with their parents who are cohabiting, 16 per cent live with a single mother and only 2 per cent with a single father. The category "single mother" (and

Figure 1.11. Children aged 0 to 17 years, by age and family type. 1 January 1999. Per cent



Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

father) also consists of mothers (and fathers) who cohabit with other partners than the other parent of the child. The size of this group is not known. A total of 78 per cent of the children were living at home with both their parents by 1 January 1999, a proportion that has decreased from 83 per cent in 1986 and 81 per cent in 1991. 82 per cent of the children have sisters and brothers in their families.

This pattern varies to a large degree by age. Among children below the age of one, 52 per cent live together with parents who are married and another 37 per cent with parents living as cohabitants. The proportion living together with cohabiting parents decreases with the increasing age of the child(ren). This is partially due to the fact that many of the parents either get married or move apart when the children grow older, and also partially due to the fact that cohabitation is less widespread among parents of older

children. A little less than 2 per cent of 17-year-old children have cohabiting parents. Almost three out of four 17-year-olds live together with both their parents.

The proportion of children living together with their married parents has decreased steadily during the last decades, but this category of family is still by far the most common among children of all ages. This proportion will probably continue to decrease in the years to come, because more and more children will experience their parents splitting up.

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Jorun Ramm\*

## 2. Health



### Longer and healthier lives

Poor health has great consequences for both the individual and society. For the individual and those closest to him or her, poor health means a loss of quality of life, and fewer possibilities and opportunities regarding income, work and enjoyment of life. For society, it means a loss of resources, and increased expenditure on health-care and social security. Health is regarded as one of the key components of life, and hence one of the main areas for political action. A recent survey about what constitutes a good life showed that more leisure time, more money and better health were ranked at the top when people were asked what was needed to achieve a better life. Among those with failing health, "better health" had the highest priority (Barstad 1999).

The goal of Norwegian health policy is a longer and healthier life for all (Report to the Storting No. 50, 1998-99). One important part of this aim is longer life expectancy. Men are expected to live a little more than 75 years, and women are expected to live about 81 years on average. The average life expectancy of the popu-

lation increased by 2.7 years for men and 1.7 years for women in the period 1986 to 1998 (see chapter 1.3). Men, however, still live almost six years less than women. There has been a decline in several of the causes of premature death, such as infant mortality, fatal accidents and suicides. Mortality rates among the elderly are also lower. In 1998, three quarters of all deaths occurred among people over 70 years of age, while 1 per cent of the deaths were among persons under 20 years of age. Half of these were among children under one year.

### Low and stable infant mortality

Reduced infant mortality has previously been an important factor behind increasing life expectancy. There was a significant decline in infant mortality in the first half of the 1990s, from 7 to 4 deaths per 1 000 live births in the period 1990 to 1996 (see chapter 1.3). Since 1994, infant mortality has stabilized at a low level. In Europe, only Sweden (3.6) and Finland (3.9) had a lower infant mortality rate than Norway in 1997 (Council of Europe 1999).

\* Written in cooperation with Merete Thonstad and Borgny Vold. The text is partially based on the text in the same chapter of "Social Survey 1998", with contributions by Finn Gjertsen, Jon Erik Finnvoll and Anne Mundal.

Most deaths during the first year take place in the four first weeks after birth, the neonatal period. The reduction in cases of infant mortality is most significant in babies older than four weeks. The most frequent causes of death in the first year are birth defects, illnesses starting in the perinatal period (just before or after birth) and sudden infant death (cot death). Sudden infant death includes cases where no illness or injury can be identified as the cause of death. In the 1970s and 1980s the number of sudden infant deaths increased significantly among children aged between four weeks and one year. In 1989, 140 sudden infant deaths were recorded, but by 1996 the number had plummeted to 29. In the 1960s and 1970s, some sudden infant deaths were probably recorded as accidental suffocation.

Accidents and suicides are other major reasons why people die before their time. There has been a decrease in fatal accidents and other violent deaths. A little more than 5 per cent of all deaths are violent deaths.

## 2.1. Morbidity and mortality

### Health and sickness

Health has many dimensions, and many indicators are normally used to describe the state of one's health. The trend since the 1970s has been towards reduced mortality and increased life expectancy for both men and women. Surveys indicate, however, a steady increase in the number of people with long-term or chronic illnesses.

There is no single measure or indicator that fully describes the health of a population. Different approaches give different answers. Figure 2.1 illustrates two ways

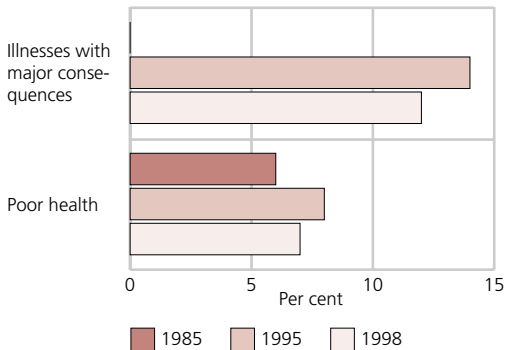
of summarizing or delimiting morbidity in the population.

In the Survey of Living Conditions 1998 concerning health, care and social relations, a little more than 60 per cent reported having one or more illnesses. The sample is drawn from people 16 years or older living at home. More than four out of five pensioners and almost two out of three adults 16 years and older were registered as having a long-term illness or disability. According to data from 1995, every third child also had long-term illness of varying degrees of seriousness.

A "condition" is not necessarily synonymous with a disease resulting in poorer health or restrictions in everyday life. 12 per cent of the population aged 16 years and over, 14 per cent of women and 10 per cent of men, believed they had a condition that affected their everyday life to a considerable degree. These conditions entailed restrictions of their activities, pain or anxiety. Relatively few children (4 per cent) had life-altering illnesses, while one out of five elderly people living in their own home experienced significant problems due to illness.

Health enters into several aspects of peoples' sense of well-being. This is reflected in the fact that close to 80 per cent of the population say that their health is good, although they may have an illness, some sort of functional handicap or restricted abilities to carry out certain activities. Around 7 per cent say they are in poor health. The proportion having poor health increases with age. In 1998, somewhat more than 15 per cent of pensioners and older people considered their health to be poor. Moreover, among pensioners one in four said that their health had declined compared with the previous

**Figure 2.1. Percentage of the population aged 16 and over who have illnesses that significantly impact their daily life, or who are in poor health. 1985, 1995 and 1998**



Source: The health interview surveys, Statistics Norway.

year, while 8 per cent said it had improved (data from 1995).

### Health among non-western immigrants

Young immigrants are affected by illness to a lesser degree than Norwegians of the same age, while a greater proportion of middle-aged and older immigrants have illnesses that affect their daily life compared with Norwegians in the same age-groups. The differences in morbidity between women and men is greater among non-western immigrants (8 percentage points), than among Norwegians (2 percentage points – see box 2.1).

It also appears that the health problems immigrants struggle with have a strong impact on daily life. One in two immigrants aged 45 to 66 years who has an illness says their illness limits their ability to work (have paid work, do housework or attend school). This proportion is double that of Norwegians of the same age. This has to be viewed in relation to other aspects of being an immigrant, such as the need to adjust to another culture, physically demanding work, crowdedness, loneliness etc.

The survey also revealed a different pattern of illness among the immigrant population than among the Norwegians. The proportion with mental health problems (see box 2.2) is three times as high as among Norwegians. The proportion varies significantly, however, depending on the immigrants' country of origin. During interviews, immigrants from Iran, Somalia and Chile spoke most often about frequent bouts of nervous symptoms, while immigrants from Pakistan, Vietnam and Sri Lanka were the least apt to report such symptoms (Blom and Ramm 1998).

The frequency of musculoskeletal diseases is about the same in the immigrant population as in the Norwegian population aged 16 to 66 years (about 15 per cent). While there is a remarkably low

#### Box 2.1. Survey of living conditions among non-western immigrants in 1996

In 1996, Statistics Norway carried out an extensive survey of living conditions among immigrants aged 16 to 70 years from eight non-western countries, with more than two years' residence in Norway. In this survey people are referred to as immigrants if they have two foreign-born parents. 95 per cent of the persons interviewed are first-generation immigrants born in one of the following countries: the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Somalia or Chile.

The sample of Norwegians with whom the immigrants are compared is based on the Survey of Level of Living 1995. Norwegians are defined as persons with at least one parent born in Norway. Because the target group of immigrants is made up of relatively more younger persons, men and city dwellers than the sample of Norwegians, the values for these categories of Norwegians are weighted. This is why the differences in for instance illness between Norwegian men and women are larger in the adjusted or weighted population, than in the "normal" population.

**Box 2.2. Symptoms of nervous conditions**

In the past six months, have you been bothered by rapid heart palpitations without exerting yourself, by nervousness, anxiety or restlessness, or have you felt so depressed and unhappy that you had no desire to do anything? The answers were "often", "sometimes" or "never". Respondents who answered "often" to at least one of the situations were registered with frequent symptoms of nervous conditions.

frequency of allergic diseases (hay fever, asthma, eczema etc.) among immigrants, the frequency of diseases of the digestive system and diabetes is far higher. Among those aged 45 to 66 years, 9 per cent of the immigrants and 1 per cent of the Norwegians suffer from diabetes. The proportion of immigrant women with cardiovascular diseases was higher compared with that of both immigrant men and Norwegian women.

**We live longer, but is our health better?**

It is difficult to say whether people have a lower or higher standard of health than previously. Different indicators of illness and different surveys often come up with different answers to the question. Recent surveys show that, compared with previously, a higher proportion of all ages of the population have illnesses. As in pre-

vious years, women report having illnesses more often than men. For the most part, the increase covers diseases and ailments that reduce the quality of life and cause problems and inconveniences, but are seldom life threatening.

Since the 1970s, both the health interview surveys and the surveys of living conditions show an increase in the proportion of the population having a long-term disease. There is, however, some uncertainty as to how large the increase is. In the Survey of Living Conditions 1998 concerning health, care and social relations, just over 60 per cent of the adult population living outside institutions were registered as having long-term illnesses, long-term injuries or disabilities. The proportion with daily life-altering diseases and illnesses whose symptoms include pain, anxiety, problems with

**Box 2.3. Registration of illness**

The reason the Health Interview Survey 1995 found higher frequencies of illness compared with the survey of level of living carried out the same year, is partly because the interviews were conducted with new technology (CAPI: Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing). Paper questionnaires were previously used. Today, all the questions are on a PC, and the answers are immediately entered into the computer by the interviewer. Because of the changes in the collection method, interviewers were thoroughly trained in how to use PCs during the interview, and how to conduct health interviews in particular. Another reason is that the health interview survey is focused only on health, and this might be another reason for the high reporting of illnesses. In both the Survey of Level of Living 1995 and in the Health Interview Survey 1995, respondents are shown a list of diagnoses. This list was more comprehensive in the health interview survey. Some of the diagnoses mentioned on the health interview survey list, but not in the survey of level of living's list, are more frequently reported in the health interview survey than in the survey of level of living.

The last survey, the Survey of Living Conditions 1998 concerning health, care and social relations, showed that around 60 per cent of the population reported having a chronic illness, injury or disability. As in the Health Interview Survey 1995, this survey was also conducted with CAPI. The sequence of questions about illness, injury or disability, and the list of diagnoses is the same as in the Health Interview Survey 1995.



sleeping and restrictions of their activities, however, does not seem to have increased. In 1998, close to a third (31 per cent) of the adult population reported having illnesses affecting their everyday life to a greater or lesser degree.

The health interview surveys indicate a significant increase in the frequency of illness in 1985 to 1998. The 1975 survey showed that 53 per cent of the adult population had a long-term illness. Up to 1985 there was almost no change in this frequency, while by 1995 the proportion had increased to 66 per cent (60 per cent in 1998, see box 2.3). The surveys of level of living give a more modest impression of the increase in this period. The proportion of adults having a long-term illness increased from 47 per cent in 1980 up to 52 per cent in 1987 and to 55 per cent in 1995.

### Women live longer than men, but have more illnesses

A public report on women's health (NOU 1999:13) tells us that women live longer than men, have more diseases than men, consume more medicines and use more health services. The main subject of the report is gender differences in health. It shows that the incidence, effects and consequences of illnesses and ailments are different for women and men. The report also shows differences in the pattern and symptoms of illnesses. To some degree, women also suffer from different types of illnesses than men.

To give an example, many women have repetitive strain injuries or other problems causing strain over a long period of time, and for which there is no immediate and effective cure or treatment. In addition to differences in the pattern of illness, the report tells of differences in health behaviour typical of male and

female culture: differences in the way they live and in the opportunities and challenges they meet. The message of the report is that gendered approaches to health must be met and handled in different ways.

### Changing pattern of illness

Cardiovascular diseases, cancer and infectious diseases are the main features in the pattern of illness today. Illnesses that have a great impact on peoples' lives, such as musculoskeletal diseases, asthma and allergies and mental health problems, are becoming more and more widespread. Lifestyle-induced illnesses have come under scrutiny and are a high-priority area in public health policy (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1999).

### Increase in the number of musculoskeletal diseases

Musculoskeletal-related illnesses and problems are common. In 1995, close to 26 per cent of the adult population were affected, compared with 15 per cent in 1985. It is difficult to say to what degree this increase is caused by improved recording of illnesses in the Health Interview Survey 1995 compared with 1985 (see

Table 2.1. **Percentage of persons having musculoskeletal diseases, by age and sex. 1985 and 1995**

	1985			1995		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
<b>All .....</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>29</b>
0-15 .....	3	2	4	4	3	5
16-24 .....	8	8	9	13	11	16
25-44 .....	13	13	14	24	24	24
45-66 .....	24	21	28	42	36	47
67-79 .....	26	21	30	48	39	55
80- .....	28	25	29	40	31	46

Source: The health interview surveys, Statistics Norway.

box 2.3). Women suffer more frequently from this sort of illness than men and more women than men also receive disability pension due to this illness. In 1998, one out of three disability pensioners received a pension because of musculo-skeletal system and connective tissue-related diagnoses (one out of four in 1983) (The National Insurance Administration 1999). In recent years there has been an increasing number of new disability pensioners with diseases of the musculoskeletal system, particularly middle-aged women.

Musculoskeletal problems develop over time, and are often caused by stress, overuse and repetitive physical strain. The illnesses often cause pain in muscles and joints. About 14 per cent of the adult population (16 years and over), and almost twice as many women as men (18 and 10 per cent, respectively), suffered from pains in the neck, arms or shoulders, according to the Health Interview Survey 1995. One in eight had frequent back pains, and one out of ten had such pains in their knees or feet.

### More young people suffering from nervous conditions

Mental health is closely associated with living and social conditions. Sample surveys are well suited for uncovering mental health problems of a less severe kind. According to the health interview surveys, close to 7 per cent of the population (about 300 000 persons), and more women than men, reported having a nervous condition or symptoms of such in 1995. The extent has not changed much through the last decade. Surveys indicate that there has been a small increase among young people and elderly women.

In 1998, a little less than 29 per cent of disability pensioners, about as many as in

Table 2.2. **Percentage having a nervous condition or nervous symptoms, by sex and age. 1985 and 1995**

	1985			1995		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
<b>All .....</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>
0-15 .....	1	1	1	2	3	1
16-24 .....	2	2	3	5	3	6
25-44 .....	5	3	7	7	5	8
45-66 .....	8	6	11	9	7	11
67-79 .....	12	9	13	13	10	16
80- .....	8	9	8	10	9	10

Source: The health interview surveys, Statistics Norway.

1983, received disability pension due to "psychoses and neuroses" (The National Insurance Administration 1999). The number of new disability cases caused by mental health problems has increased, and more and more young people are allowed a disability pension because of mental health problems.

### More and more new cases of cancer ...

In 1996, more than 10 000 persons died of cancer, while almost 20 000 new cases of cancer were reported to the Cancer Registry of Norway the same year. There has been an increase in new cases of cancer both in numbers and in age-specific rates for a number of decades. The number of new cases of cancer (age-specific rate) among men was 21 per cent higher in 1997 than in 1980, and 20 per cent higher for women. In the period 1990 to 1997 the increase was 11 per cent both for men and women.

The Cancer Registry of Norway's overview covers new cases of cancer according to where the first tumour occurred (the primary site). Prostrate cancer is the most frequent category of cancer among men, while women most frequently get breast

Table 2.3. **New cases of cancer diagnosed, by sex and primary site<sup>1</sup>. 1989, 1993 and 1997**

	1989		1993		1997	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>9 403</b>	<b>8 605</b>	<b>10 186</b>	<b>9 246</b>	<b>10 812</b>	<b>10 169</b>
Lip, oral cavity, pharynx .....	269	102	259	115	262	106
Digestive organs .....	2 364	2 099	2 434	2 276	2 465	2 334
Respiratory organs .....	1 315	508	1 427	594	1 408	689
Breast and genital organs .....	2 126	3 097	2 530	3 415	2 852	3 844
Urinary organs .....	1 083	479	1 108	443	1 152	538
Other and unspecified sites .....	1 418	1 669	1 587	1 725	1 960	2 030
Lymphatic and haematopoietic tissue ..	657	583	1 091	571	713	628

<sup>1</sup> Where the first tumour occurred.

Source: The Cancer Registry of Norway.

cancer. Cancer of the colon and rectum and lung cancer are also common forms of cancer. About 70 per cent of the registered new cases of cancer among men, and 60 per cent of the cases among women, are found among those over 64 years of age. Each year, about 150 new cases of cancer are reported among children below the age of 15. Children most often get brain cancer and leukaemia.

### ... but minor changes in cancer mortality in the 1990s

Almost one out of four deaths in 1996 (24 per cent) was caused by cancer. Taking into consideration the changes in the age structure of the population (standardized mortality), there have been only minor changes in the mortality caused by cancer since the beginning of the 1980s. The standardized cancer mortality rate rose

by a couple of percentage points from 1989 to 1996.

About a third of all deaths caused by cancer are due to tumours in the digestive organs and the peritoneum. Among men, tumours in the lungs, prostate, colon and the stomach were the most frequent causes of death from cancer, while malignant tumours of the mammary gland, colon, lungs and pancreas were most common in women. Cancer was the cause of more than half of all deaths among women aged 40 to 60 years, and only after the age of 70 do cardiovascular diseases constitute the most frequent cause of death among women. In the first half of the 1990s, cancer mortality was highest in counties in Southern and Eastern Norway.

### Serious cardiovascular diseases more common among men

In 1995, close to 15 per cent of the population suffered from cardiovascular diseases. A majority of the cardiovascular illnesses reported in the health interview surveys are less serious diagnoses such as high blood pressure, varicose veins and similar illnesses. More serious illnesses, such as ischemic heart disease (cardiac infarction among others) made up one out of seven of the cardiovascular

#### Box 2.4. Cause of death statistics

Statistics on causes of death include all persons living in Norway at the time of death, regardless of whether the death occurred in or outside Norway. The statistics show the underlying cause of the death, defined as the disease that started the course leading to death, or the external cause of the injury. In cases of death caused by cancer, the primary site of the cancer is recorded as the underlying cause of death.

Table 2.4. **Percentage of persons with cardiovascular diseases, by sex and age. 1985 and 1995**

	1985			1995		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
<b>All .....</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>
0-24 .....	1	1	1	1	1	1
25-44 ...	4	4	4	8	6	9
45-66 ...	20	20	19	24	24	24
67-79 ...	39	35	42	44	42	45
80- .....	39	32	43	51	49	52

Source: The health interview surveys, Statistics Norway.

diseases reported in the Health Interview Survey 1995. This category of diagnosis is the most prominent in National Insurance and causes of death statistics. The primary diagnosis of 8 per cent of those receiving disability pension is cardiovascular disease. Most of these are men. Most of those living with cardiovascular problems are women, and the extent of their problems increases with age.

### Reduced mortality from cardiovascular diseases

Cardiovascular diseases are the most common cause of death in Norway. Since the 1950s, such diseases have caused around half of all deaths. In recent years this proportion has decreased to about 44 per cent. A little more than half of cardiovascular deaths are caused by ischemic heart conditions such as cardiac infarction. About one out of four of cardiovascular deaths are due to cerebrovascular diseases such as stroke.

Cardiovascular mortality has been significantly reduced in recent decades among men and women alike. Among men over 40 years of age the proportion of deaths caused by cardiovascular disease increased until the beginning of the 1970s. A significant decrease has taken place since

then. By 1996, the mortality was lower than in the early 1950s. Among men aged 60 to 69 years, an average of 1 315 per 100 000 inhabitants died from cardiovascular diseases each year in 1971-1975, while cardiovascular disease was the cause of death of 753 per 100 000 in 1996. Cardiovascular mortality among women reached a peak in the early 1960s. In 1996, 255 women per 100 000 inhabitants aged 60 to 69 years died from cardiovascular diseases, against 688 in the years 1961-1965.

Mortality from cardiovascular diseases differs considerably across the country. At the beginning of the 1990s, the rate among both men and women was definitely highest in Finnmark, and definitely lowest in Sogn og Fjordane. Differences between the districts of Oslo is even larger than that between the counties. Districts in inner east Oslo had almost twice as much cardiovascular mortality as western and northern districts.

### More allergies among children and youth

In 1995, 18 per cent of the population suffered from respiratory diseases. Since 1985, there has been a marked increase in the number of people reporting such

Table 2.5. **Percentage of persons with asthma and allergies, by age. 1985 and 1995**

	Asthma		Allergy/hay fever/eczema	
	1985	1995	1985	1995
<b>All .....</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>
0-6 .....	2	4	10	13
7-15 .....	2	6	11	18
16-24 .....	2	6	14	26
25-44 .....	2	4	11	20
45- .....	3	5	6	12

Source: The health interview surveys, Statistics Norway.

diseases. According to the Health Interview Survey 1985, somewhat more than 2 per cent of the population had asthma and 10 per cent suffered from allergies. In 1995, 5 per cent were suffering from asthma and 17 per cent reported having allergic disorders. The increased reporting in the last decade, from 1985 to 1995, is apparent in all age groups.

Asthma is quite common among children, particularly among the youngest. In 1985, 13 per cent of children aged 0 to 15 years had asthma or allergies (hay fever, pollen allergy or allergic eczema), while 19 per cent had these problems in 1995.

### **Fewer accidents and suicides**

Close to 300 000 persons (7 per cent of the population) have at some time in their lives been involved in an accident causing injuries of a lasting or permanent character (Borgan 1997). Traffic accidents cause more disability than other types of accidents, while accidental falls are the most common cause of accidental death. 85 per cent of accidental falls happen to older people (75 years and over). Although such accidents often result in the victim becoming bed-ridden, leading to further complications, they are registered as accidents.

The statistics on causes of death provide an overview of the external cause of injury and are categorized as accidents, suicides, murder and other external causes. In the first half of the 1990s, the number of deaths caused by accidents and suicides decreased. Accidents cause a significant proportion of deaths among young people in particular. Accidents and other types of injury are the main reasons why young men have a higher mortality rate than young women.

Since 1980, mortality caused by accidents has decreased for both men and women. The accident mortality rate of men is twice that of women. In 1996, 1 673 persons died as the result of injuries sustained in an accident. Injuries sustained in falls are the most frequent cause of fatal accidents for both men and women. Other major categories of fatal accidents are traffic accidents and drowning.

Among children, there has been a marked decrease in the number of fatal accidents. In 1956 to 1960, an average of close to 250 children died each year in accidents, while in 1996 the number was 41.

### **Fewer suicides among young men in the 1990s**

In the 1950s and 1960s the suicide rate was at a rather constant level of seven to eight suicides per 100 000 inhabitants, equalling about 250 suicides per year. The frequency of suicide increased at the end of the 1960s, and in the last half of the 1980s, the frequency had doubled to 16 per 100 000 inhabitants (Gjertsen 1995). In 1996, the suicide rate among men was three times as high as that of women, while the gender difference was somewhat smaller (2.8) in the 1980s.

The registered suicide rate has decreased since 1988. In 1996 there were 30 per cent fewer suicides than during the peak in 1988. 518 suicides were reported in 1996, 389 men and 128 women. Lower suicide rates than those of 1995 and 1996 have not been seen since 1979 and 1980. Compared with the other Nordic countries, Norway (and Iceland) have low suicide rates. The suicide rate in Finland is 2.5 to 3.0 times as high as Norway's. Suicide rates in Sweden and Denmark are on the decline.

Children rarely commit suicide. In the period 1970 to 1996 the yearly number of suicides among children below the age of 15 fluctuated between zero and nine. In recent years, the number of suicides among young people has decreased. In 1996, 68 suicides were reported among males below the age of 25, while the number in 1988 was 112.

Accidents are the main cause of death among those aged 15 to 24 years. While accidents caused 56 per cent of deaths in 1973, the proportion was down to 38 per cent in 1992. In 1973, 7 per cent of all deaths among those aged 15 to 24 years were suicides, increasing to 26 per cent in 1992 and 29 per cent in 1996. There are two reasons why the proportion of suicides, measured as a percentage of all deaths, increased: Mortality in general has declined, as has the number of fatal accidents. At the same time, suicide mortality more than doubled during the same period (Hytten et al. 1995).

## **2.2. Lifestyle and risky behaviour**

Tobacco and alcohol use, diet and physical activity are all topics of great public concern and have been defined as the primary targets of political action in the future (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1999). Because lifestyle illnesses are becoming increasingly dominant in the state of the nation's health, knowledge about living habits and health behaviour are important.

We are exposed to different physical and psycho-social factors which strengthen or weaken our health at work, school, home or in our local communities. The way some of these factors or circumstances affect our health is well documented. In the case of smoking or use of alcohol, there are systems designed to monitor the degree to which the population is expos-

ed to such factors over time. But other factors of vital importance to our health, such as physical activity and whether we exercise to keep fit, are not the objects of satisfying surveillance systems.

### **One out of three young persons are daily smokers**

High consumption of alcohol and daily smoking are among the best documented factors increasing the risk of health problems and early death. In 1998, slightly more than a third of the population aged 16 to 74 years were daily smokers, while close to 12 per cent smoked "now and then". From a short-term perspective, peoples' smoking habits have not changed a lot. In the last 20 years, however, there has been a significant reduction in the number of men smoking on a daily basis, while the proportion of women who smoke is about the same now as 20 years ago (see indicator 2.8 in the appendix). In 1998, somewhat more than 30 per cent of all youths between 16 and 24 years of age were daily smokers. Following a decline in the early 1990s, the proportion of youths who are daily smokers rose to the same level as seen in the middle of the 1980s.

### **Young girls drink more – and more often than before**

High alcohol consumption in the population is often seen in relation to serious health problems and social distress. It is, however, difficult to define the point when consumption levels become a health risk. Some have indicated that alcohol, when drunk in moderate quantities, can have a positive effect on the health of some groups, for instance elderly people with a risk of cardiovascular disease (Skovenborg et al. 1997). Other sources emphasize that the possible health benefits of alcohol are massively

outweighed by its negative effects (WHO 1999).

According to the Survey of Living Conditions 1998 concerning health, care and social relations, 6 per cent of the population (16 years and over) drank enough to become inebriated at least once a week during the last year (4 per cent in 1985). 12 per cent of the boys and 10 per cent of the girls aged 16 to 24 years had been intoxicated one or more times per week. In little more than a decade, consumption among girls has increased significantly. In 1985, 2 per cent of the girls reported drinking to excess quite often, while 10 per cent reported the same in 1998. "Excessive" or high consumption of alcohol equals drinking five half-bottles of beer, or one bottle of wine, or half a bottle of fortified wine or a quarter of a bottle of distilled spirits. Above the age of 25 it is definitely more common for men (8 per cent) than women (2 per cent) to drink enough alcohol to feel inebriated at least once a week. Among people this age, it is mostly men who have increased their consumption of alcohol during the period.

Measured by litres of pure alcohol per capita, consumption of alcohol has increased since 1993. Consumption of beer and wine has increased in particular while consumption of distilled spirits has been almost cut in half since 1981. Beer and wine consumption has increased in all the

Nordic countries (Lohiniva 1999). Compared with the other Nordic countries, average consumption of alcohol in Norway (and Iceland) is considerably lower (data from 1997).

### Exercise and physical activity

Staying physically active is healthy and reduces the risk of developing illness. Half the population in Norway (aged 16 to 79 years) exercise on a regular basis (once per month or more often). 7 per cent do it on a daily basis. One out of four, however, report never taking exercise (Vaage 1999). The proportion of people exercising or training decreases with increasing age. Half of pensioners, 56 per cent of the women and 45 per cent of men, exercise very seldom or never.

A lot of physical activity, such as taking a short walk or walking in the woods and fields, falls outside the definition of exercise or training. According to the Survey of Living Conditions 1997, nine out of ten Norwegians had gone walking in the woods and fields, and three out of four had taken walks in the past year. By walks is meant shorter walks of less than three hours, daylong walks, and hikes lasting several days. Norwegians take on average 42 hikes and 31 walks in one year. Among those aged 25 to 66 years, more than 80 per cent exercised in this way. Among the elderly (66 to 79 years), 56 per cent had taken a walk. At this age, men are more

#### Box 2.5. Mobility

In 1985, mobility was measured as the ability to walk up or down a staircase without having to take a rest, or being able to take a five-minute walk. Persons with chronic illness, injury or disability were asked this question. The questions were asked in a face-to-face interview.

In 1998, mobility is measured as the ability to walk up or down a staircase, or being able to take a two-kilometre walk. The questions are asked of all respondents, regardless of illness. The data are collected by a postal questionnaire following a face-to-face or phone interview. The measurement is based on the formulations in SF-36, a sequence of questions aimed at charting the health and quality of life in the population. Because the sequence is designed to measure the situation at the exact time of the interview, problems of a more short-term nature may also be reported.

active than women. Since 1973 there seems to have been a decrease in the proportion walking or skiing in the woods and in the number of walks they take. The decrease is most significant among young people, but can also be seen in the ages up to the mid-60s (Vaage 1999).

### 2.3. Consequences of illness

#### Fewer old people are disabled

It is difficult to estimate the proportion of the population that is disabled. This estimate varies depending on the criteria chosen for the definition. When limited to physical disabilities such as impaired mobility, sight or hearing, close to 11 per cent of the population aged 16 to 79 years were disabled to some degree (13 per cent in 1985).

The mobility of the elderly improved in the period from 1985 to 1998. The pro-

portion of those aged 67 to 79 years with mobility problems (climbing stairs or taking a walk of any duration) fell from 33 per cent in 1985 to 26 per cent in 1998. More women than men had impaired mobility. About half of the elderly (80 years and over) are disabled according to this definition, and far more of these are women than men (see figure 2.2).

#### Illnesses reduce the capacity to cope with everyday life

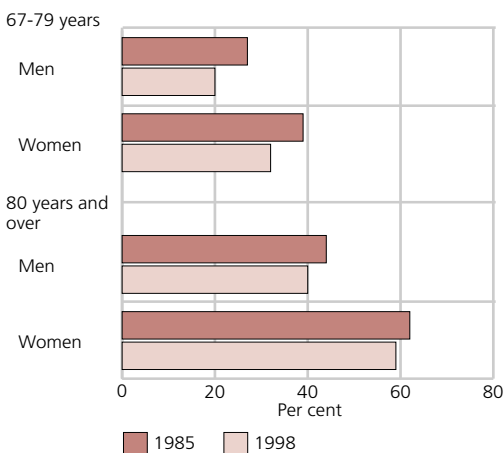
Illness or disablement cause a variety of practical and social problems for many people. In 1998, about 13 per cent of the population had difficulty doing one or more activities due to health problems (15 per cent in 1985): moving around in their own home, using public transport, participating in clubs, organizations or leisure activities, or socializing with other people. 6 per cent had severe problems participating in one or more of these activities.

The problems increase with increasing age. One out of ten pensioners (aged 67 to 79 years) had severe problems using public transport or getting outside the house on their own because of illness or disablement. The situation was much the same in 1985. Compared with 1985, a somewhat smaller proportion of women (aged 45-66 years) had problems getting outside the house or using public transport in 1998.

#### Older women more often need help than men

The degree of disability or illness resulting in a need for help in coping with everyday life is an indicator of the demand for nursing and care services in the home. In 1998, about a third of senior citizens (a little less than one out of four aged 67 to 79 years, and almost half of the very elderly (80 years and over), were

Figure 2.2. Percentage of women and men with mobility problems<sup>1</sup> in different age groups. 1985 and 1998

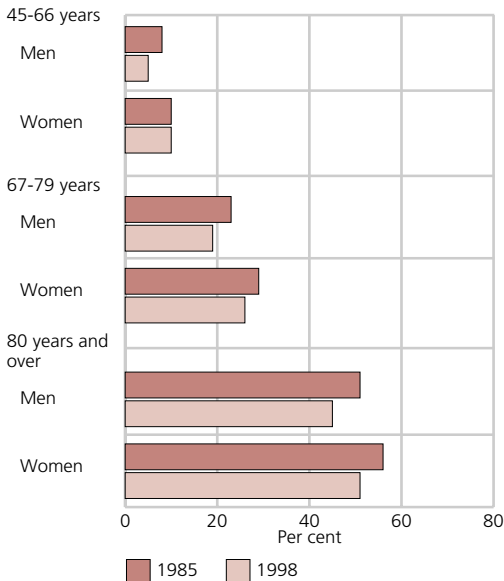


<sup>1</sup> See box 2.5.

Source: The Health Interview Survey 1985 and The Survey of Living Conditions 1998 concerning health, care and social relations, Statistics Norway.



Figure 2.3. Percentage of men and women in different age groups who need assistance in their everyday life. 1985 and 1998



Source: The Health Interview Survey 1985 and The Survey of Living Conditions 1998 concerning health, care and social relations, Statistics Norway.

in need of care on a daily basis because of chronic illness or disability. More women than men needed help cleaning their home or shopping for groceries.

Compared with the situation in 1985, fewer old people living in their own home need help with everyday tasks. Among the elderly who receive help, one out of eight say they need more assistance.

Despite minor fluctuations observed in the data, the need for nursing services among the elderly seems to have remained almost unchanged in the period 1985 to 1998. Among old people (67 years and over) not living in institutions, 6 per cent had problems getting dressed or undressed or washing themselves. In general, more women than men are in need of care because more elderly women live alone.

### People in their 80s get more care in their homes

According to the Health Interview Survey 1985 and the Survey of Living Conditions 1998 concerning health, care and social relations, many of the very elderly receive unpaid help from neighbours, relatives and friends on a regular basis when they are sick. In 1998 one out of four persons aged 80 years and older received help, while 14 per cent received such help in 1985. At the same time there has been an increase in the proportion receiving home help and home nursing care. Among the oldest, 41 per cent received home help, and 12 per cent received home nursing care in 1998. The proportion has increased by 16 percentage points since 1985. Most recipients of home services are over 80 years, and the vast majority are women, according to the nursing and care statistics (see the chapter on care as well).

## 2.4. Health services

### Higher expenditure on health

Public expenditure on health has increased steadily since 1980. In 1996, spending on health constituted somewhat more than 6 per cent of gross domestic product. In 1996 prices, expenditure increased from NOK 9 300 per capita in 1980 to NOK 14 200 in 1996. Expenditure increased through most of the period.

The statistics on health services are primarily an indication of the use of resources and activities in the public health service. There has been a significant increase in the number of man-years in the services, both in the municipalities and the counties. The number of beds have been reduced at the same time as outpatient consultations have increased in both somatic and psychiatric institutions. The use

of resources in the municipalities has increased significantly. In particular, services aimed at preventing illness (school and maternal and child healthcare services) have been expanded and improved.

### Structural changes in the hospital sector

From 1980 to 1998, the number of public hospitals was reduced by 20 per cent. A number of local hospitals have been closed down or incorporated into larger and more centralized hospital units (regional and central hospitals), and some divisions have been merged with larger units. Advanced and specialized medical expertise and equipment are being increasingly concentrated in hospitals in major regional centres.

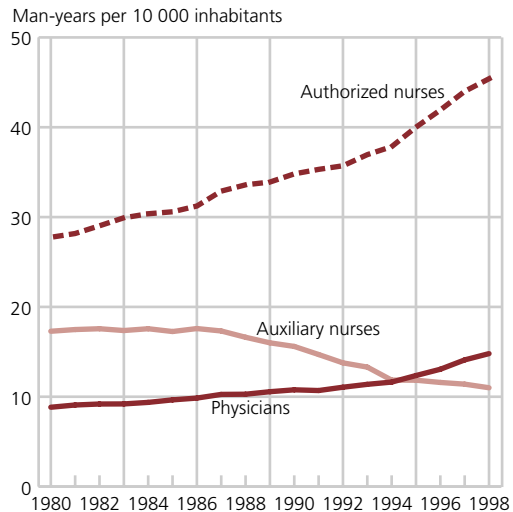
### Somatic hospitals: Rapid increase in man-years ...

The number of man-years in somatic hospitals increased by 36 per cent from 1980 to 1998. In the same period, the number of man-years worked by physicians, nurses and physiotherapists increased by 83, 78 and 40 per cent respectively. The number of man-years worked by auxiliary nurses, however, declined by 31 per cent.

The number of man-years worked by physicians in somatic hospitals increased from a little less than 9 man-years per 10 000 inhabitants in 1980, up to almost 15 man-years in 1998. The increase was particularly rapid in the 1990s (close to 11 man-years per 10 000 inhabitants in 1990). The number of man-years worked by nurses has increased as well, from almost 28 to a little more than 45 man-years per 10 000 inhabitants in the period 1980 to 1998.

In addition to the private hospitals included in the county health service systems, commercial hospitals were introduced in

Figure 2.4. **Number of man-years worked by physicians, nurses and auxiliary nursing personnel. Per 10 000 inhabitants. 1980-1998**



Source: Country health service statistics, Statistics Norway.

the most populous part of Eastern Norway in the 1980s. There are now five small private hospitals offering treatment for payment. By the end of 1998, commercial hospitals constituted 0.40 per cent of the beds, 0.75 per cent of the man-years worked by physicians, and 0.66 of the man-years worked by nurses in all hospitals.

### ... slower growth in the number of patients treated ...

More patients are treated in hospitals than previously, but the number of bed-days has been reduced. Capacity has been reduced from just over 21 000 beds down to just over 14 000 beds in the period 1980 to 1998. In other words, a decreasing number of beds are being used for an increasing number of treatments. This is reflected in a steady decrease in the average number of bed-days per hospital stay, from 7.5 days in 1989 down to 6.2 days in 1998. The number of hospitalizations increased steadily in the 1990s.

**Box 2.6. Definitions**

*Beds:* The hospitalization includes spending the night in the institution.

*Bed-days:* The number of full days or days in hospital (includes only inpatients).

*Discharges:* Terminations of stays as inpatients or outpatients.

In 1998, 682 000 inpatients were discharged from somatic hospitals. The number of discharges has increased by 11 per cent since 1990. From 1997 to 1998, the number of hospital stays increased 3 per cent, and have in the last five years risen almost 10 per cent (Rønning 1999). The number of hospital stays per 1 000 inhabitants has been between 142 and 145 throughout the period 1989 to 1994. From 1995 on, the number of stays per 1 000 inhabitants per year increased, reaching almost 154 in 1998. Consequently, consumption of hospital services is increasing, particularly among the elderly. In 1998, old people (70 years and over) accounted for 30 per cent of hospital stays and slightly more than 40 per cent of the bed-days.

**... and increasing outpatient treatment**

New methods of treatment make it possible to provide more medical procedures at outpatient clinics. In 1998, outpatient activity totalled 3.3 million consultations. In 1989, there were 610 consultations per 1 000 inhabitants. This rate increased by 23 per cent to 749 in 1998.

**Cardiovascular diseases – cause of most hospital stays**

The primary diagnosis of the inpatient is recorded each time a patient is hospitalized. Cardiovascular diseases are the most common reason why people are hospitalized. More than 15 per cent of all stays are caused by cardiovascular diseases. The second most frequent cause of hospitali-

zations is cancer and some benign tumours, representing close to 12 per cent of the stays. Slightly less than 11 per cent of the stays are due to injuries and poisonings, while 8 per cent are caused by lung and respiratory diseases.

Births, and complications during pregnancy and confinement, are the cause of approximately one out of ten hospitalizations. This is also the main reason why women are hospitalized far more often than men. In 1998, women accounted for 380 000 stays, while men had 302 000.

More than one out of four hospitalizations of the elderly aged 70 years and over are caused by cardiovascular diseases, and one out of seven are due to tumours. Over time there has been a reduction in the number of stays caused by cardiovascular diseases, while hospitalizations for stroke have increased for both women and men.

**Psychiatric institutions: Small increase in resources**

While the number of beds in psychiatric institutions has fallen significantly, the number of man-years has increased steadily. By the end of 1997, the number of employees equalled 3.5 man-years per 1 000 inhabitants, up from 3.0 man-years in 1980.

**Continuous reduction in the number of beds**

Traditional inpatient treatment in psychiatry is to an increasing degree being replaced by outpatient treatment and other day services. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the number of beds in psychiatric institutions was sharply reduced. The number of bed-days in these institutions went from 971 days per 1 000 inhabitants in 1980 to 614 in 1990 and 468 days in 1997. This is due both to reduced

capacity of beds and shorter stays. In the period 1980 to 1997, the average hospital stay was cut by almost two-thirds (64 per cent), from 191 days in 1980 to 69 days in 1997. At the same time, the number of discharges from psychiatric institutions increased. At the beginning of the 1980s the number of discharges of inpatients decreased, while the trend since 1987 has been the opposite: from 4.2 discharges per 1 000 inhabitants to 6.6 in 1997, an increase of close to 60 per cent.

### **Psychiatry – more young than elderly outpatients**

Outpatient consultations have become steadily more common as a method of treatment in psychiatry. There are no records of such treatments before 1990. In that year, 92 outpatient consultations were carried out per 1 000 inhabitants, while in 1997 this rate was up to 131. There has been little change in the age-distribution of patients in psychiatric institutions. Most patients are below the age of 40. Those aged 25 to 39 years accounted for 38 per cent of hospitalizations in 1996. The population of outpatients is also relatively young.

### **More admissions for compulsory observation**

In 1980, 34 per cent of the admissions to psychiatric hospitals, psychiatric clinics and psychiatric departments at somatic hospitals were authorized under sections 3 or 5 of the Mental Health Care Act. Section 3 authorizes compulsory hospitalization for observation for a period of up to three weeks, while section 5 authorizes compulsory hospitalization without a time limit. In the 1990s, the proportion of admissions authorized by these sections has increased, from 34 per cent in 1990 to 38 per cent in 1995 and 42 per cent in 1997 (Vold, publication pending). During this

period, there has been a tendency to use section 3 instead of section 5.

There are significant geographic differences with respect to compulsory admission. This is due to differences in the availability of beds in institutions. Frequent re-admissions of patients are common because of shorter average hospitalization periods.

### **More doctors and physiotherapists in the municipal health service**

In the period 1987 to 1998, the number of man-years worked by physicians, physiotherapists, health visitors and midwives has increased in the municipal health service. Both the *number* of man-years and man-years *per capita* have increased. In the same period, local governments have taken on new responsibilities and patients, including developmentally disabled persons who previously lived in institutions (see chapter 3.3).

### **Increasing privatization of medical services**

Most physicians and physiotherapists have private practices, but sign an operating subsidy agreement with the municipality or urban district. In 1998 these agreements covered 67 per cent of the man-years worked by physicians and physiotherapists. The proportion of physicians with private practices has increased in the municipalities over the last years. So-called fixed salary schemes are also relatively common (20 per cent of the physicians and 28 per cent of the physiotherapists in 1998). The number of man-years worked by physicians with fixed salaries increased in the beginning of the period and then stagnated before decreasing significantly after 1993. The situation among physiotherapists is different; they are responsible for a major portion of the overall increase in man-years.

Table 2.6. **Regular doctor system<sup>1</sup> for the chronically ill, by centrality and the organization of the general practice service. 1995. Per cent**

	Total	Have regular doctor/ company doctor	Have regular health centre	Have neither regular doctor/ company doctor nor regular health centre
<b>Centrality</b>				
Centrality level				
Least central municipalities .....	100	43	54	3
Less central municipalities .....	100	55	40	5
Central municipalities .....	100	86	12	2
Highly central municipalities .....	100	76	20	4
<b>Organization</b>				
Share of mandatory practitioners in municipal health service				
Municipalities without mandatory practitioners .....				
1-19 per cent mandatory practitioners .	100	78	19	3
Over 20 per cent mandatory practitioners	100	76	19	5
Over 20 per cent mandatory practitioners	100	32	65	3
Percentage of fixed-salary physicians in municipal health service				
0-23 per cent with fixed salary .....	100	78	19	3
24-66 per cent with fixed salary .....	100	73	23	4
67-100 per cent with fixed salary .....	100	49	50	2

<sup>1</sup>The chronically ill are persons who have had at least one house call in the past year, have an illness or ailment of a more permanent nature and suffer from asthma, diabetes, epilepsy, heart disease or high blood pressure.

Source: The Health Interview Survey 1995, Statistics Norway.

Effective 1 July 1998, National Insurance reimbursements are no longer paid to physicians or other health professionals who do not have an operating agreement with the municipality or county. Until the regular doctor system goes into effect, general practitioners are exempted from these changes. In addition, earmarked subsidies have been introduced for municipalities and counties signing operating subsidy contracts with physicians and other health professionals who up to now have had private practices without such agreements. All in all, this has led to a reduction in the number of man-years worked by physiotherapists without such an agreement. Most of these have probably switched to practising with an operating subsidy agreement.

### **Less geographic variations in the municipal health service**

In the period, the growth in personnel resources has been relatively evenly distributed among the central and less central municipalities. In the period as a whole, the coverage rate (defined as man-years in proportion to the population) has increased somewhat more in the least central municipalities.

The small and least central municipalities have the largest personnel resources compared with the population. These municipalities have the highest coverage rates for both physicians and nursing services. On the other hand, this is not true of physiotherapists. Most of the physiotherapists work in central areas. It is too early to say what effect the changes in National

Insurance reimbursement rules will have on the availability of physiotherapists in the less central parts of the country.

Analyses of municipal differences in coverage rates show that the differences between the municipalities largely disappear when the variation in demand between the municipalities is taken into consideration (Finnvold 1994, Finnvold and Nordhagen 1996). The physiotherapy service is the exception; here the variations in the use of resources are larger than the differences in the demand for services in the municipalities.

Significant differences exist in how municipalities organize their medical services. The most common in small and outlying municipalities is to have fixed-salary physicians and house officers. In central areas, house officers constitute an insignificant proportion of the physicians and physiotherapists, while it might be more than 20 per cent in certain outlying municipalities. Residents of municipalities with a high proportion of house officers and fixed-salary doctors have fewer opportunities than others to have a regular doctor (Finnvold 1997). This also influences the quality of the health services that are offered (Finnvold 1995).

### **Most people are satisfied with health service**

The physician coverage rate in a municipality is an indicator of the use of resources, but does not measure the accessibility of such services. In a survey, accessibility was measured in the number of days patients had to wait for an appointment with the doctor. 23 per cent had waited 0-2 days, while 47 per cent had to wait for seven or more days for an appointment with the doctor (Finnvold 1998). A 1994 survey of mothers of small children found that the vast majority were satis-

fied with the health service. Two out of three were satisfied with the health service in their municipality, 32 per cent were reasonably satisfied, while 5 per cent were dissatisfied (ibid.)

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Åsne Vigran

## 3. Care



### 3.1. The need for care and care services

#### Modest increase in the burden of care?

Most people will need help or care from others during one or more periods over their lifetime. Elderly people may need help or assistance with daily activities to remain in their own home, small children need to be looked after and cared for, the disabled need nursing care and supervision. The nursing and care services described in this chapter do not include treatment of illness, injury or disability. The latter falls under the public health service, not nursing and care services.

Children and elderly persons are the two main groups in need of care. A rough measure of the burden of care in a society is the size of these two groups compared to the number of people of working age (the labour force). In the 1980s and 1990s, the number of elderly people, and in particular the very elderly, has increased. This increase has, to a certain degree, been compensated by a rise in the number of people of working age, while in the first part of the period the number of children went down and in that way

Table 3.1. Population, by age group and three indicators of "burden of care" at 1 January 1980, 1990 and 1999. Number and percentage

	1980 <sup>1</sup>	1990	1999
<b>Children</b>			
0-5 years .....	323 000	326 000	363 000
0-9 years .....	579 000	533 000	609 000
0-15 years .....	977 000	862 000	934 000
<b>People of working age</b>			
16-66 years .....	2 587 000	2 770 000	2 891 000
<b>Elderly people</b>			
67 years and over .	515 000	605 000	620 000
80 years and over .	117 000	156 000	188 000
1. Population aged 0-5 years and 80 years and over as percentage of 16-66 population.			
	17.0	17.4	19.1
2. Population aged 0-9 years and 80 years and over as percentage of 16-66 population .			
	26.9	24.9	27.6
3. Population aged 0-15 years and 67 years and over as percentage of 16-66 population .			
	57.7	53.0	53.8

<sup>1</sup> 31 December 1979.

Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

lessened the burden of care before subsequently increasing (see table 3.1).

If the burden of care is calculated as in the appendix (indicator 3.1), we see that all through the 1980s and 1990s, the number of people of working age has been four times the number of children and elderly. Measured in this way, the burden of care was somewhat reduced in the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, but then increased. Consequently, the burden in 1999 was slightly higher than that of 1980, 27.6 versus 26.9 per cent. The figures produced in such calculations should indeed be carefully interpreted, as they are highly sensitive to the choice of age groups included among those in need of care. To give an example, if we limit the calculation to the number of children most in need of care (aged 0 to 5 years), the burden has increased somewhat more than indicated by the data above (see table 3.1).

### **Much informal, private care**

Care can be provided by both private persons and public services. Private care of the elderly or the disabled is mostly carried out in their home and by persons who are related to or are friends of the receiver. The informal supervision and care of children by their parents and others also plays an important role. The scope of such private, informal care is of considerable size.

Informal care is usually unpaid, but persons caring for elderly relatives or disabled children on a regular basis may receive a cash benefit from the municipality called caregiver pay, to give one example. Another example is parents receiving the Cash Benefit for Parents with Small Children (Cash Benefit) in order to stay at home and look after their children instead of using the formally organized care

offered by kindergartens in their municipality.

In addition to the informal private care, there is a formally organized service through which the public authorities, either alone or in co-operation with voluntary organizations, offer various care services. In recent years, these public services have met competition from self-employed persons and private companies offering what could be called commercial care services. What these formally organized care services have in common is that the receiver usually has to pay for the service.

### **The development of formal public care**

Expansive development of the public care services did not really take place until the 1970s. What traditionally had been the unpaid work of women, now became paid work. Along with the changes in family structures and higher proportion of women in paid work, came the demand for alternative sources of care. In the same way that informal care was the responsibility of women, many of the care-related occupations of the welfare state, such as home helpers, nurses and kindergarten teachers are usually occupations largely dominated by women.

Today, most of the formal care (childcare and child welfare services, services and housing for the elderly and disabled, care of substance abusers), is the responsibility of the municipal authorities. The counties are in charge of the childcare institutions and the institutions for drug addicts.

### **Voluntary organizations play an important role**

In many ways the voluntary organizations were the pioneers within the care sector. They established the services which in turn were taken over and expanded by

**Box 3.1. Municipal care services**

The municipalities offer different kinds of care service to the population.

*Children and families with children* may be offered kindergarten (children aged 0-5 years), after-school programmes (6-9 years), youth clubs (children of school age), home help and child welfare services.

*The mentally retarded and the disabled* are offered practical help including home help and other kinds of assistance and training in daily life activities in their homes. Many municipalities offer different kinds of respite care to the relatives, home nursing and personal support contacts. Specially adapted housing is also available, either in housing located nearby an institution, in group homes or shared housing or in separate housing adapted for disabled users.

*The elderly* may be offered services equal to those given to the mentally retarded and disabled, such as home help and home nursing. In addition, many municipalities offer other services, such as caretaker services, safety alarms and food delivery. Elderly people may also be offered respite care and a personal support contact or a place in a day-care centre. They may be offered a place in adapted housing or a stay in an institution such as a somatic nursing home or an old people's home.

the public authorities. Even though the size of the contribution by the voluntary organizations is small compared to the care given by the public authorities, these organizations have done, and still do, important work. The formally organized nursing and care services still owned and run by voluntary organizations are dependent on public subsidies, and are part of the municipal schemes and run according to municipal directives. A large portion of the care of drug addicts is organized this way, along with many private kindergartens, one in four childcare institutions, some institutions and housing for the

elderly and some day centres for the elderly (Søbye 1993, Vigran 1999).

**Small market for private, commercial care (services)**

The market for private care financed entirely by user payments is still small. This is most likely caused by the fact that public authorities are offering their services for free, or for a fee covering part of the full cost of the services. Some of these private, commercial services are also subsidized by the municipalities. Even though fees are contributing an increasingly higher percentage of the total expenditure in the care sector, their contribution is still on a relatively low level, and in 1997 they constituted a little more than 10 per cent of the total expenditure in nursing and care services for the elderly and the disabled. In municipal kindergartens, fees paid by the parents constitute a higher proportion of the total costs, 30 per cent on average in 1997. Private services probably play a more important role here than in other parts of the care sector (see chapter 4.3).

**3.2. Care of children**

The immediate family has been, and still is, the most important influence on children with respect to their upbringing and welfare. In almost all cases, the parents have the main responsibility for providing for and caring for their children.

The increasing employment rate among women, and in particular among those with small children, is one of the most important changes affecting the care capacity of families in recent decades. In 1998, three out of four women married or cohabiting women with children below the age of 3 were employed. Initially, women took mainly part-time work, but this changed in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1998, about half of working mothers of

small children were employed full-time (see chapter 5.3).

At the same time, extended parental leave rights and the introduction of the Cash Benefit, have made it easier to combine employment with the care of children. Maternity leave has been increased step by step, and consequently most working women with small children stay at home the first year after birth (see chapter 7.2).

### **Cash Benefit: Still small changes in childcare**

Even though many parents have become full-time workers, they are still the most important persons in the care and supervision of their children. According to the Time Budget Surveys 1990, Norwegian mothers of small children spent an average of eight hours per day in the company of their children. About one-third of this time was used for what could be called practical or active care of children, such as bathing and dressing them and assisting them in various ways, helping them with homework, playing with them, talking with them and reading aloud from a book. Mothers of school-age children spent an average of five hours with them each day. About 15 per cent of the time spent together was spent on active care of the children. Fathers spent between four and a half and five hours together with their children, whether they were parents of small children or schoolchildren (Kitterød 1995).

A scheme granting a general cash benefit to all families with children aged 1 to 2 years went into effect on 1 August 1998. On 1 January 1999 the scheme was extended to children up to the age of 3. The main argument behind the scheme was to give families with small children more time and greater freedom to choose childcare arrangements (Storting Proposition

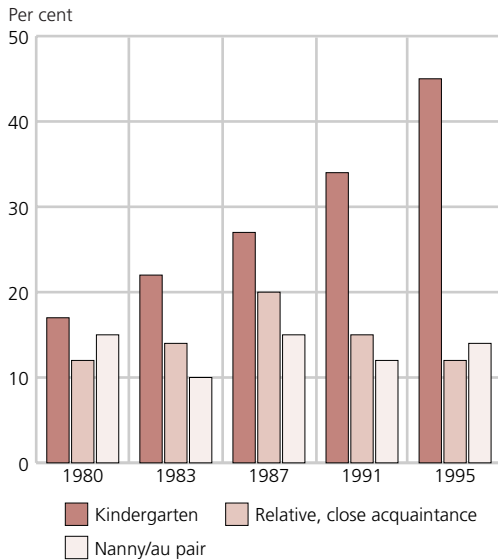
No. 53, 1997/98). To qualify for the cash benefit, the child must not attend a state-subsidized kindergarten on a full-time basis. Other kinds of full-time childcare do not prevent parents from obtaining this cash benefit. According to data from the National Insurance Administration, full or partial Cash Benefit was paid to 82 per cent of all children in the age groups entitled to such benefit, in the autumn of 1999.

In a survey carried out during the spring of 1998, 59.4 per cent of the parents said they were going to apply for the Cash Benefit. A new survey in the spring of 1999, indicates that 74 per cent of the parents who planned to make use of this arrangement, actually did so. Among the mothers who had said that they would receive the Cash Benefit and planned to take care of their child themselves, 58 per cent actually did receive it, while 14 per cent did not. Two out of three mothers who, in 1998, did not know whether they would apply or not, now receive the Cash Benefit. Comparing the situation before the introduction of the Cash Benefit (spring 1998) and after (spring 1999), we find that a few more 1-year-olds were looked after by their parents, while there is little change among the 2-year-olds. The use of childminders, nannies or au pairs does not seem to have increased, while the use of kindergarten has increased to a certain degree among 2-year-olds (Reppen and Rønning 1999).

### **Kindergartens: Important for children aged 3 to 6 years**

The increasing proportion of working mothers has led to an increase in the demand for different childcare arrangements. In 1995, 60 per cent of all households with small children (aged 0 to 6 years) had some kind of childcare outside the family (kindergarten, childminder,

Figure 3.1. Proportion of households<sup>1</sup> with small children (0-6 years), by type of childcare. 1980-1995. Per cent



<sup>1</sup> Some households use more than one kind of care. The total proportion of households is thus lower than the sum of proportions using each kind of care.

Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

nanny/au pair, or relatives/neighbours/friends) for one or more of their children. In the early 1980s, it was just as common to have the children looked after by a childminder, relatives or other close acquaintances, as it was to have them in a kindergarten. Today the kindergarten is the predominant kind of childcare among families with small children (see figure 3.1). In 1998, more than three out of four (76 per cent) children aged 3 to 5 years were in kindergarten. Among children aged 1 or 2, somewhat more than one out of three (39 per cent) is in this kind of care. Two out of three children have a full-time place. The growth in the number of children in kindergartens and their distribution are described in more detail in chapter 4.

Childcare, in which a childminder, nanny/au pair, or a close acquaintance looks after the child, can be an alternative and supplement to kindergarten. Approximately 10 per cent of the families with small children combine different kinds of care. The proportion of families with small children using other kinds of care than kindergarten, is lower in municipalities with a low ratio of kindergartens than in municipalities with a high ratio (Statistics Norway 1995).

The kindergarten is not just designed to look after and take care of children it is also a pre-school (see chapter 4.1). Both working and non-working parents send their children to kindergarten. In 1995, 30 per cent of working mothers of small children and 50 per cent of mothers working full-time had their children in a kindergarten. According to the Survey of Level of Living 1995 the proportion of single parents using kindergarten is high both among those who are working and those who are not, 71 and 61 per cent, respectively. At the same time, many working single parents depend on private informal childcare. In 1995, 39 per cent of working single parents of small children regularly enlisted relatives and close acquaintances to care for their children, while between 10 and 20 per cent of the mothers who were married or cohabiting did the same.

### After-school programmes all over the country

As children reach school age, parents do not have the same need for someone to look after them. During school hours, the school is responsible for the care and supervision of the children. The school day of the youngest pupils is shorter than the opening hours of the kindergarten. Many working parents are therefore in need of care and supervision for their

**Box 3.2. Child Welfare Services Act**

The Child Welfare Service makes assistance decisions pursuant to the Child Welfare Services Act:

- *assistance* (Section 4-4) can consist of a personal support contact, respite care, a place in a kindergarten, supervision etc. Section 4-4 also permits, provided the parents give their consent, the placement of the child in care outside the home without the authorities taking over custody of the child.
- *care* (Section 4-12) consists of placement in foster home, children's home, youth homes and psychiatric institutions for children and youth. All decisions by the child welfare service to take over custody of a child must be discussed by the county social welfare board.

children for a couple of hours after school hours. The aim of after-school programmes is to provide children with a safe place to stay while their parents are at work.

Up until the end of the 1970s, only Oslo and a few other large municipalities had places where children could go after school. During the 1980s, the authorities tried, in part with state subsidies, to motivate municipal authorities to introduce or expand this service, and by 1990 12 000 children went to different kinds of after-school clubs. This service was not really expanded until the 1990s. When Reform 1997 was introduced, and 6-year-olds started attending school (see chapter 4.1), almost all municipalities established an after-school programme. From 1991 to 1998, the number of children attending after-school programmes had increased from 28 000 up to 107 700 (among children in the first to fourth grade).

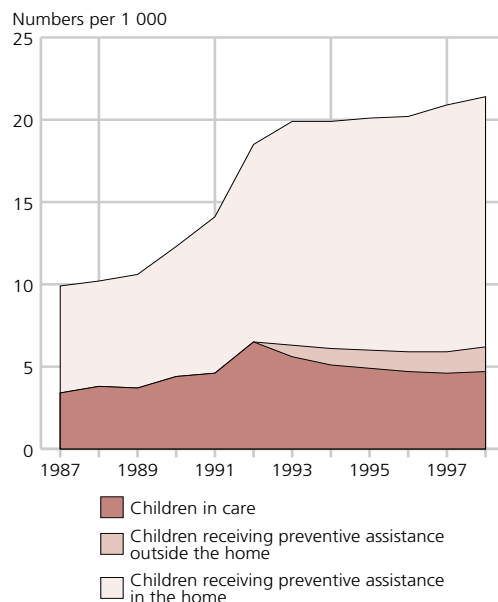
**Child welfare: more resources**

The aim of child welfare is to help children when their parents are no longer

able to care for them, or when the parents die. As far as possible, the support is to be given in their own home through respite care, personal support contact or other kinds of preventive measure (see box 3.2). In the cases where these measures are insufficient, the child welfare service will take the child into custody, and place it in a foster home, a child welfare institution or take other similar actions to protect the child.

Staffing in the child welfare service increased from 3 100 man-years in 1991 up to 5 500 man-years in 1998. The growth was equally distributed between the municipal child welfare service (from 1 400 to 2 600 man-years) and county-operated institutions for children (from 1 600 to 2 900 man-years) (see

Figure 3.2. **Children under protection per 31 December, by type of assistance or care. 1987-1998. Per 1 000 children 0-17 years**



<sup>1</sup> The numbers deviate from numbers previously published in the social statistics, because only assistance measures concerning children 0-17 are included here.

Source: Social statistics, Statistics Norway.

appendix, indicator 3.3). The increase in the number of clients or children under protection was even bigger. From 1991 to 1998, the number of these children aged 0 to 17 years increased from approximately 13 900 children to a little more than 22 200 children, or from 14 to 21 per 1 000 children. Consequently, the number of children in such care increased by close to 60 per cent from 1991 to 1998, while the number of man-years (of labour) increased by 77 per cent.

### **Mainly preventive assistance**

The number of child protection measures grew particularly fast in 1988-1993, with preventive assistance accounting for most of the increase. In 1998, three out of four measures were in the category of preventive assistance as child welfare authorities increasingly chose arrangements making it possible for parents to keep their child at home and to retain custody. In 1993, the Child Welfare Services Act was amended. Under Section 4-4, it is possible to move a child into a foster home or institution without taking over custody, provided the parents consent. The use of this kind of assistance has increased, and in 1998 constituted close to 9 per cent of all the measures where preventive assistance was the choice. In 1998, 16 per 1 000 children aged 0 to 6 years were registered as receiving help or in the care of the child welfare service, whereas almost 23 per 1 000 children and youths aged 7 to 19 years were in the same situation. A majority of the children receiving help or put into care were between 7 and 13 years.

A report about child welfare clients in 1995 and 1996 (Kalve 1999), shows that 0.5 per cent of all children in Norway were under care in 1996. The children with a refugee background were the group most often in care, while

immigrant children and children adopted from abroad were more seldom in this situation. Among the actions taken by the child welfare authorities, whether they are assistance or care, a home that the child can visit is the most frequently used, followed by foster home. This applies to all children under protection. Among immigrant children with a non-refugee background, the five most frequently used types of assistance were preventive assistance. Of these a kindergarten place was the most common. Among immigrant children with a refugee background, a personal support contact is the most frequently used form of assistance.

### **3.3. Care of the elderly and disabled**

#### **Informal care is common**

Informal care of the elderly and disabled is considerable in scope, particularly the care given to persons in their own household – whether this is parents taking care of their children, the care elderly spouses give each other, or the care that elderly people receive from their own children.

The time spent on such informal care is difficult to measure. There are indications that the informal care given to elderly and disabled persons constitutes as many man-years (of labour) as the formal public care given in and outside institutions, and may even be twice as much. This depends on what we define as informal care, and how we measure the time spent (Kitterød 1993). It is not easy to say whether more informal care is given to the elderly and disabled today than 10 or 20 years ago. The Time Budget Surveys of 1980 and 1990 indicate a rather stable situation, but also that such care in 1990 is more evenly distributed. The number of caregivers has increased, but at the same time the amount of care given per person

has decreased. Today more elderly people are living alone in their own homes. This has resulted in a decrease in the care given within the household, while care given to persons outside the household has increased (Kitterød 1993). This picture is confirmed by the surveys of level of living. From 1980 to 1995, the percentage reporting giving unpaid help to sick, disabled or elderly persons outside their household on a regular basis, has increased from 8 to 17 per cent. The help given was quite evenly distributed between men and women.

### **Increased resources in nursing and care services in the 1990s ...**

Through the 1970s and 1980s, there was an increase in both the number of man-years in and the users of the municipal nursing and care services (Søbye 1993). The amount of resources spent in this sector increased in the 1990s as well. In 1998, 82 800 man-years<sup>1</sup> were performed within care and nursing, an increase of 23 800 since 1991. A little more than 52 per cent of the man-years were performed by nurses and auxiliary nurses, a proportion that has been rather constant within nursing and care during the second half of the 1990s.

Expenditures in this sector have increased by more than NOK 14 billion since 1991, to NOK 32.4 billion in 1998. In the early 1990s, a high proportion of the increased resources was allocated to the many new tasks stemming from the transfer of the care of mentally retarded persons to the municipalities. Most of these tasks have been assigned to the home help services. From 1991 to 1993, the home help services' share of the total number of man-years increased from 35 to 43 per cent (Olsen 1995). After 1993, the Nursing

and Care Statistics do not distinguish between man-years in the home help services and man-years in the institutions (see box 3.3), but there are no indications that the proportion of the resources spent on home help services is decreasing again. Pursuant to the priorities set in the Handlingsplanen for eldreomsorgen (Action Plan for the Care of the Elderly) (Report to the Storting No. 50 1996-1997), a significant share of the resources has also been spent on rebuilding institutions and the construction of housing specially adapted for the disabled and users in need of care on a 24-hour basis.

### **... and the number of users has started to increase**

Even though the resources spent on care and nursing services continued to increase in the 1990s, it is more difficult to tell whether the number of users of these services (both in and outside institutions) has increased during the same period. In the last two years, the number of users has increased somewhat as compared to the early 1990s, but the number is just slightly above that of 1992. The registration of the number of users in the Nursing and Care Statistics was particularly somewhat unreliable in the early 1990s. The changes in recent years are probably real (see appendix, indicators 3.8 and 3.10 and box 3.3).

Estimated on the basis of the man-years, it may seem as if each user gets more help today than at the beginning of the 1990s. The number of man-years per user has increased from 0.31 in 1991 to 0.42 in 1998 (see appendix, indicator 3.7). But at the same time there is reason to believe that each user is in need of more help than previously, mainly because the municipal home help services are now in

<sup>1</sup> "Man-years" is the sum of all full-time jobs and all part-time jobs converted into full-time jobs.



charge of the care of the mentally retarded as well.

### **From central institutions to municipal care**

At the start of the 1990s, the so-called HVPU (care in the community for the mentally retarded) reform was introduced, giving new tasks and new clients to municipal care and nursing services. Until 1991, counties were responsible for the care of the mentally retarded. Under HVPU, these services were transferred from county institution-based special care services to the municipalities, where they became an integrated part of the nursing and care services. The central institutions for the mentally retarded are now mostly

shut down and their residents have been transferred to their home municipalities. Each client will now be helped by the ordinary municipal services in his or her home municipality.

The mentally retarded are usually provided with a dwelling adapted to their needs, either in the form of a group home or own dwelling. From 1991 to 1993, the number of mentally retarded clients with such housing arrangements increased from 4 600 to almost 7 000. After 1993, the Nursing and Care Statistics does not include comparable data, but based on data from the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (1999), 10 300 mentally retarded clients lived in housing like this

#### **Box 3.3. Nursing and care statistics**

These statistics are based on data from municipalities and institutions that are a part of the nursing and care service. The data are collected from municipal, private and commercial activities. The data collected contain information on human resources in the sector, the number of institutions and housing adapted for elderly and disabled users, the number of persons receiving home help services or home nursing and persons living in institutions or housing for the elderly and disabled. Most municipalities respond via paper questionnaires giving summary information. The statistics has been changed quite a few times since the 1980s, both due to changes in legislation regulating the municipal health services, but also due to the need for developing and modernizing the statistics. One problem, among others, concerned the registration of the recipients of home help and home nursing care. In the early 1990s, some of the users and some man-years were counted twice. In Nursing and Care Statistics 1991, this problem caused the number of man-years in the home services, and the number of users of the same services, to be too high (Olsen 1996).

In 1991, the responsibility for the care for the mentally retarded was transferred to the municipalities via the HVPU (care in the community for the mentally retarded) reform. This group of clients receives some special services (for instance assistance and training in daily life activities), and for some time there was uncertainty as to whether these services should be included in the home services, and likewise whether the mentally retarded should be counted as users and as residents of the municipal housing for the elderly and disabled. As a result the number of users of home services was underestimated in the early 1990s.

Today the double counting has been eliminated and the mentally retarded have been included. The quality of the nursing and care statistics has thus been improved, but there is still some uncertainty connected to the changes observed in the statistics, in particular the changes that occurred in the early 1990s.

Gerix is a data system designed to register individual users of nursing and care services. Each year, approximately 50 municipalities gather data on their users through Gerix. Compared to the information gathered through paper forms Gerix offers more detailed information on the users of home services, including an assessment of each user's individual need for assistance and the number of hours of help per week that each user is allocated on the basis of this assessment.

in 1998. In addition, 8 400 lived with their parents and other relatives, while somewhat more than 1 000 lived in former institutions for mentally retarded, in housing adapted for disabled children or nursing homes and old people's homes.

Mentally retarded clients who have moved back to their home municipality have become a new and large group of users of home services. Among the 10 300 mentally retarded persons who lived in their own dwelling in 1998, 9 400 received municipal home services. One-third of the users of these services received more than 60 hours of help each week. In 1998, 10 200 mentally retarded persons had a personal support contact and 5 400 received respite care. Close to two out of three municipalities had a day-care centre for the mentally retarded.

### More users of home services ...

The increase in the number of users of municipal nursing and care services (as described above), is mainly due to the growth in the number of people getting help in their homes (see appendix, indicator 3.10). In the 1980s, and in the years since 1995, the growth came mainly as a

result of the expansion of home nursing services.

Home nursing care is one of the areas that has undergone considerable expansion in the 1990s. In 1992, 53 per cent of municipalities could offer 24-hour home nursing care, in 1998 the proportion had increased to almost 81 per cent. The service has been introduced in an increasing number of municipalities to satisfy the demands of the users most in need of help. In the beginning of the 1990s less than 52 per cent of all users received home nursing care. By 1998 this proportion had grown to more than 53 per cent.

The safety alarm is another service that has expanded through the 1990s. Today, almost all municipalities can offer this service, and in 90 per cent of the municipalities the service is run by the public authorities. Data from municipalities supplying Gerix data (see box 3.3), indicate that in 1998, 29 per cent of the users of home services also had a safety alarm.

### ... increase in users requiring considerable services

In 1998, almost 152 000 persons received home services. About 4 600 of these users received services for more than 35.5 hours each week. 34 500 of the users were below 67 years of age, 71 800 above the age of 80. During the 1990s, there was an increase in the proportion of users of home-based services belonging to the two age groups mentioned above. The youngest group increased their share from 17 to 22 per cent, mainly due to the HVPU reform, while the oldest group increased from 46 to 47 per cent (nursing and care statistics).

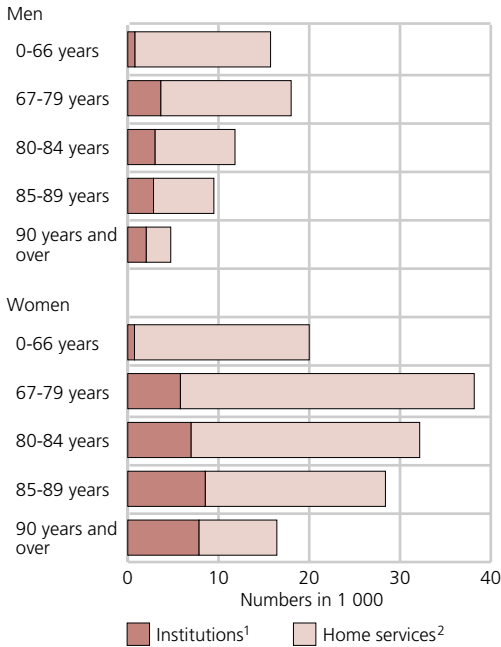
Table 3.2. **Percentage of municipalities offering a chosen range of services. 1998**

	All municipalities	Public services	Private services	No services/unknown
24-hour home nursing care <sup>1</sup> .....	100.0	80.6	.	19.4
Caretaker .....	100.0	80.6	0.8	18.6
Safety alarm .....	100.0	97.5	2.3	0.2
Food delivery .....	100.0	94.9	1.9	3.2
Pedicure .....	100.0	26.2	63.7	10.1
Holiday respite care	100.0	77.6	0.4	21.9
Day-care centre for the elderly .....	100.0	68.8	4.9	26.4

<sup>1</sup> For home nursing care "No services" means that the municipality has no 24-hour offerings, but offerings on daytime or evening.

Source: Nursing and Care Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

Figure 3.3. Registered users of municipal nursing and care services at 31 December 1998, in different age groups. Men and women. Numbers in 1 000

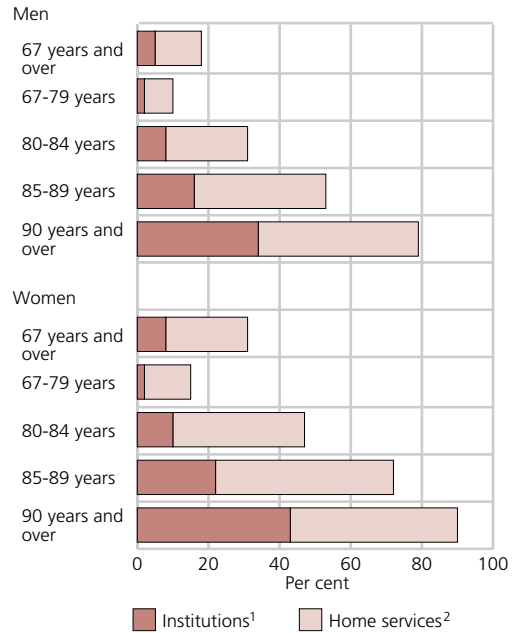


<sup>1</sup> Includes nursing homes, combined nursing and old people's homes and other housing with 24-hours nursing and care services. See box 3.1.

<sup>2</sup> Home nursing care, home help and housewife's substitute. See box 3.1.

Source: Nursing and Care Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

Figure 3.4. Percentage receiving municipal nursing and care services in different age groups. Men and women. Registered users at 31 December 1998



<sup>1</sup> Includes nursing homes, combined nursing and old people's homes and other housing with 24-hours nursing and care services. See box 3.1.

<sup>2</sup> Home nursing care, home help and housewife's substitute. See box 3.1.

Source: Nursing and Care Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

### Seven out of ten users of home-based services are women

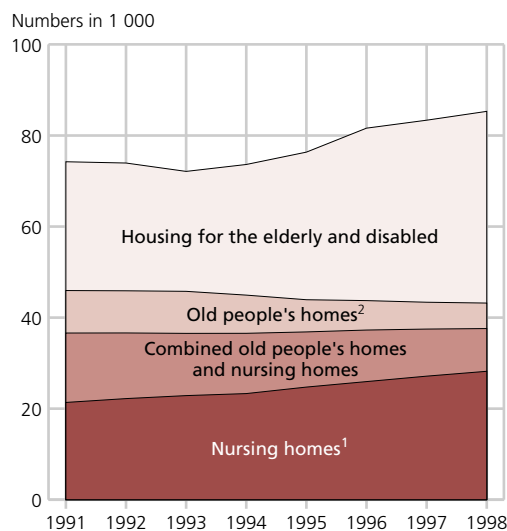
In all age groups more women than men receive home services. Close to seven out of ten of the clients are women, a proportion that seems to have been stable since 1992 (nursing and care statistics). There are two main reasons why women more often are users of these services: The number of elderly women is higher than the number of elderly men, and the women in these age groups more often live alone. The demand for public care services is on average significantly higher among elderly people living alone, than among those living with their spouse,

grown-up children or others that might give them some of the help they are in need of (Søbye 1993, Vigran 1999).

### 6 000 relatives are paid to give nursing and care

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, municipalities paid relatives for helping and caring for elderly or disabled relatives. In the 1980s, it was common for municipalities to employ relatives in the home help service. In 1981 almost 13 000, or almost 9 per cent of those receiving home help, received help from a relative. The number of home helpers that are also relatives has been gradually reduced to 1 300 in 1998.

Figure 3.5. **Beds in institutions and housing for the elderly and disabled. 1991-1998.**  
Numbers in 1 000



<sup>1</sup> Includes nursing home divisions combined with activities run by the county.

<sup>2</sup> The category old people's homes includes both old people's homes and 24-hour nursing and care services-linked dwellings that are counted as institutions in the statistics.

Source: Nursing and care statistics, Statistics Norway.

At the same time, more and more relatives have been granted a cash benefit called caregiver pay (4 600 persons in 1998). Altogether, the number of man-years of home help or caregiver services performed by relatives and paid by the government is believed to have increased through the 1990s. From 1992 to 1994 the number of paid man-years increased from 700 to 1 200. After 1994, we lack information about the man-years worked by persons receiving caregiver pay.

### **Fewer beds in institutions, increase in single rooms**

From 1980 to 1998, the number of beds in institutions belonging to the nursing and care service increased from 41 000 to 50 000, then decreased to 45 900 beds in 1991. This decrease continued all

through the 1990s, and in 1998 the number of beds was 43 200. The number of institutions has also decreased. At the same time, many of the institutions that previously were old people's homes or combined institutions were reclassified as nursing homes. As was the case in the 1970s and 1980s (Søbye 1993) the movement from beds in old people's homes towards beds in nursing homes continued in the 1990s. The care provided in these institutions is being increasingly geared to the elderly who are in most need of care.

In recent years, public debate has focused on the right of the individual to have a private life and to live their old age in dignity. One of the areas given priority in the institutional care is the opportunity to offer everyone a room of their own. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the proportion of single rooms has increased from approximately 78 per cent to almost 84 per cent. Of the 37 300 rooms registered in the institutions in 1998, close to 31 300 were rooms occupied by one person. The remaining 6 000 rooms included 5 900 rooms with two beds and 100 rooms with more than two beds.

### **No increase in short-term stays in institutions**

One social policy goal has been to make increasing use of short-term stays at nursing and care institutions, partly to provide respite care and partly for medical rehabilitation purposes. The idea was that an increase in such stays would make it possible for persons with a certain need for help to be able to stay in their home for a longer time (NOU 1992:1). This aim has proved difficult to fulfil, short-term stays are no more common today than they were in 1991. In 1991-1996 the number of discharges from short-term stays was rather stable. Between 10 and

12 per cent of admissions were short-term stays (nursing and care statistics).

Almost three out of four (74 per cent) living in institutions are aged 80 years or above. This proportion has remained relatively constant since 1991. In 1998, women constituted 70 per cent of those living in institutions. Here too, the proportion did not change much in the 1990s (nursing and care statistics).

Since the mid-1990s, the aim has been to move young, disabled people living in institutions for the elderly to more suitable housing. In 1998, 280 persons living in institutions were under the age of 50, a decline of 50 persons since 1996. Persons under the age of 67 living in institutions made up four per 1 000 of all persons in their age group, and 3.6 per cent of all people living in institutions in 1998.

### **Extensive housing arrangements for the elderly and disabled**

An increasing portion of the programmes offered to the elderly and disabled consists today of specially adapted housing in combination with various welfare services. In 1998 there were slightly more than 42 000 housing units used for nursing and care purposes. The number of such dwellings has increased as state subsidies from Norwegian State Housing Bank have increased, and a rising proportion of these houses are adapted to the demands of users with different kinds of disability.

In 1994, the government introduced a new loan and subsidy scheme designed to facilitate the construction of service-linked housing. The scheme is administered by Norwegian State Housing Bank. Service-linked housing must be constructed according to certain criteria.

One of the conditions is that the municipality must offer 24-hour home nursing care, another condition is that the dwelling must be designed for extensive nursing and care services if needed. These housing arrangements nevertheless represent an alternative, offering a more independent life than in institutions.

In 1991-1998, the proportion of people aged 80 years and up living in adapted housing increased from 39 to 42 per cent. However, the percentage of people aged 67 and under has increased the most, from 15 to 28 during the same period. This large growth is mainly due to the previously mentioned HVPU reform. This reform is aimed at offering mentally retarded persons housing of their own instead of a bed in an institution. Thus, there are indications that the scheme is being increasingly adapted to those in most need of help, enabling them to live a normal life in their own home.

### **Increasing demand, but decreasing degree of coverage among the elderly**

The HVPU reform introduced in the 1990s resulted in a new group of users demanding much care. In 1990-1998, the number of the oldest and presumably most in need of care increased (see table 3.1). There is good reason to raise the question whether this increased pressure on municipal nursing and care services has had consequences for meeting the needs of the elderly.

In 1990-1998, the number of beds in institutions per 1 000 inhabitants 80 years and older was reduced from 286 to 229. This has, however, been an intentional change (NOU 1992:1), and has partially been compensated by the building of housing adapted to the demands of the very elderly. While 6.8 per cent of all

persons 80 years and older lived in local authority or adapted housing for pensioners in 1991, the proportion had increased to 9.0 per cent in 1998. There may be greater reason to ask whether the expansion of home services has managed to keep pace with the increasing demand. Although the number of very elderly users of these services increased in 1992-1998, the proportion of such clients of that age receiving such services decreased in 1998 (38 per cent) compared to 1992 (40 per cent).

However, this does not necessarily imply a decrease in meeting the need for home services among the very elderly. They might have become more healthy and less in need of care in the 1990s. According to National Health Surveys, there has been a decrease in the proportion of people in need of help among the elderly living in their own homes in 1985-1995, and in particular among the youngest (67-79 years) (Ramm 1997). The number of persons with reduced mobility among those aged 67-79 years also decreased (see chapter 2.3).

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**K. Jonny Einarsen**

## 4. Education



### The education society

In the 1990s, it became common to characterize the Norwegian society as an education society. Using such term a few decades ago would definitely have been misleading. This gives a good illustration of both the development of the educational sector in this period, and the importance of education in our society.

From 1970 to 1998, the proportion of the population with a higher education tripled, reaching 22 per cent. In the same year close to a million persons were registered as enrolled in the formal Norwegian educational system. Including children in kindergarten, 1 170 000 Norwegians were registered as being in school in Norway in 1998.

At the same time, the formal educational system plays a far more important role today in the life of children and young people (Jensen 1999). Until the beginning of the 1970s, many Norwegian municipalities still had seven years of compulsory school. In 1998, three out of four children aged 3 to 5 years were in kindergarten, the compulsory school was expanded to ten years, nine out of ten young people aged 16 to 18 years were in upper secondary school, and one out of

four aged 19 to 24 years were in college or university. Consequently, the time spent by children and young people in the educational system has doubled within a period of a few decades. Today, most children and young people spend one fourth of their lives in the formal educational system. This is a consequence of the rising demands for competence in the labour market. In the Norwegian knowledge society of the 1990s, it has become far more important for young people to complete a higher education to gain admission to the labour force. For a young person to get a job, a completed upper secondary education has become almost obligatory. Thus, the content and quality of our educational system have become far more important in our lives and for our living conditions.

### 4.1. The decade of educational reforms

In many ways, the 1990s was the decade of the educational reforms. The compulsory school reform (Reform 97), upper secondary school reform (Reform 94), college reform and competencies reform now in progress have changed the content and structure of all levels of the Norwegian educational system.

### **The primary target group of kindergartens has decreased**

The extension of the parental leave period and the Cash Benefit to Parents with Small Children (Cash Benefit) reform has decreased the demand for kindergarten places among children aged 0 to 2 years. At the same time, 6-year-olds have started school as a result of Reform 97. Even though many 1-2-year-olds are still in kindergarten, these reforms will probably contribute to the delimitation of the primary target group of the kindergartens as being children between the ages of 3 and 5.

### **The compulsory school reform (Reform 97)**

With the introduction of Reform 97 in the autumn of 1997, the compulsory school was extended to ten years by lowering the age at which children start school to 6. The aim of the compulsory school reform is to further the two goals of the comprehensive school: to make children part of a social, professional and cultural community, and to foster and nurture their individual talents and differences (NOU 1996:22). An important part of this reform is the division of primary education into two levels: The lower level and intermediate level. The lower level covers the four first years, and the educational content is based on the traditions of both the kindergartens and the schools. The intermediate level includes the fifth, sixth and seventh grades, and in these grades a higher priority is given to basic subjects. As previously, the three last years of compulsory school constitute the lower secondary level. At this level, higher priority is given to practical in-depth work, at the same time as a more critical approach is encouraged (Report to the Storting No. 29, 1994-95). In all grades in compulsory school, higher priority is given to learning through work

on themes and projects. Another important element in the Reform 97 is the increased effort to develop supervised after-school activities.

### **Legal right to upper secondary education**

Through Reform 94, youth between the ages of 16 and 19 were given the statutory right to a minimum of three years of upper secondary education. Consequently, all young people have the right to be admitted to one of three basic course alternatives (Report to the Storting No. 32, 1998-99). The training shall provide either the competence needed to apply for admission to a university or college, an occupational competence or a so-called "documented competence". The number of basic courses has been reduced from about 110 to 13. In addition, all counties have established a mandatory follow-up service that works with entitlement pupils who are not working or in training. The term "entitlement pupils" is used of all pupils who are legally entitled to an upper secondary education.

The most fundamental changes, however, have taken place in vocational training. Before Reform 94, this education was based on three years of training in school. This model had a problem with low turnover: Many pupils moved horizontally across the educational system taking a series of basic courses, few young people were given the opportunity to work as apprentices, and the link between vocational training at school and professional training at work was weak. Reform 94 introduced a so-called dual model of vocational training in Norway, with a basic model based on two years of school and two years of on-the-job training (Støren, Skjersli and Aamodt 1998). The basics are taught in school, while more specialized skills are learned on the job.



The county vocational training offices distribute the apprentice places among the pupils. Another important change associated with Reform 94 is that vocational pupils can achieve the qualifications needed to apply for admission to colleges and universities by completing the upper secondary course II general studies extension.

### A new structure in higher education

State colleges have undergone restructuring in the higher education system. In the autumn of 1994, 98 state regional colleges were merged into 26 new college units. The new colleges are linked together via the so-called Norwegian Network to achieve better cooperation and division of tasks among institutions of higher learning. A common set of rules for the regional colleges, universities and scientific colleges has also been introduced. While there were 234 universities and colleges in 1986, the number had dropped to 86 by 1995.

### The competencies reform

In order to realize the vision of "life-long learning", a project to expand continuing and further education was launched in the 1990s. However, many important aspects regarding the competencies reform, or adult education reform as it is also called, are still not clarified. Anyhow, it seems clear that the reform is to be based on a statutory individual right for all adults to educational leave and an upper secondary education, the development of systems documenting practical competencies, new adjusted benefits from the State Educational Loan Fund and triple-component financing through the state, employer and employee (NOU 1997:25). In addition, the adult education reform is to be an integrated part of the central wage settlements.

### Other educational reforms

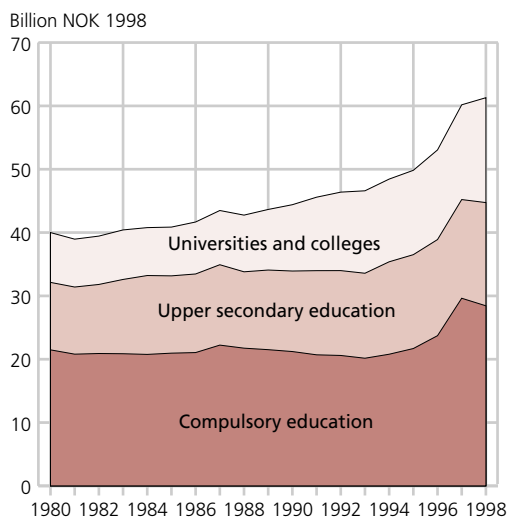
In 1992 teacher training was extended from three to four years of college. At about the same time, the pedagogical seminar was extended from half a year to a full year of educational training.

In June 1999, the Storting endorsed the Government's proposal to establish a national development centre for compulsory and upper secondary education by 1 August 2000. The aim of the development centre is to set a national strategy for evaluation and continuously develop the quality of education.

### 4.2. Resources in education

Today, most schools in Norway are public, and private schools depend to a high degree on public subsidies. Consequently, public expenditure trends give a good illustration of changes in the allocation of

Figure 4.1. Public expenditure<sup>1</sup> on education, by kind of education. Billion 1998 NOK



<sup>1</sup> The figures include public expenditure on compulsory education, upper secondary education, universities and colleges. Public expenditure on other educational institutions and services in connection with education are not included.

Source: Public sector finances, Statistics Norway.

resources to education. In 1998, the total public expenditure on education, not including kindergartens, was slightly more than NOK 73 billion out of a total public expenditure of NOK 514.5 billion. This implies that one in seven kroner used for public expenditure, was spent on education. Out of these, NOK 28.5 billion was spent on compulsory schools, NOK 16 billion on upper secondary education, NOK 16.5 billion on universities and colleges and NOK 9 billion was spent on adult education and the State Educational Loan Fund.

### Strong increase in expenditure on higher education

Figure 4.1 illustrates the changes in total public expenditure on education, broken down by compulsory schools, upper secondary education and higher education from 1978-1998, with all sums in 1998 NOK. The period 1978 to 1988 was characterized by a modest increase in public expenditure on education. During these ten years, subsidies increased by NOK 2.5 billion, or 6.3 per cent. The ten years between 1988 and 1998, however, are characterized by a surge in public expenditure on education. From 1988 to 1998, expenditure increased by as much as NOK 18.5 billion, or 43 per cent. The differences between the levels of education, however, are significant. Expenditure on higher education has grown the most, increasing 85 per cent or NOK 8.5 billion. In upper secondary and compulsory education, the increase in expenditure has been more modest, growing 35 and 31 per cent, respectively.

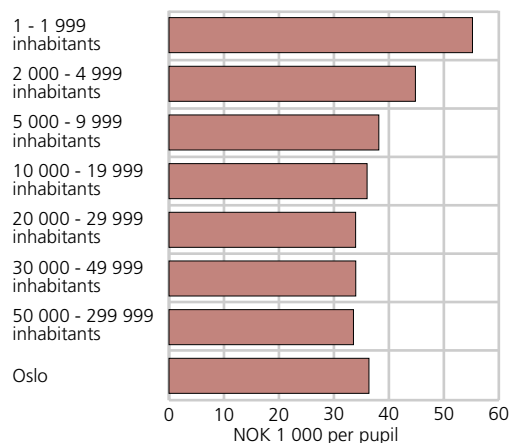
### Small municipalities use more resources per pupil

Because the municipalities run the compulsory schools and the counties are responsible for upper secondary education, good indicators of the costs are

obtained by comparing the municipal figures with the number of pupils. In 1997, municipal operating expenses averaged NOK 37 100 per pupil and NOK 4 649 per capita. Salaries for teachers and other staff constituted about 80 per cent of operating expenses.

Figure 4.2 indicates that municipal expenditures per pupil are highly dependent on the number of inhabitants. In municipalities with a population of 50 000 to 299 999, the average operating expense per pupil was NOK 34 000 while the comparable figure in municipalities with less than 2 000 inhabitants was NOK 55 000. Municipalities with a population below 5 000 have a particularly high use of resources on pupils in the compulsory schools. The higher expenses per pupil in these small municipalities is caused by a smaller number of pupils in each class and per teacher than in the larger municipalities. Oslo had somewhat higher expenses per pupil than most other large municipalities, equalling about NOK 36 000 per pupil, which is probably a

Figure 4.2. Operating expenses per pupil, by size of municipality. NOK 1 000 per pupil



Source: Educational Statistics 1997, Statistics Norway.

result of the high proportion of foreign-language speaking pupils.

### **Counties have higher expenses per pupil**

The use of resources per pupil is higher in the counties than in the municipalities. In 1997, the county operating expense per apprentice and pupil was NOK 59 000 on average. This constituted a little more than 20 per cent of the total operating expenses of these municipalities, with close to 75 per cent of the operating expenses spent on salaries. The county of Østfold had by far the lowest operating expense per user (NOK 48 000), while Finnmark was at the high end of the scale, spending NOK 72 000 on each pupil and apprentice. The high expenses in Finnmark must be seen in relation to the higher costs due to low density of population, long travelling distances and a cold climate.

### **More students per man-year done by teachers**

In addition to the per user expenses presented above, the number of pupils per man-year of teachers is another good indicator of the use of resources within the educational system. The number of pupils per man-year of teachers in the compulsory school and upper secondary education decreased from 9.8 in 1986 to 8.5 in 1995. During the last two or three years this ratio has increased to approximately nine pupils per man-year of teachers. At universities and colleges the number of students per man-year of teachers increased by 19 per cent from 1988 to 1989. In 1989 to 1998, the number of students per man-year of teachers stabilized at just over 13. Consequently, the big increase in the number of students starting in 1989 has not been compensated by an equally big increase in the number of teachers.

### **4.3. Children in kindergartens**

Using our definition of the term "education", kindergarten is the part of the Norwegian educational system that has seen the most continuous growth in the last 30 years. Since the end of the 1980s, the so-called "student explosion" has been about as big as the growth in the number of children in the kindergartens.

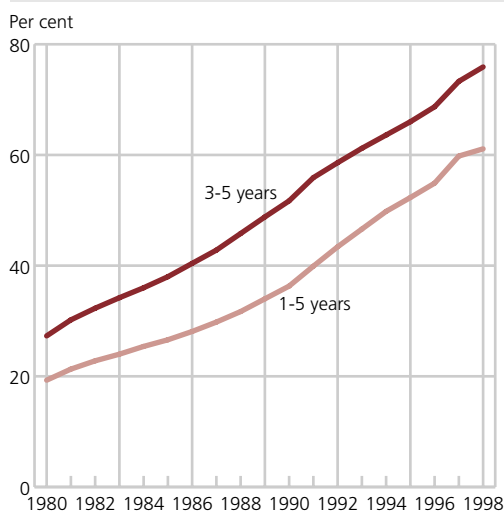
However, the kindergartens differ from the other educational sectors by having grown from "almost nothing" in 1970 to almost 190 000 children in 1998.

#### **The "kindergarten explosion"**

In 1996, a little more than 192 000 children attended Norwegian kindergartens. This number was 80 000, or 84.5 per cent higher than in 1986, four times higher than the number of children in 1976 and as much as 14 times as many children as in 1970, when the number was only 14 000. Growth was at its highest in 1988 to 1993, when the number of children in kindergarten increased by as much as 55 000. The growth has also been continuous in all years with the exception of 1997, when the number of children in kindergarten fell by 8 000 due to the transfer of 6-year-olds from kindergartens to school in the wake of Reform 97.

The growth in the number of children in kindergarten has followed the increase in the number of kindergartens constructed. There was a peak in 1996 when Norway had 6 400 kindergartens. This is 2 900 more than in 1986 and 5 300 above the figure of 1976. In 1970, only 400 kindergartens existed in Norway. Providing childcare has been one of the most important political means used by the public authorities to obtain equal opportunities for men and women. A well-developed childcare sector makes it easier for both parents to participate in the workforce or

Figure 4.3. **Percentage of children in kindergarten compared to all children aged 1 to 5 years and 3 to 5 years. 1980-1998**



Source: Kindergarten statistics, Statistics Norway.

in the educational system. However, in 1996 this trend was reversed from one of strong growth to a slight decrease. From 1996 to 1998 the number of kindergartens in Norway decreased by 226 or 3.5 per cent, due to the introduction of Reform 97 and the Cash Benefit.

While most Norwegian schools are public, half of the kindergartens are run by private persons. During the 1980s, the proportion of private kindergartens was reduced from 46 per cent in 1980 to 40 per cent in 1989. During the 1990s, the percentage of private kindergartens has increased year by year to a peak of 52.5 per cent in 1997. However, this trend was reversed in 1998 when the percentage of private kindergartens fell 1 percentage point.

### **The Cash Benefit reform has reduced the number of 1-year-olds in the kindergartens**

During the budget negotiations in 1998, the Storting decided to introduce the

Cash Benefit from 1 August 1998 for parents with 1-year-old children, and from 1 January 1999 for parents with 2-year-old children. A survey carried out by Statistics Norway indicates that the Cash Benefit scheme is quite popular (Rønning 1999). In the spring of 1999, as much as 83 per cent of the parents of 1-year-olds received the Cash Benefit. The 1998 statistics on kindergartens make it possible to evaluate the effect of the Cash Benefit on the demand for kindergarten places for 1-year-olds, while the effect of the Cash Benefit on the number of 2-year-olds in kindergarten will not be visible before the statistics for 1999 are published. From 1997 to 1998 the number of 1-year-olds in kindergarten decreased by 16 per cent to 16 000 children, while there was an increase of 22 per cent from 1996 to 1997. The fact that 1998 is the first year since at least 1986 when the number of 1-year-olds in kindergarten dropped, gives us a clear indication that the Cash Benefit has caused a reduction in the number of 1-year-olds in kindergarten (see also chapter 3. Care). The kindergartens are dominated by 3-5-year-olds, constituting almost three out of four children in kindergarten in 1998. Among the youngest children, those under the age of 1 made up only 1 500 and 1-year-olds only 16 000 out of a total of 188 000 children in kindergartens that year.

### **Towards full coverage of kindergartens among children aged 3 to 5 years**

During the 15 years from 1983 to 1998, the proportion of 3-5-year-olds in kindergarten has increased from one out of three to three out of four. In the last two years, Reform 97 and the Cash Benefit scheme has caused an increase in the coverage rate by as much as 7 percentage points, to the current 76 per cent. Among

1-year-olds and 2-year-olds, 39 per cent were offered a place in kindergarten in 1998. Among the main target groups of kindergartens, those aged 1 to 5 years, 61 per cent of all children were in kindergarten. But the variations across the country in the proportion of children in kindergarten are still significant. While 74 per cent of children aged 1 to 5 years in Oslo were in kindergartens, the corresponding figure in Aust-Agder was 52 per cent.

It is difficult to point out the exact percentage equalling full kindergarten coverage. The percentage will, among other factors, depend on the demand in different age-groups and regions. However, the Ministry of Children and Family Affairs estimates the full coverage rate of kindergartens to be somewhere between 70 to 75 per cent of all children aged 1 to 5 years (Proposition to the Storting No. 1, 1998-99). Based on these criteria, the situation on a national level among children aged 3 to 5 years seems to be rather close to the political aim of a full kindergarten coverage.

Approximately two out of three children in kindergarten were there on a full-time basis (more than 31 hours per week). The proportion of 1-year-olds to 2-year-olds staying for more than 31 hours per week has decreased by 17 percentage points during the last ten years, while the proportion of 3-year-olds to 5-year-olds staying full-time has increased by 12 percentage points.

#### **Increased expenditure per child in the private kindergartens**

The use of resources per child in the kindergartens is definitely higher than what is the case in the schools. In 1998, there were, on average, 4.4 children per man-year of labour in public kindergartens and 5.2 in private kindergartens. The

number of children per man-year in public kindergartens has been rather stable, while there has been a significant decrease in private kindergartens. From 1985 to 1998 the number of children per employee in the private kindergartens decreased by 41 per cent. Since salaries constitute about 85 per cent of the expenses in the childcare sector, this clearly indicates a rise in costs per child. Surveys also have indicated a very tight economic situation in private kindergartens (Proposition to the Storting No. 67, 1998-99). A survey carried out by Opinion indicated that approximately half of the private kindergartens had budget deficits in 1998.

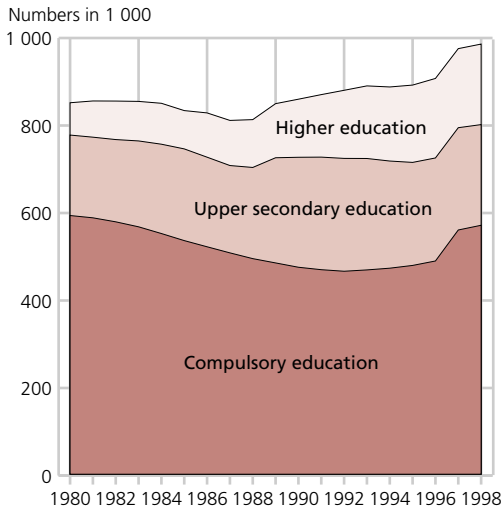
#### **4.4. Children and young people in school**

##### **One million in school**

During the 1998/99 school year close to a million persons were registered as being in school in Norway. During the ten-year period from 1988 to 1998 the number of persons in school rose by 173 000 or 21 per cent. From 1996 to 1997, the growth in the number of pupils and students was particularly strong, with an increase of 68 000 in the number of persons receiving an education. This was due to the entry of 6-year-olds in school in 1997.

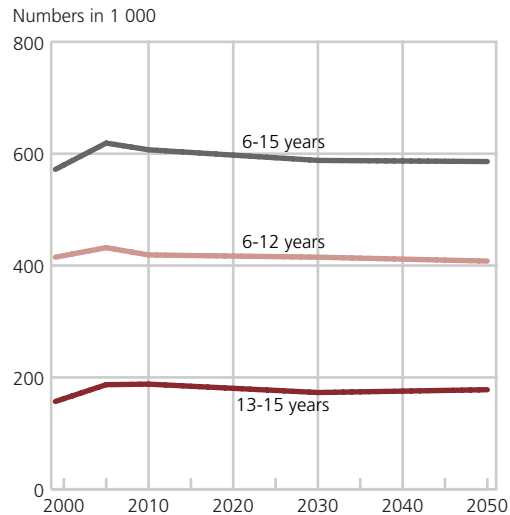
During the 1998/99 school year, the growth in the number of pupils in compulsory and upper secondary school continued, reaching 569 000. This is the highest number of pupils since 1982. Even though the number of pupils has increased by 100 000 during the last five years, the number of schools has decreased in the same period. In 1993-1998, the number of schools decreased by 1 per cent, to a total of 3 277 schools. The number of primary schools was reduced

Figure 4.4. Pupils and students in compulsory school, upper secondary school and higher education. 1980-1998. Numbers in 1 000



Source: Educational statistics, Statistics Norway.

Figure 4.5. 6-15-year-olds. Projection. 1999-2050. Numbers in 1 000



Source: Population statistics, Statistics Norway.

by 4 per cent, while the number of lower secondary schools remained the same. This tells us, that in order to make room for the 6-year-olds, the municipalities have chosen to rebuild already existing schools instead of constructing new ones. Most of the schools that were shut down had less than 50 pupils.

### 6-15-year-olds: 620 000 in 2005 and 590 000 in 2030

By definition, all children have to attend compulsory school. Consequently, the number of pupils in these schools is to a high degree a result of the number of children of each age. For that reason it is possible to make good forecasts of the future number of pupils in compulsory school. The population projections made by Statistics Norway in 1999, estimates the number of 6-15-year-olds will increase by 8 per cent to 620 000 in the year 2005. In subsequent years, the number of persons in this age group will most

likely decline to 610 000 in 2010 and 590 000 in 2030. However, we must emphasize the uncertainty connected to projections of the number of 6-15-year-olds as far ahead as the year 2030, partly because the future development is dependent on variables that are difficult to predict, such as fertility rate and immigration.

### One out of four pupils in Oslo speak minority languages

Pupils speaking minority languages are defined as pupils with a mother tongue other than Norwegian, Swedish, Danish or Sami. The proportion of pupils in the compulsory school having such a minority background shows considerable regional differences. The number of such pupils is highest in Eastern Norway and lowest in Northern Norway. Oslo leads with 28 per cent of pupils speaking a minority language, followed by Vest-Agder (8 per cent) and Buskerud and Akershus

(both 7 per cent). In Nord-Trøndelag, Nordland and Troms less than 2 per cent of the pupils had such a background.

During the 1998/99 school year, a total of 36 000 of the pupils in compulsory school spoke a minority language, equivalent to 6 per cent of all pupils. Ten years ago only 3 per cent – 14 000 pupils – had a minority background.

The standout is Urdu, spoken by 13 per cent of the pupils speaking a minority language, followed by English and Vietnamese (8 per cent each).

### **Development of supervised after-school activities**

In 1998, 115 000 pupils in the first to fourth grades were in supervised after-school activities, an increase of 9 000 pupils since the previous year. During the three-year period 1995 to 1998, the proportion of first to fourth grade pupils in supervised after-school activities increased by as much as 14 percentage points, to a total of 47 per cent. 57 per cent of first graders and 60 per cent of second graders participated in these activities.

As is the case with kindergartens, regional differences in the provision of supervised after-school activities are quite considerable. While in the central counties of Eastern Norway, Oslo and Akershus, close to 60 per cent of pupils in the first four grades were in supervised after-school activities, the corresponding figure for Nord-Trøndelag, Rogaland and Vest-Agder was 35 per cent.

### **Towards a "compulsory" upper secondary education**

Today, more than 90 per cent of 16-18-year-olds are in upper secondary education. The proportion of each age group

in upper secondary education has increased dramatically in recent years. From 1988 to 1998, the percentage of 16-18-year-olds in the education system increased from 76 to 92 per cent. And among those finishing compulsory school, as much as 97 per cent of the pupils started their upper secondary education the same autumn. Consequently, the proportion of today's young people who are in upper secondary school has got to the point where it is close to "obligatory" when seeking a job or applying for higher education.

In the education statistics, "upper secondary education" is a mixed category including all education at the level between compulsory school and higher education. Upper secondary education includes, among other things, pupils in the upper secondary schools, folk high schools, bible schools, labour market programmes and apprentices. In 1998, a total of 230 000 pupils were registered as being in upper secondary education. The distribution of these pupils was as follows: 171 000 in upper secondary schools, 32 000 apprentices, 8 000 in labour market programmes (AMO programmes), 6 000 pupils in folk high schools and 12 000 pupils in other categories of upper secondary education. First and foremost, however, most people think of upper secondary education as the upper secondary schools and apprenticeships. In 1998 apprentices and pupils in the upper secondary schools constituted 204 000 or 89 per cent of all those receiving an upper secondary education. In the 1990s, the total number of pupils in upper secondary schools and apprenticeships declined to some degree, from 215 000 in 1990 to 204 000 in 1998.

### **Reform 94: More young and female apprentices**

The two groups of pupils and apprentices have, however, taken different directions. While the number of pupils was reduced by 16 per cent from 1990 to 1998, the number of apprentices almost doubled from 16 500 to just over 32 000. 1996 was the first year when the pupils of Reform 94 were allowed to be apprentices. In this year, the number of apprentices increased by 40 per cent, to 27 000. This is by far the biggest increase registered in one year. The number of apprentices swelled in 1997 as well, when close to 32 000 apprentices were registered.

Looking at the change in apprentices following Reform 94, we also find more female and more young apprentices. From 1995 to 1997, the proportion of female apprentices rose by more than 8 percentage points to 30 per cent. In 1998, there were almost 10 000 female apprentices. A great majority of these were apprentices in health and social studies and in arts, crafts and design. Half of the apprentices in 1998 were below the age of 20, and in the period 1995 to 1997, the proportion of apprentices below 20 years was more than doubled.

### **"The apple and the tree"**

A pupil's decision to enrol in general studies or vocational programmes depends to a large degree on the educational level of his or her parents. Among pupils finishing compulsory school in the spring of 1998, as many as 84 per cent of those with parents with a long higher education chose general studies. The corresponding figure regarding pupils with parents with a compulsory education was 26 per cent. The apple does not fall far from the tree when two out of three pupils with parents with a compulsory education opt for a vocational program-

me, and four out of five pupils whose parents had long higher education choose general studies.

We also find that pupils with parents with a short higher education far more often choose general studies compared to pupils whose parents only have an upper secondary education. The proportion of pupils in general studies was as much as 26 percentage points higher among pupils with parents with a short higher education than among pupils with parents with an upper secondary education. Consequently, a pupil's choice of general studies in preparation for higher education seems to depend on whether his or her parents have gone to college or university.

### **The "women's revolution" in higher education**

The considerable growth in the number of students starting at the end of the 1980s stabilized towards the end of the 1990s. In 1998, 184 000 were students at universities and colleges, 3 000 more than in 1997 and 2 000 more than in 1996. From 1986 to 1996 the number of students increased by as much as 80 per cent.

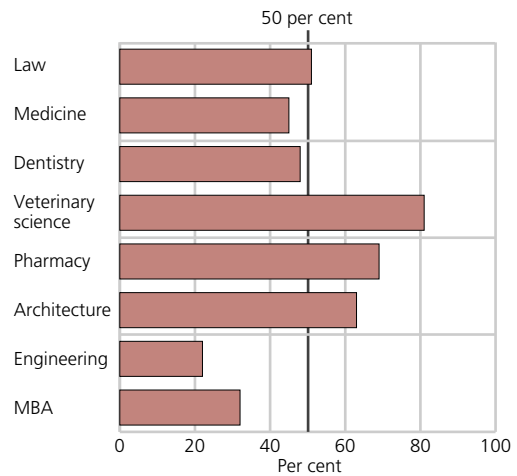
In many ways, the two last decades have seen a "women's revolution" in higher education. One indicator of this trend is the proportion of women going directly from upper secondary education to higher education. Today, this proportion is almost twice as high among women as among men. In 1992, 29 per cent of both men and women went directly from upper secondary education to higher education. From then until 1998, the proportion of men decreased to 19 per cent, while the proportion of women increased to 34 per cent.



The number of women in higher education has also become considerably higher than the number of men. From 1980 to 1998, the proportion of women aged 19 to 24 years who were in higher education increased from close to 10 per cent to 32 per cent. In the same period, the proportion of men aged 19 to 24 years in higher education increased from close to 12 per cent to almost 23 per cent. Thus, the increase in the proportion of students was almost twice as large among women than among men. And while the share of students aged 19 to 24 years was 24 per cent lower among women than among men in 1980, the proportion was 42 per cent higher among women than among men in 1998. So the gap between women and men in higher education has been widened in the favour of women. A similar trend also has occurred among those aged 25 to 29 years. In 1986, somewhat more than 8 per cent of the men and almost 7 per cent of the women aged 25 to 29 years were students. In 1998, women were in a definite majority among the students in this age group, with a proportion of 14 per cent, while the corresponding figure among men was just over 12 per cent.

Among immigrants as well, women are on their way to conquering the universities and colleges. Among those aged 19 to 24 years with a foreign country of origin, 21 per cent of the women and 18 per cent of the men were students. In 1998, male foreign-born students still outnumbered female foreign-born students in the age group 25 to 29 years; 13.5 per cent of the men and 11.8 per cent of the women were students.

Figure 4.6. Percentage of women among candidates who completed "prestigious degree programmes". 1997/98



Source: Educational Statistics 1997, Statistics Norway.

### Women also dominate "prestigious degree programmes"

In higher education, some studies are looked upon as more prestigious than others. In her studies of educational politics and inequality, Marianne Nordli Hansen (1999) classifies the fields of study leading to occupations such as lawyer, physician, dentist, veterinarian, pharmacist, chartered engineer, architect and business economist (MBA) as "prestigious degree programmes". Among those completing a higher education in the school year 1996/97, women were in majority in six of the eight "prestigious degree programmes". In pharmacy and veterinary studies as much as 83 and 70 per cent of the students were women. In the eight "prestigious degree programmes", men were only in the majority among the newly graduated engineers and business economists. However, the most recent figures on those who graduated in 1998 indicate that men were barely in the majority among those earning a degree in medicine or dentistry.

### Students at the universities: Slow progress

The students at the universities seem to spend a long time completing their studies. At the University of Oslo, in 1998 the average student completed as little as ten credits, while to "follow the rule" they are supposed to complete 20 credits. Thus, students at the University of Oslo only advance at half the normal rate. At the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, the turnover was somewhat higher (12 credits per year), compared with 11 at the University of Bergen and University of Tromsø. The progression of students at the universities is not only slow, it has also decreased in recent years. From 1994 to 1998, the progression of students at the universities has decreased by between 11 and 17 per cent at the four Norwegian universities.

### 4.5. The education level of the population

The education level of the Norwegian population has risen considerably higher in recent decades. From 1980 to 1998, the proportion of the population over the age of 16 that had completed a higher education doubled and is now 22 per cent. In 1998, the number of persons who had completed a higher education reached 750 000. A total of 757 000 had a higher education, while 1 854 000 had only completed an upper secondary education. Barely 792 000 had only a compulsory education. 1997 was also a turning point in that the number of men with a higher education outnumbered the number of men with only a compulsory education. Because the education level of the population changes very slowly, the number of women with a compulsory education is still 19 per cent higher than the number of women with a higher education.

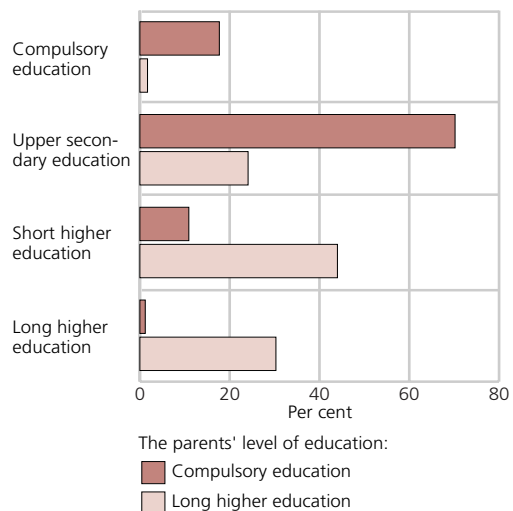
### Highest level of education in Oslo, lowest in Oppland

There are considerable regional differences in education levels. In 1997, 35 per cent of the population over the age of 16 in Oslo had completed a higher education. The education level was also high in Akershus and Hordaland, Sør-Trøndelag and Troms counties (which all have universities). This level was at its lowest in Oppland and Hedmark counties in the inland part of Eastern Norway, where barely 16 per cent had completed a higher education. There are consequently major regional differences in the level of education, particularly so in Eastern Norway.

### Perpetuation of inequality

All young people in Norway have the same formal right to be admitted to higher education. The degree to which young people actually complete higher education, however, still depends very much on the education level of their parents. This

Figure 4.7. Level of education among 30-39-year-olds, by their parents' education. 1997. Per cent



Source: Educational Statistics 1997, Statistics Norway.

is indicated, inter alia, by the figures concerning the highest level of education of the population. Among those aged 25 to 39 years, the proportion that had completed a long higher education was as much as 25 times higher among those with parents with the same level of education than among those with parents with only compulsory schooling. As little as 1.2 per cent of the 30-39-year-olds with parents with a compulsory education had completed a long higher education, while the corresponding figures for those with parents with a long higher education was 30.3 per cent. Conversely, the proportion who only completed a compulsory education was 18 per cent among those with parents with a compulsory education, and barely 2 per cent among those with parents with a higher education.

However, the differences are not as significant among those completed a short higher education. The proportion of 30-39-year-olds who had completed a short higher education was four times as high among those with parents with a short higher education than among those with parents with only a compulsory education. The education level of parents can be a good indicator of social class (Nordli Hansen 1999). While there has been considerable equalization between the genders in education, the differences in education between the social classes seem to remain large.

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Tor Petter Bø and Thomas Hugaas Molden

## 5. Employment



To participate in the labour force is, for most people, of vital importance for economic as well as social living conditions. During the economically active phase, paid work is the main source of income in most households, and influences, to some extent, future pensions. At the same time, the actual performance of work tasks may have intrinsic value, and

the camaraderie and fellowship of co-workers and colleagues is important for social participation and cohesion. On the other hand, working life also includes negative experiences, for instance having to perform tasks of a monotonous and routine character, stress and other strains on health.

### Box 5.1. Terms and sources of data

Persons having paid work and conscripts are classified as *employed persons*, either as employees, self-employed or family workers. Persons who are temporarily off work due to illness, holidays, leaves and similar (includes paid leaves and unpaid leaves lasting less than one year, on the premise that the employed person has work he or she can return to afterwards) are included. Unpaid work in own household and unpaid work for voluntary organizations are examples of work not included in this analysis. In addition to *the employed*, the *unemployed* are counted and together the two categories form the economically active. The unemployed are defined as persons without paid work who have been seeking work within the last four weeks, and who are available for work on short notice. The sum of employed and unemployed persons is also called *the labour force*. When the labour force is counted as a percentage of the population in the age group in question, we get a measurement called *labour force participation*.

The main source of information is the *labour force sample surveys* carried out by Statistics Norway. These are quarterly surveys based on a sample of 24 000 persons aged 16 to 74 years. Another source is the *unemployed persons registered* at the employment offices (county data and statistics on first-generation immigrants). The labour force participation of immigrants is measured by using register-based labour market statistics. Until now, the registers only include employees, not self-employed and family workers, and only first-generation immigrants are included. Data on employment and working hours from the *national accounts* are also used. This information is estimated by using statistics from many sources, among them the labour force sample surveys.

\* Tor Petter Bø has written the sections 5.1-5.4, Thomas Hugaas Molden section 5.5.

**5.1. Who is economically active?**

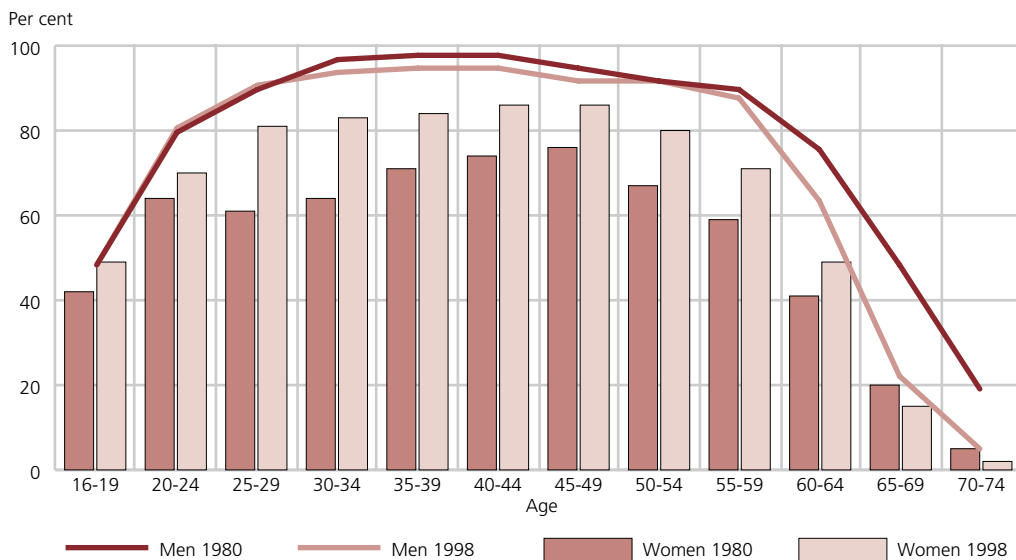
The 1980s saw a continuation of the trends of the previous decade, with a major increase in economic activity by women and a considerable decrease in the economic activity of men over the age of 55 years. During the economic recession in 1987-1993, economic activity also decreased among men in all age groups under 55, while the situation among women was stable. From 1993 to 1998, the economic activity rate increased for both men and women, and women in particular. The male economic activity rate in 1998 still was somewhat lower than the peak year of 1987, while the female economic activity rate was at an all-time high. Consequently, the gender differences in this field are diminishing. In 1980, the labour force participation rate among women aged 25 to 66 years was as much as 28 percentage points below the male rate. In 1998, this difference was reduced

to 10 percentage points; men had a rate of 88 per cent, women 78 per cent.

**1995 to 1998: Higher economic activity rate among young people**

Young people are becoming increasingly older before they enter the labour market full-time. Today, most young people complete upper secondary school, and an increasing proportion of them complete a higher education (see chapter 4. Education). While they attend school it has nevertheless become quite common to have a part-time job. In 1998, 81 per cent of 16-19-year-olds listed school as their main activity. Among these young people, one-third reported having a part-time job in addition. Only 13 per cent of this age group were employed full-time. Among those aged 20 to 24 years, 46 per cent had a full-time job, while 36 per cent were in school. Among the latter, somewhat more than a third had a part-time job as well.

Figure 5.1. Percentage of economically active<sup>1</sup> women and men in different age groups. 1980 and 1998



<sup>1</sup> Military service is counted as employment (mainly men 20 to 24 years).

Source: Labour force sample surveys, Statistics Norway.

From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, the labour force participation rate of teenagers (16 to 19 years) was by and large between 40 and 45 per cent. It subsequently rose to 53 per cent from then until 1987, mostly as a result of the growth in the number of young people having part-time jobs besides school. A similar development occurred among 20-24-year-olds, but in this group the increase from 1984 to 1987 was mostly due to an increase in the proportion working full-time. In 1987-1993, there was a sharp reduction in labour force participation among all young people as many left full-time jobs to attend school (or enrol in training programmes) full-time. The situation subsequently stabilized for a few years before labour force participation among young people increased sharply once again in 1995-1998 concurrently with the sharp growth in overall employment. Labour force participation among teenagers (16 to 19 years) in 1998 was still 5 percentage points lower compared to the boom year of 1987 (49 per cent). Among 20-24-year-olds the corresponding difference was approximately 2 percentage points (75 per cent in 1998).

### Lower rate of economic activity among older workers

For some time there has been a tendency for more and more people to stop working before reaching the age of retirement. While the main reason for this is the increase in the number of people receiving disability pensions, another major cause is early retirement provisions in contracts (see chapter 7. Social security). Consequently, the years during which one is economically active has been reduced for many people, particularly for men. Among men aged 55 to 66 years, labour force participation decreased from 79 to 65 per cent in 1980 to 1994, followed by an increase of approximately 4 percentage points from then until 1998. However, this increase primarily concerned men below the age of 60. Labour force participation among men aged 63 to 66 years continued to decline. A considerable number of women has also opted for early retirement, but in the labour market statistics, this trend is by far outweighed by the general trend of increased labour force participation among women. In the age group 67 to 74 years, which is covered by ordinary old age pension, labour force participation has been reduced by more than half from 1980 to 1998. Only 7 per cent of the persons in this age group are currently economically active.

Table 5.1. Economic activity rate among married/cohabiting women with children below the age of 16, by number of children and the age of youngest child. 1998

	Age of youngest child				
	Total	0-2 years	3-6 years	7-10 years	11-15 years
<b>All married/cohabiting women with children below the age of 16 .....</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>90</b>
1 child .....	85	79	84	86	91
2 children .....	84	75	86	89	90
3 children or more .....	76	68	81	84	:

Source: Labour force sample surveys, Statistics Norway.

**Economic activity among mothers with small children still increasing**

From 1980 to 1998, the sharpest increase in labour force participation was found among women aged 25 to 34 years. This trend is also reflected in the figures for married and cohabiting women with small children. Among those whose youngest child is below the age of 3, the labour force participation rate rose by 28 percentage points during this period, to 75 per cent. Among those whose youngest child was between 3 and 6 years, the labour force participation rate increased nearly as much (to 84 per cent). Mothers of older children also increased their labour force participation rate, although nowhere near as much as mothers of small children. The labour force participation of mothers still increases by the age of the children. Moreover, mothers of one child are more often economically active than mothers of two or more children, and this is particularly the case when the youngest child is below the age of 3. Even so the labour force participation of these two groups has become more similar in recent years.

Compared with those who were young ten or twenty years ago, young women of today are much more committed to obtaining a higher education followed by a career (see chapter 4. Education). This development must also be seen as part of women's desire and demand for more equality in society and family life. In recent decades, the distribution of housework between women and men has become more even (Kitterød and Roalsø 1996). Fathers have also become more active in the care of their children than was the case in previous generations. At the same time, more kindergartens have been built, and over the years after-school programmes for children of prima-

ry school age have been established (see chapter 3. Care). The right to paid parental leave has been considerably expanded as well. Consequently, there are more possibilities for mothers to maintain their ties to the labour market while they are at home taking care of small children. Today, few women quit their job when they are in such a position. In the labour market statistics, people who are not at work because of paid parental leave are counted as employed. In the early 1980s, as few as 10 000 to 12 000 women were on such leaves at any given time. Towards the end of that decade this number doubled, and increased even more in the 1990s. In 1998, an average of 40 000 women were on some sort of parental leave, equalling 4 per cent of all women employed.

On 1 August 1998, the Cash Benefit for Parents with Small Children (Cash Benefit) scheme was introduced, offering benefits to parents with children between the age of 1 to 2 years. From January 1999, the benefit was extended to parents with children from 2 to 3 years of age. The benefit is only given to parents who do not have their children in state-subsidized kindergartens (see chapter 3. Care). A survey carried out in 1999 indicates that, so far, this reform has caused mothers with children aged 1 year to reduce their economic activity by between 4 000 and 5 000 man-years (Langset et al. 2000). In the survey, the parents were asked, among other questions, whether the Cash Benefit had made it possible for them to reduce their paid work. Among the mothers receiving Cash Benefit, 36 per cent said that they work or study less than previously. However, some of these respondents would have reduced their work hours regardless, while 54 per cent said the Cash Benefit had made it possible for them to make this adjustment. Thus,



approximately 20 per cent of the mothers in this survey reduced their work hours as a result of the Cash Benefit reform.

**Education most important for women’s economic activity**

Following increasing demands for qualifications and the expanded opportunities to obtain an education introduced in recent decades, the proportion of economically active persons with only a lower secondary education has been cut in half (from 30 to 15 per cent) from 1980 to 1998. At the same time, the proportion with a higher education has doubled (from 15 to 29 per cent).

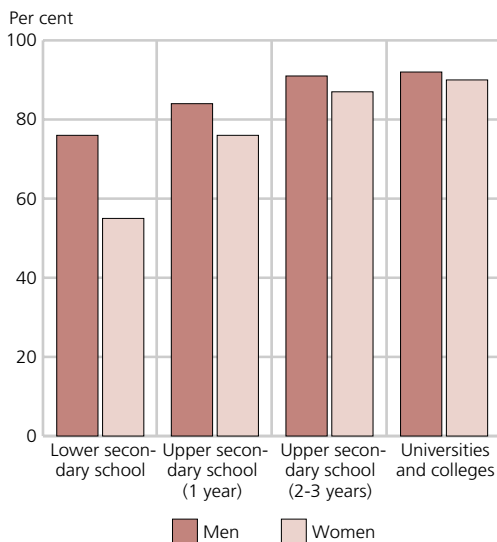
People with a higher education are more often economically active than people with less education. Moreover, by receiving early retirement or disability pension, persons with less education leave the workforce at an earlier point in time than those with a higher education. In

1998, in the age group 25 to 66 years as a whole, the rate of labour force participation among men and women at the highest level of education was respectively 16 and 35 percentage points higher than among those with the lowest level of education. Among those with the lowest level of education, 76 per cent of the men and 55 per cent of the women were economically active. 92 per cent of the men and 90 per cent of the women educated at universities or colleges were economically active.

Since 1980, education level has become increasingly important when studying the rate of labour force participation both for men and women. From 1980 to 1998, women with eleven-twelve years or more of education accounted for the fastest increase in labour force participation. On the other hand, men in all age groups with up to ten years of education had a considerable drop in their labour force participation rate during the same period.

A person giving priority to higher education will usually also pursue a career, and this goes for both men and women. However, the importance of education in this context is nevertheless greater among women. They have more freedom of choice regarding participation in the labour market. Despite more focus on equal rights for men and women, men are still often expected to be the breadwinner of the family. But the gender differences in labour force participation are decreasing by increasing level of education. In 1998, among those with a higher education (university or college), the difference in the labour force participation rate of women and men was as little as 2 percentage points. On the other hand, the difference among those with a lower secondary education was as much as 20 percentage points.

Figure 5.2. **Percentage of economically active persons aged 25 to 66 years, by sex and level of education. 1998**



Source: Labour force sample surveys, Statistics Norway.

### **Low rate of economic activity among immigrants**

In 4. quarter 1998, Norway had 1.9 million employees, of which just under 98 000 were (first generation) immigrants, i.e., 5 per cent of all employees. Of the economically active immigrants, 41 per cent came from Asia, Africa, South or Central America. The employment rate among most groups of immigrants is generally lower than that of the rest of the population. This is particularly true in periods when the demand for labour is low. During the boom year of 1986, the proportion of employed persons among immigrants (aged 16 to 74 years) was 6 percentage points below the rate for the rest of the population. During the economic recession that followed, the employment rate fell faster among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegians, and by 1993 the difference had increased to 14 percentage points. In recent years, the difference has narrowed some, and in 1998 it constituted 10 percentage points. Immigrant women in particular have a low employment rate, specifically 13 percentage points below the rate of all women in Norway. The difference for men was 7 percentage points.

Immigrants from the Nordic countries have the highest rate of employment (60 per cent in 1998), followed by other Western Europeans (56 per cent). The employment rate is at the lowest among immigrants from Africa (42 per cent), North America and Oceania (44 per cent).

How long the immigrants live in Norway is of vital importance to adaptation to the Norwegian labour market. There is a rapid increase in the rate of employment in the initial years after arriving in Norway. The general rule holds for immigrants too: The higher their education,

the higher their employment rate. Still, at any level of education the rate of employment is lower and unemployment is higher among immigrants than among other Norwegians (Kjelsrud and Sivertsen 1997).

### **100 000 women were housewives in 1998**

The proportion of women aged 16 to 66 years working full-time at home was more than halved during the 1980s, and in 1990 it constituted 12 per cent or 165 000 persons. This decrease was followed by a further decline to 7 per cent or 98 000 persons in 1998. There has been a similar trend among those combining household work and a paid part-time job (32 000 in 1998). These women are increasingly viewing themselves as economically active and not primarily as home workers. This is not only due to the fact that they are economically active for more hours than previously, but is probably also a result of the change in attitudes towards women and employment as well, giving rise to a greater tendency to report other activities than housework as their main activity.

## **5.2. Employment trends**

### **Greatest growth in the health and social sector**

From 1980 to 1997, the number of employed women increased by approximately 240 000 persons, while only 32 000 more men were employed. However, this period has not been characterized by a steady development of the labour market. In 1980 to 1984 there was an increase in women's employment, while the situation for men stagnated. In 1984 to 1987 there was considerable growth in the demand for labour, especially for women. After 1987, the situation in the labour market

Table 5.2. Total number of employed persons, and in a sample of industries. 1 000

	1980	1990	1997*	Change 1980-1990	Change 1990-1997
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>1 943</b>	<b>2 054</b>	<b>2 213</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>159</b>
Men .....	1 156	1 139	1 188	-17	49
Women .....	786	915	1 025	129	110
Selected industries					
Agriculture .....	134	99	77	-35	-22
Oil and gas extraction .....	10	19	22	9	3
Manufacturing .....	376	295	315	-81	20
Of which					
Machinery and shipbuilding .....	131	102	114	-30	12
Construction .....	128	125	115	-3	-10
Wholesale and retail trade .....	287	291	315	5	24
Hotels and restaurants .....	41	56	62	15	6
Transport and communication ..	178	188	193	10	5
Banking and insurance .....	47	62	50	15	-12
Business services .....	72	110	142	37	32
Other private services .....	156	177	194	22	16
Public administration .....	461	580	680	119	100
Of which					
Education .....	111	135	153	25	17
Health and social work .....	181	246	331	65	85

\*Preliminary figures.

Source: National accounts statistics, Statistics Norway.

got worse year by year. It took until the mid-1990s before there was new growth in employment, and, to some degree, a decrease in unemployment for women as well as for men.

During the 1980s as a whole, growth in employment (in absolute numbers) was fastest in the health and social sector, which saw an increase of 65 000 persons from 1980 to 1990. This sector was followed by business services, education, hotels and restaurants, banking and insurance. In oil and gas extraction the number of people employed doubled, to 19 000. On the other hand, there was a decrease in manufacturing industry and farming. In just the machinery and shipbuilding industry employment dropped by 30 000 from 1980 to 1990.

In the 1990s, the fast growth in the health and social sector continued, with employment in education also increasing from year to year. Following a decrease from 1987 to 1993, the number of people employed in wholesale and retail trade began to climb again. A similar development occurred in construction. The downward trend in both manufacturing and business services was also reversed in the first part of the 1990s. Manufacturing saw an overall improvement in the 1990s, while the 1980s was a period of considerable retrenchment in employment. The ups and downs have been most significant in machinery production and shipbuilding. In banking and insurance the boom of the 1980s reversed into a decline in the 1990s. In agriculture, the long-term decline continued in the 1990s as well.

Business services, one of the most expansive industries both in the mid-1980s and 1990s, include, among others, computer-related activities. In 1980 to 1990, employment in this industry doubled, reaching 10 000. Employment expanded further to 15 000 in 1997. It is important to note that the "IT industry" is much more extensive, but more precise and official estimates are hard to find. IT goods and services are produced in a number of industries, including the telecommunications sector. A general characteristic of the new information technology is its significant influence on the activities of most companies, regardless of industry.

### **Close to half of all women work in the public sector**

In 1997, 45 per cent of women were employed in the public sector, against 19 per cent of men. In 1980 these figures were 34 and 17 per cent, respectively (see appendix, indicators 5.3 and 5.4). In 1997, 28 per cent of the women were employed in municipal health and social services, against 3 per cent among men. In 1980 the percentages were 19 and 2. There is a majority of women in the educational system as well, but the differences are not as pronounced. In 1997, 9 per cent of all employed women and 5 per cent of all men worked in this sector. On the other hand, there is a definite majority of men in the manufacturing industry, with 20 per cent of all men and 8 per cent of all women employed in this sector. In the largest industries, construction is one of the most male-dominated. On the other hand, almost as many men as women work in wholesale and

retail trade and in business and financial services.

### **Immigrants work in restaurants and do cleaning work**

Immigrants from Asia, Africa, South and Central America are overrepresented among those working in hotels and restaurants and in the food industry, and among those doing cleaning work. The proportion of self-employed persons is lower among the immigrants than in the rest of the population. Oslo is the exception, where a comparatively high number of immigrants are self-employed in wholesale and retail trade and the restaurant business (Sivertsen 1996).

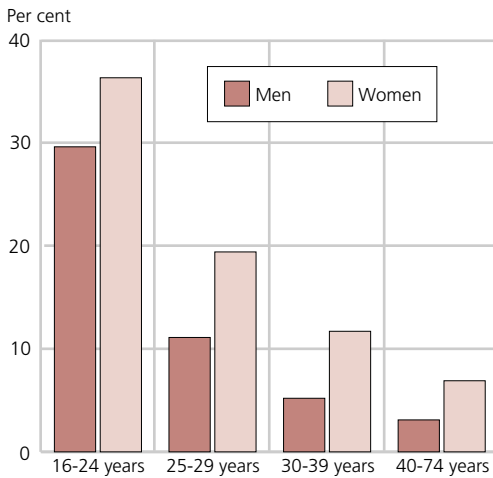
### **More than 200 000 are temporarily employed**

To be temporarily employed can put a strain on employees if this is not their preference. It compromises their opportunity to plan for the future, and causes an uncertain financial situation. Consequently, Norwegian law places strict limitations on the use of temporary employment by employers.

Of Norway's 2 million wage earners in 1999<sup>1</sup>, 220 000, or 11 per cent, had temporary employment as substitutes, extra help, short-term project employees, apprentices, trainees or participants in public job creation schemes. This is a reduction of 2.5 percentage points in the proportion of temporarily employed persons compared to the situation in 1996, which was the first year that these data were collected through the Labour Force Sample Survey. The reduction was primarily among men (from 12 to 8 per cent).

<sup>1</sup> The figures for temporary positions apply to 2. quarter 1999. Most of the figures referred to otherwise are annual averages, with 1998 as the last update year (unless otherwise stated). The Labour Force Survey includes a number of additional questions in 2. quarter of each year (starting 1996).

Figure 5.3. Percentage of men and women temporarily employed in different age groups. 1999

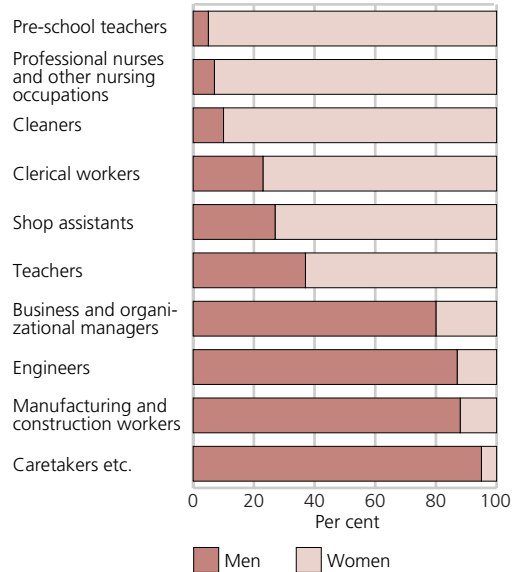


Source: Labour force sample surveys, Statistics Norway.

In 1999, close to half of those temporarily employed were working part-time, and 40 per cent of them were in school. Temporary employment is most common among younger people, not just because they are new in the labour market, but also because students quite often take temporary part-time jobs besides going to school. More than half of those who are temporarily employed would have preferred a permanent job, and the majority of them have in fact tried to get one.

More women than men are temporarily employed, specifically 14 per cent of all female employees and 8 per cent of all male employees. This is connected to the fact that women more often work in sectors where temporary contracts are widespread. Temporary employment is most frequent in health and social services, hotels and restaurants, education and in the primary industries (15-18 per cent).

Figure 5.4. Percentage of women and men in selected occupations. 1995



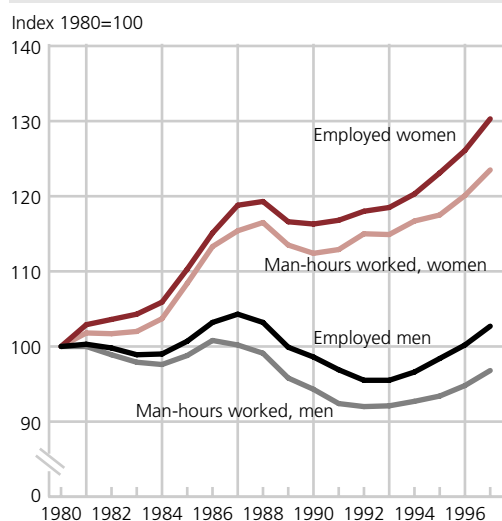
Source: Labour force sample surveys, Statistics Norway.

### Still a division between male and female occupations

The occupational structure in Norway is still highly segregated by gender. Even though women have moved closer to the male level of employment in recent decades, there has not been a corresponding approximation between women and men in choice of occupation. This is also indicated by the fact that in 1998, a large majority of female apprentices were in health and social studies or arts, craft and design. On the other hand, in recent years women have made up a majority of the graduates of many professional degree programmes (see chapter 4. Education).

We have, however, witnessed a certain amount of equalization between women and men in the hierarchy of positions in that the proportion of women in management has increased. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the proportion of women managers has almost doubled, and one

Figure 5.5. **Employed persons and man-hours worked per year. Men and women. 1980-1997. 1980=100**



Source: National accounts statistics, Statistics Norway.

out of four of such positions is now occupied by a woman. There is still a long way to go before full equality between women and men is achieved. According to the labour force sample surveys in 1995, 28 per cent of all employed men had a managerial position, i.e. positions in

which management is a large part of the job. Only 11 per cent of the women were in such a position. These figures are based on a relatively broad definition of the term "managerial position".

### 5.3. Working hours

Even though employment increased by 270 000 persons, or 14 per cent, in 1980 to 1997 (see table 5.2), the number of man-hours worked increased by only 5.4 per cent. In 1997, the number of employed men was 2.7 per cent higher compared to 1980, while the number of hours worked had decreased by 3.2 per cent. The 30 per cent increase in female employment only contributed a 23.5 per cent increase in the number of man-hours worked. In 1980 to 1997 the average annual number of hours declined both for men and women, by 5.8 and 5.3 per cent, respectively. This happened despite the fact that more and more women have full-time jobs (see below). The change is caused partially by the expansion of holiday time by one day in 1982, and the general reduction in the number of hours worked per week from 40 to 37.5 hours in 1987. The reduction is also connected

Table 5.3. **Employed women and men, by age and contractual/usual working hours<sup>1</sup> per week. 1998. Per cent**

	Men			Women		
	Short part-time	Long part-time	Full-time	Short part-time	Long part-time	Full-time
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>55</b>
16-19 years .....	51	9	40	70	9	21
20-24 years .....	12	6	82	31	18	51
25-29 years .....	5	5	90	16	20	64
30-39 years .....	2	3	95	17	26	57
40-54 years .....	2	3	95	15	28	57
55-74 years .....	8	8	84	25	27	48

<sup>1</sup> Short part-time: 1-19 hours per week.

Long part-time: 20-36 hours per week, with the exception of persons working 32-36 hours who report this to be full-time.

Full-time: 37 or more hours, and the exception mentioned above (military service is counted as full-time employment).

Source: Labour force sample surveys, Statistics Norway.

to longer parental leaves. From 1977 to 1993, the number of weeks of parental leave paid by National Insurance increased from 18 to 42 weeks (or 52 weeks with reduced compensation) (see chapter 7.2).

### **More women in full-time jobs**

The increase in female employment during the last half of the 1970s until 1983 was mostly due to an increase in part-time employment. Subsequent growth was, to a greater degree, in the form of full-time jobs, and the proportion of part-time workers fell below 50 per cent towards the end of the 1980s. In the 1990s, the proportion of women working part-time decreased further to 45 per cent in 1998. Among those aged 25 to 29 years, two out of three have a full-time job. During the 1980s, the increased tendency of women to choose full-time jobs corresponded with a decline in the proportion working long part-time (20 or more hours per week). In the 1990s, however, the reduction was in the proportion working short part-time (20 or less hours per week). Working short part-time is most common among the youngest employees.

Among married and cohabiting women with children below the age of 16, it is more common to have a part-time job than what is otherwise the case among women, but the difference narrowed somewhat in the 1990s. In 1998, 52 per cent of employed women with children had a part-time job, against 41 per cent of those without children below the age of 16. Full-time employees nevertheless constitute a majority among mothers with only one child (56 per cent). On the contrary, a majority of mothers with two or more children under 16 work part-time (57 per cent). In this group it is more common to work short part-time, less than 20 hours per week, than it is among

women with one child (24 and 15 per cent, respectively). In both groups, the proportion of women working full-time is highest among those whose youngest child is below the age of 3. This was the situation in 1990 as well.

This might be connected with the fact that the cost of starting a family and buying a home are the highest when the children are small. Another cause might be that the transition of children from full-time kindergartens to primary school where the school day is shorter makes it more difficult for both parents to work full-time, even though more resources are being spent on after-school care. When looking at the situation of parents with the smallest children, paid parental leave must be taken into consideration. Parents on such leaves (lasting up to one year) from the workforce are registered as employed in the statistics.

In the 1990s, more and more economically active mothers chose to work full-time. By 1998, proportion working full-time had reached 48 per cent, up from 42 per cent in 1990. Growth was particularly strong among mothers with two children, increasing as much as 10 percentage points (to 46 per cent).

Part-time work is rare among men, and almost all men with such jobs are students. Of all employed men aged 30 to 60 years, 95 per cent work full-time. Only among young people under the age of 20 do we find a majority (60 per cent) of part-time employees, and most are working in combination with their studies.

### **Decline in the proportion of employees working overtime**

A large proportion of employees work more hours than what is stated in their

contract. During one week in 1999<sup>2</sup>, 25 per cent of all employees working full-time were working overtime as well, a decline of 3 percentage points since Statistics Norway began measuring these hours. In 1999, the amount of overtime equalled about 73 000 man-years, or 5 per cent of all man-years by employees working full-time. 57 per cent of the overtime were compensated by payment, 21 per cent by time off (compensation for unpaid overtime), while 22 per cent were reported to be done without any kind of compensation. Working overtime is most common among men, but women also do a considerable amount of such work. 28 per cent of the men working full-time had worked overtime as well, against 19 per cent of the women in the same situation. On average, men working overtime did so for 8.8 hours per week, while women worked 6.9 hours of overtime. Among women, the overtime is more often compensated by more time off, while men more often work paid overtime or without any direct compensation.

The use of overtime increases by educational level. Among full-time employees with a university or college education, 30 per cent worked overtime, against 22 per cent of employees with less education. The proportion of people working overtime was highest in oil and gas extraction, financial and business services and construction. The use of overtime was clearly below average in education, health and social services and hotels and restaurants.

### **8 per cent have more than one job**

Another way of extending the workday is to have a second job or sideline. During one week in 1998, 8 per cent of those

employed had more than one job, about the same level as observed in preceding years. Among those with a second job, 46 per cent worked full-time in their main job. 65 000 of those with a second job worked a total of 45 or more hours per week.

Having more than one job is somewhat more common among women than among men, and there are significant differences between the occupational groups.<sup>3</sup> Having a second job is most common among persons who in their main occupation are farmers, physicians, teachers or cleaners. Consequently, the total number of working hours is far above normal full-time among farmers and physicians, while the average number of working hours among teachers equals a normal full-time job. Cleaners usually have a number of short part-time jobs.

### **More variation in working arrangements**

A large proportion of employed persons works other hours than usual daytime hours, i.e., they work evenings and nights, often in shifts. In consequence of having a society where services are supposed to be available at all hours, some have to be on the job when most of us are not working. This development has caused a decrease in the proportion of people working ordinary daytime hours, and is also connected with increasing employment in health and social services where working in shifts is common.

Working evenings and nights is usually viewed as rather unattractive and impractical with respect to family life and friends and participating in organizations

<sup>2</sup> The overtime figures apply to second 2. quarter 1999. Most of the figures referred to otherwise are annual averages, with 1998 as the last update year (unless otherwise stated). The Labour Force Survey includes a number of additional questions in 2. quarter of each year (starting 1996).

<sup>3</sup> The figures broken down by occupation are from 1995, while the facts otherwise apply to 1998.



or leisure time activities. However, this kind of work may also be suitable during certain periods because it allows one of the partners to work while the spouse or cohabitant stays at home to look after the children, to take one example. In 1980, 80 per cent worked day hours, while in 1997 this proportion had dropped to barely 70 per cent. Many persons also work regularly on Saturdays and Sundays, days which most employees regard as days off. Young people mainly work outside regular hours, a trend that has intensified over the years.

### **300 000 work shifts**

In 1999<sup>4</sup>, 305 000 employees worked shifts, equalling 15 per cent of all employees. The rate has stayed at this level since the first measurement of this indicator was done in 1996. Working shifts is somewhat more common among women than among men (16 against 13 per cent), and most common among female employees below the age of 30 (21 per cent). Part-time employees are furthermore more likely than full-time employees to have their working hours arranged in this way. One in three hotel and restaurant employees work some kind of shift, followed by 29 per cent of health and social services workers. The majority of women working shifts are employed in this sector. In third place is the transport industry, with 28 per cent shift workers.

## **5.4. Underemployment and unemployment**

### **Less underemployment**

Many part-time employees would prefer to work more hours than they do. Those who have attempted and are willing, within a month, to take on a job with more working hours, are regarded as underemployed. In 1998, 77 000 persons were underemployed, equalling 13 per cent of all part-time workers. Three out of four underemployed persons are women, reflecting the fact that most part-time workers are women. From 1989, when the measurement of underemployment started, to 1993, the number of underemployed persons increased from 59 000 to 89 000. This was also a period with a general increase in unemployment. Since 1993, both underemployment and unemployment have decreased to some extent. Underemployment is most common among those aged 25 to 39 years (16 per cent). If everyone who was underemployed had got all the extra hours they wanted, the increase would have equalled 27 000 man-years of labour in 1998. The number of underemployed is highest among nurses and auxiliary nurses, sales and office workers, hotel and restaurant workers, and cleaning staff, all typical female occupations.<sup>5</sup>

### **Declining unemployment after 1993**

More public interest is directed towards the fully unemployed, particularly during periods of increasing unemployment. This group suffers the greatest economic loss, and the persons concerned are at the same time excluded from the social community of which working life is a part.

<sup>4</sup> The shift figures apply to 2. quarter 1999. Most of the figures referred to otherwise are annual averages, with 1998 as the last update year (unless otherwise stated). The Labour Force Survey includes a number of additional questions in 2. quarter of each year (starting 1996).

<sup>5</sup> The figures broken down by occupation are from 1995, while the facts otherwise apply to 1998.

Figure 5.6. Unemployed men and women aged 16 to 74 years and 16 to 24 years as a percentage of the labour force. 1980-1998<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Break in the time-series between 1995 and 1996. Measured by the previous method, the unemployment rate would have been half a percentage point lower in 1996-1998.

Source: Labour force sample surveys, Statistics Norway.

From 1980 to 1983, unemployment in Norway doubled and constituted 3.4 per cent of the workforce (69 000 persons). Over the next three years the rate decreased to 2.0 per cent while employment surged. However, towards the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s, new considerable problems arose in the labour market. In 1993, the unemployment rate peaked at 6.0 per cent (127 000 persons). After that it declined year by year, dropping to 3.2 per cent (74 000 persons) in 1998.

According to the labour force sample surveys, unemployment generally has been higher among women than among men. But this is not the case during recessions, when men are hit the hardest due to their vulnerable jobs in manufacturing and construction. Women usually work in industries less exposed to the ups and downs of business cycles. In 1996 to

1998, unemployment was quite equally distributed between women and men, after decreasing significantly among men in the three preceding years.

At the same time as unemployment decreased towards 1998, a shortage of labour has been reported in some occupations. According to a survey carried out by the Directorate of Labour (1999) in the 2. quarter of 1999, companies reported a labour shortage equalling more than 30 000 employees. Compared to the size of the occupations in question, the problems of recruitment were greatest within construction. It was difficult, as well, to get nurses, physicians, psychologists, preschool teachers, IT staff, hairdressers and taxi drivers. Some occupations in manufacturing have reported such problems as well, but the problems were less severe than the preceding year. In general, there might be a lack of labour in some sectors even in periods with relatively high rates of unemployment. This is due to the fact that the unemployed often lack the qualifications needed for the vacant positions.

### High, but short-term unemployment among young people

The unemployment rate is considerably higher among young people than in the rest of the population. In 1998, 40 per cent of the unemployed were between 16 to 24 years of age. While the unemployment rate in the total labour force was 3.2 per cent, it was as high as 13.7 per cent in the age group 16 to 19 years, and 7.5 per cent among the 20-24-year-olds. Young people aged below 20 years, however, are mostly in the educational system. In 1998, barely half of them were in the labour force, and two out of three in this group were at the same time in school. This rather distant relationship with the labour market among young

### Box 5.2. Working environment – indicators and sources of data

In the statistics, the physical and organizational working environment is described by a number of indicators. The physical working environment includes the technical design of the workplace, how this environment influences the persons in question, and whether the employees are exposed to certain types of strains such as pollution, noise, an unfavourable climate or unfavourable ergonomic positions. The organizational working environment roughly includes the way the work is arranged and organized, the extent to which employees are able to influence their working situation and the nature of the social environment at work. The working environment indicators are based on answers from employed persons describing and evaluating their work. It is not obvious which indicators should be chosen or how they should be interpreted; this is particularly true of indicators describing the organizational working environment. Two different sets of indicators might emphasize different dimensions of the organizational working environment, thus giving somewhat different impressions of the way bad working conditions are distributed among the economically active.

In order to describe changes over time, it is of crucial importance not to change the definitions, and to have the same indicators year after year. The information on the working environment presented in this chapter is primarily from the Surveys of Living Conditions 1980 to 1998 and the Surveys of Working Conditions 1989 and 1993. The questions used in the surveys of level of living until 1995 are somewhat different from those used in the surveys of working conditions. For the most part, the new coordinated Survey of Living Conditions 1996 uses the questions of the former surveys of working conditions. Another problem in describing changes in the working conditions, is the fact that the attitudes towards and the degree of interest in these problems can influence the descriptions and evaluations given by the respondents.

people is also reflected in the number of working hours preferred among the unemployed this age. Of the unemployed aged 16 to 24 years in 1998, one out of three preferred a part-time job with less than 20 working hours per week. No more than half wanted to work full-time, while 70 per cent of the unemployed over the age of 24 wanted a full-time job. A little less than 10 per cent wanted a part-time job with less than 20 working hours weekly.

Even though the relative level of unemployment is highest among young people, the period of unemployment is usually shorter than that experienced by older people. This is partially due to the fact that young peoples have been given high priority when choosing participants for labour market programmes, which in turn "breaks up" the periods of unemployment and dampens the impact of long-term unemployment. At the same time, older

persons who are unemployed have been transferred to different kinds of social insurance (including disability pension) thereby removing them from the ranks of the unemployed.

### Low unemployment rate among people with higher education

People with a higher education are less likely to experience unemployment compared to those with less education. This pattern is seen in all age groups, and reflects the fact that the occupations most exposed to the economic trends are the occupations that require the lowest educational qualifications. While the unemployment rate was as low as 2.0 per cent in 1998 among people with a university or college education, the rate was 6.2 per cent among those who only completed lower secondary school. Those who completed upper secondary school as their highest level of education are between these two ends of the scale.

### High unemployment rate among immigrants

In 1999, unemployment as registered at the employment offices was considerably higher among immigrants than in the total population (7.9 against 2.9 per cent at the end of August). The differences have nevertheless diminished to some extent since 1997, following the general decrease in unemployment. Africans in particular encounter problems in the Norwegian labour market, with a level of unemployment five times the average, followed by immigrants from Eastern Europe and Asia. In general though, unemployment is reduced by length of residence in Norway. Participation in labour market programmes (AMO programmes) designed to improve qualifications and counteract unemployment also declines with increasing length of residence.

### Highest rate of unemployment in Finnmark

The regional differences in unemployment in Norway are quite considerable. In 1999, Akershus and Sogn og Fjordane had the lowest rate of unemployment (1.4 per cent). The level of unemployment was rather low in Møre og Romsdal, Oppland, Buskerud and Rogaland as well (approximately 2 per cent). At the other end of the scale the counties hardest hit by such labour market problems were Finnmark, with 4.8 per cent unemployment, and Nord- and Sør-Trøndelag and Nordland, with more than 3 per cent (Directorate of Labour 2000).

From 1993 to 1999, the decrease in unemployment was relatively strongest in Akershus, Møre og Romsdal, Oppland and Buskerud, i.e., counties with a low level of unemployment in 1999. The counties from Nord-Trøndelag northward had the smallest reduction in unemployment, and

these counties, with the exception of Troms, topped the unemployment statistics in 1999.

### 5.5. Working environment

The working environment can affect living conditions by exposing people to pollution, dangerous substances, strain and a high risk of accidents, causing bad health, days off due to sickness and accidents at work.

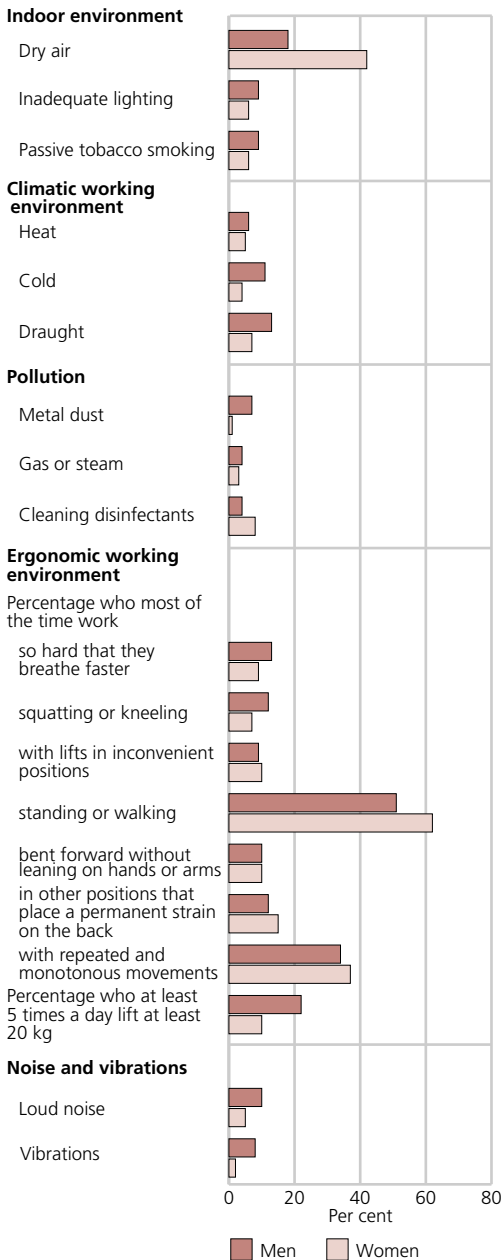
Ways of organizing work or the social environment at work (what is called the *organizational or psycho-social working environment*) can negatively impact job satisfaction and health. For example, the work might be too monotonous and too routine to ensure professional and personal development, or it might be organized so that the individual has few opportunities to control his or her situation at work, or the work might be too stressful. Employer-employee and interpersonal relations at work might be bad, and the way working hours are set up might be a strain, as is the case when working shifts.

In this section we want to focus on certain aspects regarding the organizational and physical working environments. Social relations at work are also discussed in chapter 9. Social participation.

### A stable physical working environment

During the 1980s and 1990s, the changes in physical working environments were rather modest. The main exception is a certain improvement in the climatic working environment. According to the surveys of living conditions, the proportion of employed persons usually exposed to climatic work environment problems decreased from 38 per cent in 1980, to 32 per cent in 1991 and to 29 per cent in 1995, mainly because increasingly fewer

Figure 5.7. **Percentage of employed women and men who are exposed to various working environment strains during most of their working hours. 1996<sup>1</sup>**



<sup>1</sup> 1997-figures are only available for some of the working environment indicators. However, these indicators show no changes since 1996.

Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1996, Statistics Norway.

persons are exposed to draught or cold temperatures at work.

Workers more often than salaried staff are exposed to physical strain caused by the working environment. The difference is most significant when comparing middle and higher-level salaried staff, but there is also a difference with respect to lower-level staff. In 1997, every third unskilled worker was exposed to pollution (mineral dust, organic dust, gas or steam) for most of the time at work, compared to one out of eight among the lower-level salaried staff. Other typical problems among workers are loud noise, vibrations, draught and heat. Among unskilled workers, 23 per cent were exposed to loud noise during most of their working hours, 17 per cent to vibrations, 25 per cent to draught and 9 per cent to heat. Among lower-level salaried staff, the corresponding figures are 3 per cent (loud noise), 9 per cent (draught), 5 per cent (heat) while none were exposed to vibrations (Survey of Living Conditions 1997).

The structural changes in the labour market have caused a decrease in the proportion of people employed as blue-collar workers, from 35 to 28 per cent in 1980 to 1995. At the same time, the proportion of medium-level and higher-level salaried staff has increased from 32 to 47 per cent (labour force sample surveys). Given the rather unchanged working environment for both workers and salaried staff, one should expect to see an overall improvement in the working environment. Because this is not the case, it could indicate that some groups of workers and salaried staff have experienced that their working environment has grown worse, but that this deterioration has been counteracted by the reduced number of workers.

This hypothesis is supported by the findings of the surveys of living conditions, indicating that in the last few years, more and more workers and salaried staff are exposed to physical (ergonomic) strain at work. Among lower-level salaried staff, the proportion reporting that they have to work in strenuous positions every day has increased from 27 per cent in 1980 to 47 per cent in 1995. Among workers and higher-level and medium-level salaried staff, the proportion has increased by 6 to 8 percentage points. There has been deterioration in other areas of the working environment as well, but not to the same degree as in the ergonomic working environment.

### **Women stand and walk, men lift heavy loads**

Few occupations have an equal distribution of women and men (see section 5.2). There are consequently relatively few women blue-collar workers, approximately one out of five, while women form the majority of salaried staff, and in particular lower-level salaried staff. Naturally, this has consequences for the working environment of men and women.

To a somewhat higher degree than women, men are exposed to cold, draught, pollution, loud noise and vibrations at work, and they have to lift heavy loads more often than women do. Women, to a higher degree than men, are bothered by dry air at work and have somewhat more problems with ergonomic strain, mostly due to the fact that most of them have to stand or walk much of their time at work (see figure 5.7).

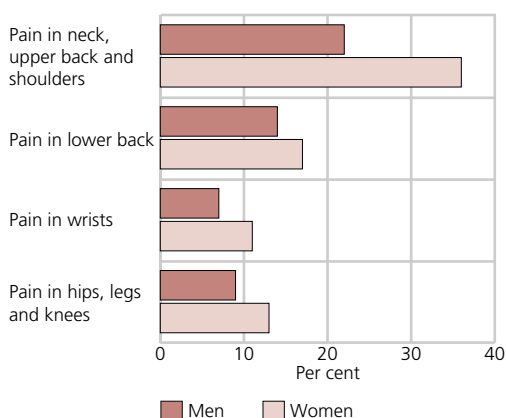
This pattern has been quite stable over the last years. The main change is that previously men more often worked in strenuous work positions, but over the years increasingly more women have

ended up in the same situation. According to the surveys of living conditions, the proportion of women who said that they worked in strenuous positions on a daily basis increased from 33 per cent in 1980 to 45 per cent in 1991, which was then about the same level as men (43 per cent). In the Survey of Living Conditions 1997, the respondents were asked about the overall physical strain at work, and the answers indicate a continuation of this trend. Close to six out of ten women said that their work was very or somewhat physically straining, compared to half of the men.

### **Sickness absenteeism follows the economic trends**

Working environment research has documented a connection between sickness absenteeism and strains at work. The Survey of Living Conditions 1996 indicates that those who are subjected to the greatest physical strains at work have the highest rate of sickness absenteeism (Andresen 1998). Standardized and more comprehensive statistics on sickness absenteeism are being compiled. Currently, only statistics on sickness absenteeism in different trades and industries are available. By comparing these figures, a rather clear pattern of absenteeism during the 1990s emerges: Sickness absenteeism follows economic trends. In 1990 to 1994, a period characterized by high and increasing unemployment, sickness absenteeism fell. By contrast, towards the end of the 1990s, a period of decreasing unemployment, sickness absenteeism was on the rise (Statistics Norway 1999). According to the Ministry of Labour and Government Administration, sickness absenteeism among state employees increased from 5.3 to 5.8 per cent from 1996 to 1998. Much of the increase is due to the growth in long-term absenteeism, defined as more than 14 days of

Figure 5.8. Percentage of women and men with musculoskeletal pains due to physical strains at work. 1997



Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1997, Statistics Norway.

consecutive absenteeism during the year. The absenteeism is generally higher among women than among men.

The fact that different categories of occupations are subject to different kinds of physical strain at work, usually causes differences in sickness absenteeism. A connection between physical problems in the working environment and long-term sickness absenteeism has been documented (Grimsmo 1996), to take one example. In 1996, unskilled workers had the highest rate of long-term sickness absenteeism. 23 per cent in this group had such absenteeism, compared to 20 per cent of skilled workers, 15 per cent of lower-level salaried staff, 12 per cent of medium-level salaried staff and 9 per cent of higher-level salaried staff. By comparison, farmers and fishermen had a 13 per cent rate of this type of absenteeism. Data from the labour force sample surveys support this tendency of socio-economic differences in sickness absenteeism.

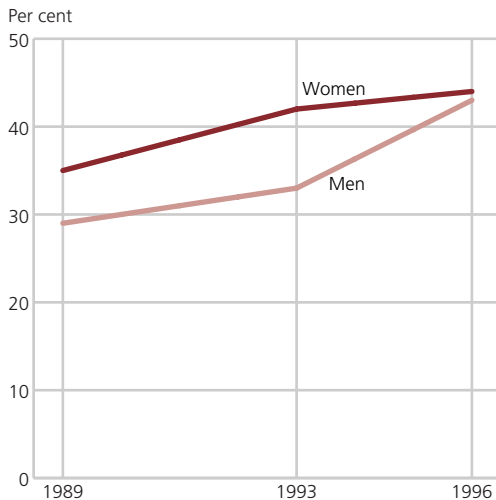
### Neck and shoulder pains are due to physical strains at work

When the physical strains at work reach a level where the health of the employee suffers, this is not only a problem concerning the individual in question, but the employer is affected as well. Of those experiencing musculoskeletal problems in 1997, most had pains in neck and shoulders caused by a poor physical working environment. About one out of three of those having pains in the neck, upper back and shoulders were of the opinion that these pains were caused by their work. These pains were more common among women (36 per cent) than among men (22 per cent). Among those bothered by other kinds of pain, there was a more equal distribution between men and women. Pain in the lower back was the second most frequent result of physical strains in the working environment, followed by pain in hips, legs, knees and feet or in wrists. Among those bothered by skin rashes, allergy or breathing problems, few blamed their jobs for their trouble.

### More people are able to plan their own work ...

An important aspect concerning the organizational working environment, is the degree to which people can control the planning and execution of their tasks at work. It is documented that employees who are able to control their own working situation are more fit to cope with strain at work than those who are under the supervision of others. The former probably have more possibilities to make adjustments and take remedial actions, for instance by regulating when to take breaks (Andersen 1993). A substantial change in the working environment, first and foremost among men, is that more and more employees are free to plan their own work. According to the surveys of

Figure 5.9. **Percentage of employed men and women who most of the time have so much to do that they do not have the time to talk or think about anything but work. 1989, 1993 and 1996**



Source: Surveys of Working Conditions 1989 and 1993, Survey of Living Conditions 1996, Statistics Norway.

living conditions, the proportion of employed persons who only to a minor degree can take control over their tasks at work was reduced from 25 per cent in 1980 to 17 per cent in 1996. The reduction was somewhat smaller among men, from 22 to 15 per cent, than among women, from 29 to 19 per cent. The proportion of men who to a high degree are able to plan their own work increased steadily from 44 per cent in 1980 to 57 per cent in 1996. Among women there was a more considerable change towards the end of this period, from 38 per cent in 1991 to 40 per cent in 1995 and 45 per cent in 1996. By and large, the surveys of working conditions show basically the same results.

### **... and many have got more to do**

In the 1990s, the surveys of working conditions indicate a certain increase in

the proportion of respondents reporting to have a lot to do at their jobs. In 1989 to 1996 the proportion of employed men who for most of the time have so much to do that they do not have time to talk about or think about anything but work" increased from 29 to 43 per cent, and among employed women from 35 to 44 per cent. Even though more and more employees are increasingly busy at work, this does not necessarily have negative consequences for the individual in question. In the 1990s, many people expressed a desire to work less, but this does not mean that work was less important to them (Kitterød 1999). To have a lot to do, to work under pressure and to be busy at work might be a favourable situation to many employees, both in and outside their work.

Neither do the surveys of living conditions indicate that more people experience heavy workloads or stress during the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s. Both in 1980, 1991 and 1995, only one out of ten of those employed reported having a frenzied and hectic work situation "more than half the day". Men reported this situation to a somewhat higher degree than women. If we include those reporting their work situation to be frenzied and hectic "every day, but less than half of the day", the figures indicate an increase from 15 per cent in 1980 to 21 per cent in 1995.

### **Many people change their jobs**

By comparing the Surveys of Working Conditions in the period 1989 to 1993, we find that almost two in ten had changed their workplaces during the period. More recent data indicate that one in four employees had changed jobs in the period 1996 to 1998, and that 22 per cent had taken a new job at another company (Hilsen and Grimsmo 1998).



By studying the Survey of Living Conditions 1998, we can analyze those who switched jobs between 1997 and 1998. Of the almost 10 per cent of all persons aged 16 to 66 years changing jobs in the period, one in five had to find a job due to dismissals, staff cutbacks, company closures or because a temporary contract was concluded. Every second person changed jobs at their own request, particularly because the duties and general working conditions of the new job were better. For almost every fourth person the change was due to a more interesting and challenging job being offered, and one out of eight got a new job that paid better. Better working hours, commuting time and working environment were the reason for only a small minority of the job changes.

### **A good social working environment ...**

Most people think they have good social working conditions. The social working environment is made up of quite a number of interactive components in which colleagues, superiors at different levels, customers, clients, pupils and so on constitute a network of contacts in the workplace. In particular, a person's relationship with co-workers and colleagues is regarded as the most job satisfaction-promoting element in the workplace. In 1997, one in two employees reported having a very satisfying relationship with people at work. More than nine out of ten had a satisfying relationship with their colleagues. A person's relationship with immediate superiors can, to a greater degree, be a source of frustration and dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, relatively few employees reported being dissatisfied with their immediate superior, with as few as 6 per cent saying they were quite or very dissatisfied. More than eight out of

ten had a satisfying relationship with their immediate superior.

More and more employees find their workday controlled by the demands of customers and clients (Andresen 1998). According to the Survey of Living Conditions 1997, nobody expressed dissatisfaction with these relationships at work. Somewhat more than nine out of ten were satisfied with customer and client relationships at work. When asked about problems in such relationships in 1996, 14 per cent reported having experienced bad relationships between employees and customers, clients or pupils.

### **... and high job satisfaction among Norwegian employees**

A good working environment and good working conditions are important factors in creating job satisfaction and a sense of well-being at work. The surveys of living conditions indicate that Norwegian employees are quite happy with their physical working environment. When asked to what degree they were satisfied with the physical working environment, three out of four reported being satisfied, while one out of ten was dissatisfied. These statistics reflect generally high job satisfaction in Norwegian working life, where, in 1997, 88 per cent of all employed persons reported being satisfied with their work. If we compare with surveys conducted in previous years we find that Norwegian employees have a stable high job satisfaction level - nine out of ten are satisfied with their job.

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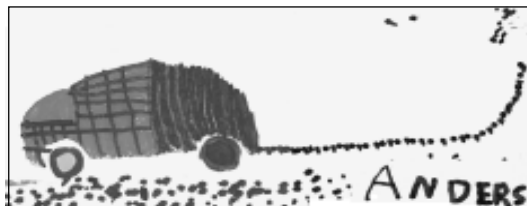
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Ingrid Melby and Eiliv Mørk

## 6. Income and consumption



### What we make and own has a major impact on our standard of living

Both our income and property are results of processes involving many factors, such as our education, age, the labour market, social benefits and tax policy. Age, previous income and inheritance are some of the major factors determining our wealth.

How much a person or a household earns and owns, and particularly the difference between income and property, tells us quite a lot about the success of our income distribution policy. In a society struggling to achieve a high degree of equality, increasing inequality will be looked upon as a sign of a policy that is not working satisfactorily.

Income and property are especially important as social indicators because money in many ways can be used to achieve a better standard of living. Money in itself provides security when facing unforeseen events, and can be converted into a nice house, healthy food, exciting leisure time activities, trips and so on. By providing some services for free or at moderate prices, e.g. health services or education, the government can reduce the power of money. But money can also reduce the

time we have to wait for medical treatment or an operation, or allow us to study at a prestigious university abroad.

### Main features of the economic trends since 1980

For many Norwegian households, the 1980s were a decade with considerable economic fluctuations. The slow growth in employment and consumption at the beginning of the decade was followed by a period of rapidly expanding employment and consumption, considerable borrowing and rising housing prices, particularly towards the end of the period. The final years of the 1980s were characterized by tighter economic conditions, lower consumption, declining housing prices and a big increase in unemployment.

The high unemployment and reduced employment continued into the early 1990s. Private consumption grew slowly, housing prices were low and interest rates were high. In 1993 interest rates began to fall, employment started to increase and unemployment went down. Employment increased by more than 250 000 from 1993 to 1999 and unemployment was almost cut in half. This led to an increase in private consumption, and the decline

in interest rates on loans, along with higher income, gradually led to higher housing prices.

## 6.1. The change in and composition of household incomes

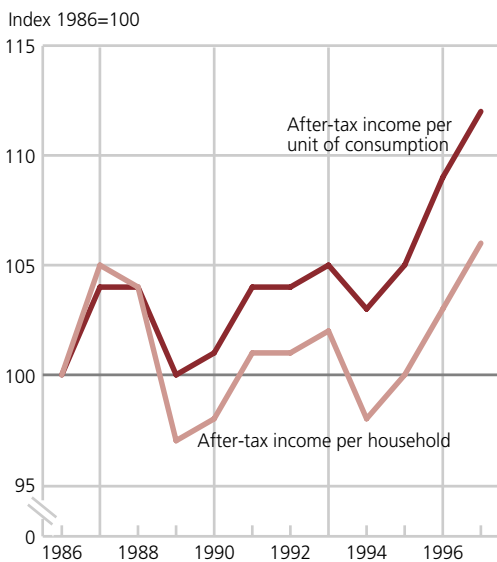
### Rapid increase in income after 1995

In the period 1986 to 1997, the after-tax income per unit of consumption (see box 6.3) increased by 12 per cent measured in fixed prices. Barely half of this growth occurred during the end of the 1980s up to 1995. Incomes subsequently increased rather rapidly in 1996 and 1997.

There are many ways of measuring the level and change in income. There is no one measure that suits all purposes. It is also important to distinguish between income and wages. Wages normally con-

stitute only part of an income. In this chapter we mostly use after-tax income (see box 6.2) to describe the economic status of persons and households. Younger households usually carry considerably higher debts than older households. The decline in interest rates starting in 1993 produced a large decrease in interest expenses. A smaller portion of income was thus used to pay interest expenses. If interest expenses are subtracted from the after-tax income, the change in household income is far more favourable, and particularly so for households with large debts. In 1997, the average interest expenses of households were half as much as those paid in 1986. After subtracting for tax, interest and housing income, income per unit of consumption increased by 23 per cent during these eleven years. Housing income is defined as the imputed rent of owner-occupied houses or holiday homes as entered on the income tax return.

Figur 6.1. After-tax income per household and after-tax income per unit of consumption.<sup>1</sup> 1986=100



<sup>1</sup> Statistics Norway scale, see box 6.3.

Source: Income distribution surveys, Statistics Norway.

The growth in after-tax income was somewhat reduced by an increase in the percentage of tax paid by the households. In the period 1986 to 1997, assessed taxes increased by 12 per cent in fixed prices, while total income increased by 7 per cent during the same period.

### Earned income has been a stable source of income in the 1990s

Earned income is the most important source of income in households. Despite the increase in employment during the 1990s, earned income constituted about the same proportion of income in 1997 as in the beginning of the decade. Earned income is made up of both salaries/wages and net entrepreneurial income and averaged NOK 240 000 in 1997, or 73 per cent of the households' total income. This percentage has remained unchanged since 1991, while the corresponding

proportion was 78 per cent in 1986. The decrease in the importance of earned income by the end of the 1980s can be explained by lower employment rates. However, the increased employment of the last five years has not resulted in an increase of earned income as proportion of total income. While the proportion of wages increased after 1991, the proportion of net entrepreneurial income continued to decrease. This might be due to a decline in the number of self-employed persons such as farmers, but might also be because self-employed persons elected to cash in share dividends instead of entrepreneurial income, because of the lower tax on dividends.

The decreasing importance of earned income since 1986 is consistent with the growth in nonworking households (defined as having an earned income smaller than the minimum old-age and disability pension, and smaller than the pensions reported by each person in the tax return). In 1986, 30 per cent of all households were nonworking. By 1997, this

proportion had grown to 35 per cent, with most of the growth occurring in the 1980s. This was brought on by the rapid increase in the number of elderly persons towards the end of the 1980s.

During the same period, the proportion of households having two or more members in the workforce has decreased as well. Among households of couples where the main income earner is between 25 and 54 years, however, there were relatively more households with two economically active persons in 1997 than in 1986. In 1997, 75 per cent of these households had two or more persons in the workforce, against 68 per cent in 1986.

Even though the importance of work as a source of income was reduced during the period, wages have gone up. From 1986 to 1997, earnings per full-time equivalent increased in real terms by 12 per cent, from NOK 220 000 in 1986 to NOK 246 000 in 1997. Real income per full-time equivalent did not change much from 1986 to 1991, but increased

Table 6.1. **Income account for households. Average per household and changes in per cent. 1986-1997. NOK 1997 (fixed prices)**

	1986		1991		1997		Changes in per cent		
	NOK	Per cent	NOK	Per cent	NOK	Per cent	1986-1991	1991-1997	1986-1997
<b>Income .....</b>	<b>306 400</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>307 100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>328 900</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
Earned income .....	238 700	78	222 700	73	240 000	73	-7	8	1
Total property income	16 000	5	17 600	6	19 800	6	9	12	23
Transfers .....	51 600	17	66 800	22	69 200	21	29	3	34
Total assessed taxes and negative transfers	77 300	25	75 200	24	85 700	26	-3	14	11
After-tax income .....	229 100	75	231 900	76	243 200	74	1	5	6
Interest payments and housing income .....	34 700	11	39 600	13	14 500	4	14	-63	-58
Income after tax and interest payments/housing income .....	194 400	63	192 300	63	228 700	70	-1	19	18

Source: Income distribution survey, Statistics Norway.

**Box 6.1. Wages and salaries per full-time equivalent**

Wages and salaries per full-time equivalent are calculated on the basis of data from the national accounts and reflect the average salaries and wages of all employed wage earners.

Wages and salaries include wages and salaries in cash, fees etc. and wages and salaries in kind. Wages and salaries in cash include payment for overtime work, sick pay, and maternity pay paid by the employer (but not social security benefits). Wages and salaries in kind includes the value of a company car, subsidised loans from employers and free transportation for employees in some transport businesses.

The number of employed full-time equivalents is defined as the number of full-time employed persons plus the number of part-time employed persons converted into full-time.

thereafter relatively evenly. Growth was particularly strong in 1996.

Average earned income per household was almost the same in the period 1986 to 1997. Earned income increased at the beginning of the period, then decreased and remained below the 1986 level until 1997. During the 1990s, earned income increased by 8 per cent.

The reduced importance of earned income since the middle of the 1980s is also indicated by the reduction in the number of households having earned income as their primary source of income. In the period 1986 to 1997, the proportion of households having earned income as their primary source of income was reduced from 69 per cent in 1986 to 64 per cent in 1997. The decrease occurred in the period 1988 to 1992, and then stabilized at 61 per cent until 1994. The proportion increased after 1993.

**Transfers have become less important**

During the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, transfers took on greater significance as a source of income. Transfers made up 17 per cent of total income in 1986, 19 per cent in 1990, and rose to 23 per cent of total household income in 1992. After 1992, however, the importance of transfers as a source of income declined somewhat, and by 1997 transfers constituted 21 per cent of total income. Transfers means the sum of taxable and tax-free transfers as defined in the income account (see box 6.2).

In the years around 1990, the number of pensioners increased rapidly. Since 1992, however, growth has been rather moderate. The rapid growth in the number of pensioners caused a considerable increase in the proportion of households receiving pensions, which includes both social security benefits and service pensions as their most important source of income. While the percentage of households having pensions as their main source of income in 1986 was 28, this was the case for 31 per cent of households in 1993. This proportion then decreased to barely 29 per cent by 1997.

Declining unemployment after 1993 also contributed to the reduction in the importance of transfers as a source of income towards the end of the period. While 6 per cent of the labour force were unemployed in 1993, this proportion had dropped to 4.1 per cent by 1997.

**Significant decrease in interest paid on loans**

In 1997, interest paid by households (capital expenditure) averaged about 5 per cent of total income. In fixed prices, households paid more than twice as much interest on loans in 1986 as compared to

**Box 6.2. Definitions of income**

The data in this chapter are based on the Income Distribution Survey for households.

*The income distribution surveys* are based on information about income and property given by a national sample of households, and gives information about different kinds of household, such as singles, households with children and pensioners. A weakness of surveys of this type is the problem of unreliable data for small groups of persons.

The term after-tax income does not show the differences in disposable incomes caused by the differences in interest paid on loans. For example, young people who are starting a family often spend more on interest on loans compared to older people, and when interest paid on loans is not subtracted from after-tax income, there is a risk of over-estimating the economic welfare of younger people compared to older people.

In principle, the income from housing should be included in the income term, where income from housing is defined as the market value of the rent minus expenditure on maintenance and interest on loans. It is, however, difficult to estimate the market rent of one's home. We have chosen to use the term disposable income, in which interest paid on loans is subtracted from after-tax income. It is therefore assumed that the interest paid on loans equals the rental value of the dwelling, which is only approximately correct in the cases where the dwelling is totally financed by loans.

*Earned income* includes wages and salaries, fees etc., wages and salaries in kind such as a company car and sick pay (both from employer and social security).

*Net entrepreneurial income* includes, as defined in income statistics, income from entrepreneurial activities before allocations to reserves (up to 1991), but after depreciation and writedowns and deductions for operating expenses and entrepreneurial deficit. Taxable sick pay in entrepreneurial activities is also included.

*Property income* includes interest income, share dividends, net realised capital gains and other property income (such as rent and income from abroad).

*Transfers* include taxable social security benefits (old age, survivor and disability pensions, transitional benefits for single parents, children's pensions and rehabilitation benefits), service pensions, unemployment benefit, alimonies etc., and tax-free transfers such as family (children's) allowances, dwelling rent support, scholarships, parents' tax deductions, social assistance, maternity benefits (from 1994) and other transfers.

Earned income  
 + Net entrepreneurial income  
 + Property income  
 + Transfers  
 = Total income  
 - Total assessed taxes and negative transfers  
 = After-tax income

1997, respectively just over NOK 36 000 (1997 prices), or 12 per cent of income, and a little more than NOK 17 000. Interest paid by households peaked in 1988 at an average of NOK 46 600 in 1997 prices. In 1997, property income,

which is mainly made up of interest on bank deposits and share dividends, constituted 6 per cent of total income. This proportion has not changed much during the period.

The interest rate on loans together with the size of the debt, are of vital importance when analyzing the capital expenditure of households. Changes in tax policy, giving a smaller tax deduction for interest paid on loans, are also a factor. In 1987, the savings bank interest rate peaked at an average rate of 16.6 per cent. From 1992 to 1993, interest rates plunged from 13.4 to 8.8 per cent, and by 1997 the rate was down to 6.1 per cent.

Even though there has been a considerable reduction in interest rates from 1986 to 1997, there has not been a similar reduction in property income. This is due to a strong increase in share dividends received by the households. While interest income fell from NOK 12 300 (converted to 1997 prices) in 1986 to NOK 4 600 in 1997, average share dividends received by all households increased from NOK 1 200 in 1986 to NOK 6 500 in 1997. Analyzing the period 1986 to 1997 as a whole, property income increased by 23 per cent, from NOK 16 000 in 1986 (1997 prices) to almost NOK 20 000 in 1997.

## 6.2. Change in income in different kinds of household

### Strongest increase in income among couples with small children and middle-aged couples

In fixed prices, after-tax income per unit of consumption increased by 12 per cent for all households in the period 1986 to 1997. The differences between the households are, however, considerable. During the same period, middle-aged couples without children at home and couples with small children have had an increase in after-tax income per unit of consumption of 25 and 24 per cent, respectively. Elderly singles, elderly couples and single

Table 6.2. Change in average after-tax income per unit of consumption in different kinds of household. 1986-1997. 1986=100<sup>1</sup>

	1986	1991	1995	1997
<b>All household .....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>Single</b>				
Below 45 years .....	100	108	96	99
45-64 years .....	100	99	105	110
65 years and over .....	100	110	107	117
<b>Couples without children by age of the eldest person</b>				
Under 45 years .....	100	106	103	114
45-64 years .....	100	110	115	125
65 years and over .....	100	109	116	118
<b>Couples with children, youngest child aged</b>				
0-6 years .....	100	111	112	124
7-17 years .....	100	104	108	113
<b>Mother/father with children</b>				
0-17 years .....	100	104	109	116

<sup>1</sup> Deflated by the consumer price index.

Source: Income distribution surveys, Statistics Norway.

parents have all had an above-average increase in income for all households of between 16 and 18 per cent. A substantial part of the income increase occurred in the period 1995 to 1997. Both elderly singles and couples with small children saw their after-tax income per unit of consumption increase by almost 10 per cent during this (rather short) period.

### Young singles are left behind

On the other hand, the incomes of young singles (below the age of 45), were almost unchanged or decreased slightly in the period 1986 to 1997. This income reversal among young singles is caused to some degree by the fact that an increasing number of young people are enrolled in higher education. The economic activity of young singles has decreased. While



79 per cent of young singles were economically active in 1986, the proportion dropped to 68 per cent in 1997. Earned income in this group consequently decreased by 7 per cent, from NOK 166 600 in 1986 (1997 prices) to NOK 155 700 in 1997. Even if students are excluded from the analysis, the income of young singles has risen little, with the after-tax income per unit of consumption increasing only 2 per cent during the period.

Young singles were not the only ones to see a reduction in earned income. In the period 1986 to 1997, elderly couples and elderly singles saw a decrease in economic activity and earned income. On the other hand, the economic activity of couples having small children has increased. While both parents were economically active in 53 per cent of households with small children in 1986, this was the case in 69 per cent of households in 1997 (see chapter 5 also). In fixed prices, earned income in this category of households increased by 20 per cent during the period. From 1995 to 1997 alone, couples with small children saw their earned income grow close to 8 per cent, from NOK 381 700 in 1995 to NOK 411 200 in 1997.

### **Lowest income among elderly and young singles and single parents**

To compare the level of income in different kinds of households, we have to take into consideration the consequences of using different consumption weights. Most consumption weights indicate that middle-aged couples (oldest person 45-64 years) without children have the highest after-tax income per unit of consumption. According to Statistics Norway's scale (see box 6.3), the income of such middle-aged couples in 1986 was 30 per cent above the average income of all households. By 1997, the difference had

increased to 45 per cent. Younger couples without children and families with grown-up children also had an income level about 30 per cent above average.

The lowest level of income is found among elderly singles, single parents and young singles, whose incomes are respectively 66, 77 and 78 per cent of the average of all households. In 1997, couples with small children had an after-tax income 11 per cent above the average of all households, while couples with older children had an income 23 per cent above average.

### **Considerable reduction in interest paid on loans by younger households**

The establishment of a household involves a number of investments. Capital expenditures are distributed highly unevenly over a lifetime. Thus, there are reasons to take these expenditures into account when comparing the economic welfare of different social groups.

The reduction in interest paid on loans after 1993 has had a positive effect on economic conditions, particularly among younger households. In 1997, interest paid on loans made up 7 per cent of the total income of couples with small children, while in 1986 the similar proportion was 18 per cent.

In 1997, couple with children, both small children and schoolchildren, had the highest interest expenses, on average NOK 35 000. In 1986, couples with small and older children had capital expenditures of NOK 70 400 and 75 500, respectively (in fixed 1997 prices).

The interest expenses of young singles were more than halved from 1986 to 1997. While young singles paid NOK

25 200 (in 1997 prices) in interest expenses in 1986, the equivalent sum in 1997 was NOK 10 200, or 6 per cent of total income.

The interest expenses of young couples without children were also halved during the same period, from NOK 52 500 (1997 prices) in 1986, to NOK 26 500 in 1997. Measured as a proportion of total income, interest expenses decreased from 14 per cent in 1986 to 6 per cent in 1997.

While the younger households have the highest capital expenditures, the middle-aged have the highest property incomes. There are great differences in the change in property income among different categories of households and between households of the same kind. Young and middle-aged singles had decreasing property income from 1986 to 1997. Young singles saw a reduction from NOK 6 000 in 1986 to NOK 3 400 in 1997, middle-aged singles decreased from NOK 15 300 in 1986 to NOK 8 600 in 1997. During the period as a whole, the property income of elderly singles remained almost unchanged, while elderly couples had a decrease of 7 per cent. Property income increased both among young and middle-aged couples as well as households with children. This is because the increase in received share dividends more than outweighed the decrease in property income.

From 1986 to 1997, interest income of elderly couples fell more than half, from NOK 23 800 to NOK 10 600 (in fixed 1997 prices). At the same time, the average share dividends received by this group increased from NOK 1 700 in 1986 to NOK 6 600 in 1997. The share dividends received by these persons were highest in 1994 and 1995, with NOK 11 000 and NOK 12 200, respectively. (See chapter 6.4 on property as well.) Because

properties are very unevenly distributed, the same applies to property income.

### **6.3. Uneven distribution of income**

Since the end of the 1980s, there has been a growing concern about inequality in society, not least in the disparities in the economic welfare of the households. Poverty as a social problem has received increased attention. Previous research has concluded that inequalities in income did not change much during the 1970s and 1980s (Strøm, Wennemo and Aaberge 1993), while many now claim there is a growing inequality in society.

When analyzing the topic of inequality in income, households and persons are ranked according to a certain notion of "income". Persons and households are most often ranked by income and then divided into ten equally large groups (deciles or decile groups). Inequality is often measured by the proportion of total income received by each decile group.

#### **The rich got richer in the 1990s**

The distribution of income became more uneven during the period in question. In 1986, the average income of the richest tenth of the population was 4.5 times the size of the average income of the poorest tenth. In 1990 this proportion had increased to 4.8 and by 1997 to 6. The growth partially occurred at the end of the 1980s, but mostly in the years after 1992 (see appendix, indicator 6.11).

The most significant change has happened to the richest 10 per cent of the population, who received more of the total income during the 1990s. The growth was at the expense of most of the other decile groups. Consequently, it was not particularly the poorest tenth who reduced their total income.

The main reason why the richest tenth of persons have received a larger share of total income, is that an increasing proportion of the property income of households is received by the richest persons. In 1986, the richest tenth of the population had 30 per cent of the property income at their disposal. By 1997 this proportion had grown to 75 per cent. The most important factor behind this change is the increase in both share dividends and realised capital gains, and the fact that both sources of income are very unevenly distributed in the population (Epland 1998).

### More persons with low incomes

There is no official definition of poverty in Norway. Poverty is difficult to measure as well. However, because of international comparisons of indicators, analyses have

been made in recent years which show the change in the proportion of persons with low incomes and who they are (see for instance Aaberge, Andersen and Wen-nemo 1996). These figures have been used in other countries, and to some degree in Norway as well, to indicate the extent of poverty and which persons who are poor.

Table 6.3 shows the number of persons with a net household income per consumption unit under half of the median income (i.e. the income dividing the distribution of income into two equal parts). Half of the median income defines a limit called the low income or poverty line. Both the definition of income and equivalence scales chosen (see box 6.3), strongly influence the size and composition of the group of persons with a low

Table 6.3. Percentage of persons with an after-tax income per unit of consumption below half of median, in different kinds of household. Two different equivalence scales.<sup>1</sup> 1986, 1992 and 1997

	OECD scale			SSB scale		
	1986	1992	1997	1986	1992	1997
<b>All households .....</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>7.4</b>
<b>Single</b>						
Below 45 years .....	15.3	19.2	22.3	21.4	24.9	28.9
45-64 years .....	2.8	1.7	4.0	15.7	12.2	9.6
65 years and over .....	3.2	2.8	2.3	39.6	33.6	33.6
<b>Couples without children by age of the eldest person</b>						
Under 45 years .....	3.0	6.5	4.9	4.0	6.6	5.3
45-64 years .....	0.3	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.4
65 years and over .....	1.2	1.3	1.3	5.1	3.4	2.6
<b>Couples with children. youngest child aged</b>						
0-6 years .....	3.6	3.8	4.2	2.7	3.2	2.6
7-17 years .....	0.7	2.6	1.8	0.4	1.8	1.0
<b>Mother/father with children</b>						
0-17 years .....	9.6	3.8	7.3	16.8	14.5	11.9

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of units of consumption and equivalence scales, see box 6.3.

Source: Income distribution surveys, Statistics Norway.

income. An equivalence scale is used when comparing the incomes of households of different sizes.

In poverty analyses it is common to indicate the number of persons who are poor, although households have also been used as the unit of analysis. The results are also naturally influenced by the number of persons or households defined as poor as a result of the analysis. In table 6.3, two equivalence scales are used. In addition to the one used previously (the Statistics Norway scale), the so-called OECD scale is also used (see box 6.3).

From 1986 to 1997, the proportion of persons with low incomes increased slightly, no matter which of the two scales is used. Measured by the OECD scale,

4.7 per cent were found to be below the low income line in 1997, while the other scale indicated that 7.4 per cent were below this line. The two equivalence scales have different low income or poverty lines. In 1997, the OECD scale drew the poverty line at NOK 64 100, while the other scale set it at NOK 82 200.

### **Low incomes more common among women**

To some degree, the two different equivalence scales give different answers to the question of who can be categorized as low-income. The choice of scale is important when trying to find the proportion of elderly people below the low-income line, particularly elderly singles. When measured by the OECD scale, a little above 2 per cent of elderly singles had an

#### **Box 6.3. Equivalence scales and units of consumption**

In order to compare the incomes of different kinds of household, it is common to make use of so-called equivalence scales, or to estimate the income per unit of consumption. An equivalence scale takes into account the economy of scale of more people living together under the same roof. Dwellings, TVs, washing machines and newspapers are examples of goods shared by several people.

Many equivalence scales have been used, and there is no agreement as to which scale is best. The choice of such a scale has relatively few implications when measuring the change in income per unit of consumption in different households. The choice, however, is of significance when measuring the differences in income between different categories of households and when studying the distribution of income and low income.

We have decided to use an equivalence scale which only takes into consideration the number of persons living in each household. Children and grown-ups are counted as equals. The income in the household is divided by the square root of the number of persons belonging to the household (the Statistics Norway scale). This equivalence scale thus implies that a household with two persons needs an income 1.4 times as high as a one-person household in order to have the same economic welfare, while a household consisting of four persons needs an income twice as high as that of a single person to have the same standard of living.

Another equivalence scale frequently used is the OECD scale. This scale weighs the income of the household by giving adult number one consumption weight 1, while a consumption weight of 0.7 is used for other adults in the household. Consumption weight 0.5 is used for each child (16 years and younger). With this scale, a family of two grown-ups and two children needs an income 2.7 times as high as a single person in order to have the same economic standard. Compared with the first scale, the OECD scale put less emphasis on the economies of scale in larger households. By using the OECD scale, large households consequently get a lower income per unit of consumption than by using the other scale.

income below the low income line in 1997. On the other hand, if we use the other scale, more than 30 per cent of elderly singles had an income below the same line. When analyzing middle-aged singles as well, the results are quite different according to the two scales. This is due to the fact that among both middle-aged and elderly singles there is a significant proportion with incomes between NOK 64 100 and NOK 82 200, and thus do not belong to the low-income group as defined by the OECD scale, but still have incomes close to the low income line. In 1997, the minimum pension received by singles was NOK 68 320.

When analyzing other categories, the two different indicators of poverty mostly present the same pattern. Compared to couples, a higher proportion of young singles and single parents belong to the low-income group. Women more often than men have low incomes. In 1997, nearly 8 per cent of women were below the low-income line, compared to 5 per cent of men (see appendix, indicator 6.12). This is probably due to the fact that most of those receiving the minimum pension are women. By using the OECD scale, there was almost no difference in the proportion of women and men in the low-income group in 1991 (Aaberge, Andersen and Wennemo 1996).

Children and young people more seldom belong to the low-income group than the rest of population. In 1996, 4 per cent of those aged 0 to 17 years lived in a low-income household.

#### **High turnover in the low-income group**

About half of those defined as poor one year, are not in this category the following year. Consequently, there is considerable turnover in the low-income group.

More attention has therefore been focused on those whose incomes remain low for several years.

The "chronically" poor are defined as persons whose total income over a five-year period is 50 per cent under the median income of the total income of all persons during the five-year period. A couple of studies on chronic poverty have been carried out in Norway (see for instance Aaberge, Andersen and Wennemo 1999). This study indicated, by using the OECD scale when measuring consumption weights, that only 2.1 per cent of all persons were chronically poor in the period 1991 to 1995.

It is primarily young singles and non-western immigrants that account for more than a fair share of the chronically poor, although households with small children are somewhat overrepresented as well.

The chronically poor also have a low income when compared with those who are poor, but not chronically poor. An analysis of income in the period 1986 to 1993 found that the average income of those who were poor in one of the eight years was almost twice as high as that of the chronically poor, and constituted 70 per cent of the average income of all persons (Aaberge, Andersen and Wennemo 1996).

## **6.4. Property and liabilities**

### **Difficult to analyze the change in property**

It is far more difficult to present the development and distribution of property than the development and distribution of income. One main reason is that the income distribution surveys are based on

**Box 6.4. Tax value of property**

The data on property selected from the tax return have a number of shortcomings. It is difficult to estimate the value of real capital such as dwellings, holiday homes, cars or boats. The value of the real capital is often estimated too low. This is the case with for instance dwellings. A substantial value is often subtracted before information is given on the tax return (the value of house contents and movables to give an example). The estimated value of a dwelling is subject to great variation, depending on its location, age or when it was last sold.

Shares in listed companies are estimated by 75 per cent of the market value at the beginning of the year, while other shares are estimated at 30 per cent of their value. Thus, there are considerable differences with respect to how well the tax value reflects the market value. A third problem making it difficult to interpret information on property is that the operating capital and liabilities of self-employed persons are included in the figures on property. The income distribution survey lacks information on pension rights as well. The value of group and individual pension schemes are not taxable, and are therefore not listed in the tax return. This is a significant property item (see Justad 1999).

Information on property before and after 1992 are not fully comparable, due to the changes introduced in the Tax Reform of 1992 (the non-taxable amount was removed and share valuation was changed, among others).

information from tax returns, and that the tax value of part of real capital (such as dwellings and cabins) is far below market value. There are also considerable and unsystematic variations in tax value, making comparisons of real capital between social categories rather uncertain. A study of dwellings sold in 1995, concluded that, on average, the tax value on dwellings constituted 30 per cent of market value (Statistics Norway 1997). The tax value of holiday homes is equally low (see box 6.4).

The estimated value of part of the so-called financial capital (such as bank deposits and securities) is low in the tax return as well. One example is unlisted shares. The financial capital statistics are without a doubt better than the real capital statistics. A major property item not included is the value of group and individual pension schemes (Justad 1999).

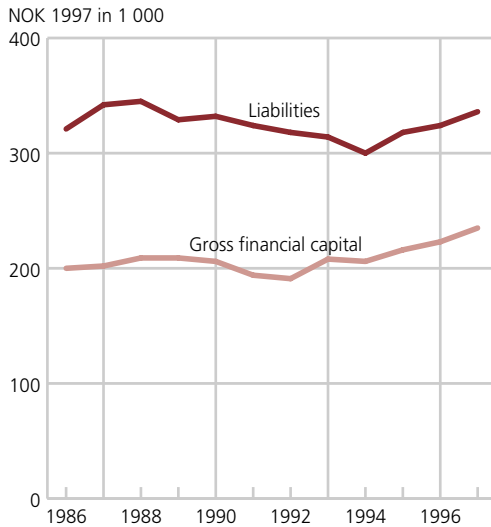
**Increasing gross property and liabilities after 1994**

In 1997, the total value of gross financial capital (bank deposits, securities and other kinds of financial capital) amounted to an average of NOK 234 800 per household. Average debt was approximately NOK 100 000 higher; NOK 335 600. According to the Income Distribution Survey 1997, the average real capital of households was estimated at NOK 232 000.

Until 1994, there were only minor variations in the size of gross financial capital, but after that it increased steadily and by 1997 it was 10 per cent higher than 1994 (in fixed prices).

In the period 1986 to 1997 there was a 6 per cent increase (in fixed prices) in real capital and 17 per cent in gross financial capital. Liabilities increased in the period 1987 to 1988 and then declined, reaching the lowest point in 1994. Liabilities then increased, and were by 1997 4 per cent above the level of 1986. In 1986

Figure 6.2. Average gross financial capital and liabilities in households. 1986-1997. NOK 1997 (fixed prices)



Source: Income distribution surveys, Statistics Norway.

household liabilities amounted to an average of NOK 321 300 (1997 kroner), while the average for 1997 was NOK 335 600. Average liabilities peaked in 1988 at NOK 345 400.

At the end of the 1980s there was great public concern about the debt problems of households. These problems have been considerably reduced by the decline in interest rates in 1993. The period 1986 to 1997 as a whole shows an increase in the proportion of households having a high (rate of) debt. While 12 per cent of households had liabilities twice the size of total income in 1986, this was the case in 15 per cent of the households in 1997 (see appendix, indicator 6.20). Because of lower interest rates, debts are easier to manage.

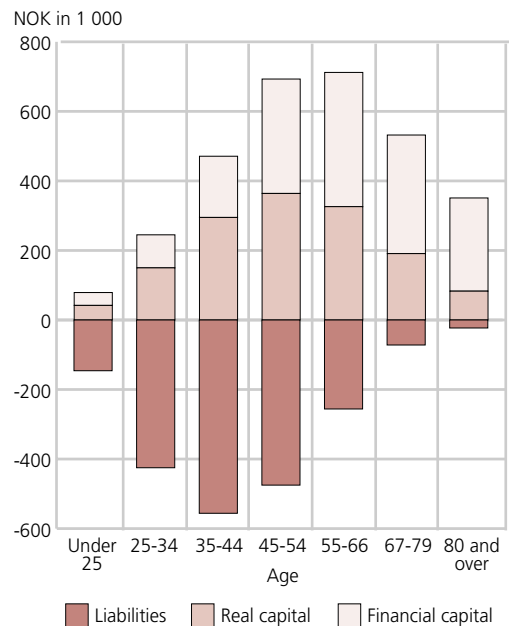
From 1986 to 1997, household debt was reduced when measured as percentage of

gross property, from 77 per cent in 1986 to 72 per cent in 1997.

**The distribution of property has become more uneven**

In 1997, the half of the households having the lowest gross financial capital controlled only 4 per cent of the total gross financial capital of all households. The 10 per cent with the highest gross financial capital controlled more than 60 per cent. In 1986, the distribution was somewhat more even. The 50 per cent with the lowest gross financial capital controlled close to 6 per cent, against somewhat more than 50 per cent owned by the 10 per cent with the highest gross financial capital (see appendix, indicator 6.19).

Figure 6.3. Property account for households, by age of main income earner. 1997. NOK in 1 000



Source: Income Distribution Survey 1997, Statistics Norway.

There are systematic variations between older and younger households in the distribution of both gross financial capital, real capital and liabilities. Households with children have the largest debts. In 1997, couples having small children had an average debt of close to NOK 670 000, while the debts of couples with school-children were NOK 650 000. By comparison, elderly singles and elderly couples had debts of NOK 44 000 and 119 000, respectively, in 1997.

The gross financial capital of households increases with age up to 55 to 66 years. In 1997, this category had a gross financial capital of NOK 386 000. In the same year, the average gross financial capital of those aged 80 years and older was NOK 267 500. Households with main income earners aged 55 to 66 years are the youngest age group to have a gross financial capital larger than debts. However, we have to take into consideration that gross financial capital is somewhat underestimated, which hardly is the case with the debt.

From 1986 to 1997, net financial capital (gross financial capital minus liabilities) increased in particular among the elderly (both singles and couples), and among couples with older or grown-up children. Among the elderly and couples with older children, the increase constituted approximately NOK 80 000, while couples with grown-up children living at home saw an increase of just over NOK 100 000. During the same period, net financial capital fell in particular among middle-aged singles, who saw a reduction of NOK 126 300. There was a considerable reduction in net financial capital among middle-aged and younger couples without children and single parents as well.

In 1997, elderly couples had the highest net financial capital, NOK 325 500. This type of capital was high among elderly singles as well, with an average of NOK 207 500. Couples with small children, on the other hand, had a negative net financial capital of NOK 489 200.

### **Inheritance and gifts**

In 1997, 21 700 persons received a total of NOK 7.3 billion in taxable inheritance, or an average of NOK 335 300. Inheritances below the tax-free amount (NOK 100 000 in 1997) and estates under public administrations (approximately 2-5 per cent of settlements) are not included in the statistics.

Those with the highest incomes inherit the most (Breivik 1998). In 1997, 791 persons inherited NOK 1 or more million.

Gifts are also taxable. Under 1997 rules, a person could receive NOK 100 000 in tax-free gifts or advance on inheritance from the same person. In 1997, 9 600 persons received taxable gifts or an advance on their inheritance worth an average value of NOK 394 500. If tax-free gifts are included, 32 500 persons were registered as receiving gifts in 1997. Average value was NOK 178 000.

### **More households have more than one car**

In addition to dwellings (see chapter 8.3), cars and holiday homes are the main real capital items owned by households. From 1980 to the beginning of the 1990s, the proportion of households owning a car increased from 60 to 76 per cent. The proportion subsequently dipped but now appears to be on the rise again. By 1998, 78 per cent of households had a car. The increase in car ownership in the 1980s occurred despite the increase in the number of one-person households, which is



**Box 6.5. Survey of consumer expenditure**

The survey of consumer expenditure is a survey based on information given by a representative sample of 1 300 households annually. The information from the survey of consumer expenditure partly consists of accounts of all expenditures in the household during a period of two weeks (the sample is evenly spread through the year in order to cover the whole year), and is based partly on extensive interviews.

It is important to be aware of some special "rules" when interpreting the results. Expenditures on food do not include food eaten in restaurants, canteens, cafés or kiosks. Mortgage principal payments are not reckoned as housing expenditure, but are regarded as savings. Housing expenditures include expenditures on fuel and power. If the household buys a new car, the full price of the car is entered the year it is purchased regardless of whether part of the purchase price is borrowed. Expenditures on conducted tours are not counted as transport expenditures, but are under "other goods and services".

Due to the small annual samples, figures on expenditures in one single year can only be published for all households. When publishing figures for single groups of households, samples from three years are added (the results are then presented as being from the years 1993-1995, to take an example).

the category with the smallest proportion of car ownership.

The need for transport, rather than economic capacity, seems to decide whether a household buys a car or not. Most households have the economic capacity to buy a relatively reasonably priced used car. Two-person households usually have a car, and almost all couples with children have their own car. In 1996-1998, 92 per cent of couples with small children and 95 per cent of couples with big children had a car. Among singles below the age of 65, 58 per cent owned a car, while the same goes for 43 per cent of singles 65 years and older.

In 1996-1998, 19 per cent of households had more than one car, twice the percentage of 1980-1982 (9 per cent). The proportion having more than one car increased the most among couples with big children, from 35 per cent in 1986-1988 to as much as 44 per cent in 1996-1998. Among couples with small children, the proportion with more than one car increased from 22 per cent of households in

1986-1988 up to 29 per cent in 1996-1998. The proportion having more than one car increased among couples without children as well, from 15 per cent in 1986-1988 to 24 per cent in 1996-1998.

Only a minority of households own their own holiday home: just over 20 per cent during the whole period since 1980. This does not mean that the number of such houses has remained unchanged. Since there has been a considerable increase in the number of households in the years after 1980, the number of holiday homes has increased as well.

The purchase of a holiday home is, to a higher degree than the purchase of a car, dependent on the economic capacity of a household. Inheritance and transfers between generations play an important role as well.

In 1996-1998, 33 per cent of couples without children owned a holiday home, and 29 per cent of couples with big children. At the same time, only 15 per cent of couples with small children owned a

holiday home, and 20 per cent of elderly singles. Single parents constituted the category with the lowest proportion holiday home ownership (6 per cent).

## 6.5. Consumption trends

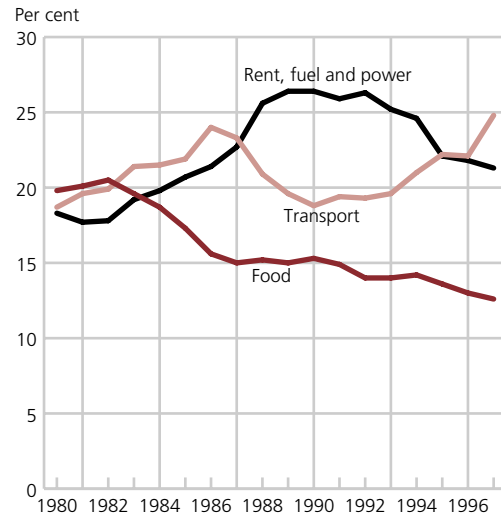
### Consumption is still growing, and the level of 1988 has been surpassed

Average annual consumption expenditure of the households increased rapidly at the beginning of the 1980s, from NOK 171 100 in 1980 to NOK 218 400 in 1986 (measured in fixed 1998 prices), an increase of all of 28 per cent. After decreasing slightly at the end of the 1980s, consumption rebounded at a more moderate rate. Annual average consumption expenditure in the households increased from NOK 206 300 in 1990 to NOK 241 600 in 1998 (in fixed 1998 prices). This is an increase of 17 per cent, giving an annual growth rate just over half that of the early 1980s. In 1988, consumption expenditure was NOK 219 300 measured in 1998 prices. In 1996, this level was exceeded by a wide margin.

### Steady decline in expenditure on food

Food, housing and transport have long been the main items of a household budget, constituting approximately 60 per cent of total expenditure. The relative distribution of these expenditures, however, has changed substantially over the 17-year period. Material prosperity has increased, while there has been a long-term tendency to spend less and less proportionally on food. In the early 1980s, the average household spent about 20 per cent of total expenditures on food, while by the end of the 1990s, barely 13 per cent was spent on this item. Expenditure on food (in fixed prices) has never-

Figure 6.4. Proportion of total consumption expenditure in the households spent on food, housing and transport. 1980-1997. Per cent



Source: Surveys of consumer expenditure, Statistics Norway.

theless been rather stable or decreased just slightly. In 1982, food expenditures per household totalled NOK 35 600 and by 1998 the figure was NOK 29 800 (in fixed 1998 prices). Part of the decrease is due to the fact that the average household has become smaller. But more food is also bought and consumed outside home (in restaurants, canteens, cafes and kiosks), while the survey covers only food bought for consumption in the home.

### The proportion spent on housing is still decreasing

The growth in consumption in the mid-1980s was largely attributed to durable consumer goods, particularly housing, but also transport (cars). For several decades, housing expenditures have constituted an increasing part of total consumption expenditures, but by 1993 this trend was broken. In the 1960s housing expenses accounted for 12-14 per cent of consumption. Due to increasing interest rates, the

proportion spent on housing soared in 1988, and by 1990 it constituted 26 per cent of total expenditures. After 1992, the proportion spent on housing decreased, and by 1998 the average household spent 20 per cent on housing, or NOK 49 600. In the early 1980s, expenditures on food and transport were higher than expenditures on housing. By 1984, housing expenditures became higher than food expenditures, and by 1988 these expenditures were higher than those on transport as well. Housing expenditures remained the largest item in household budgets until 1995 when transport became the largest.

### **Expenditures on transport peaked in 1998**

Over the last 15 years, expenditures on transport as a proportion of total consumption expenditure have fluctuated at around 20 per cent, with the exception of 1986-1987 when the proportion was about 24 per cent, and in 1998 when the proportion rose to above 25 per cent. In both 1980 and 1990 the proportion of expenditure on transport was as low as 19 per cent. From 1993 the proportion increased again to above 25 per cent in 1998, which is above the level of the mid-1980s.

In 1998, the average household spent NOK 61 800 on transport. The fluctuations in expenditures on transport are due to the fluctuations in new car buying. In the survey of consumer expenditure, the purchase of cars is registered with the full purchase price the year the car is bought by the household, even though payments might be spread over a number of years. This means that fluctuations in the sale of new cars are immediately reflected in the statistics.

### **Most changes in the pattern of consumption among singles**

The differences in the composition of consumption expenditure are, among other things, a reflection of preferences and life styles. Preferences and life styles in turn are influenced by the stages of a household. A young household just getting started has other preferences than an older and much more established household. Both the size and age composition of a household will influence the pattern of consumption as well.

Expenditures on food as a proportion of consumption expenditures differ to some degree among different kinds of household. Young singles (aged 16 to 44 years) spend the lowest proportion on food (8 per cent in 1996-1998), while older couples without children spend the highest proportion (18 per cent). All households have seen a declining proportion of consumption expenditure on food. The biggest decline occurred among elderly singles, who saw expenditures fall from 25 per cent in 1980-1982 to 15 per cent in 1996-1998.

Housing expenditures constitute a major item in the budgets of all kinds of households. Singles in particular, regardless of age, spend a considerable proportion on housing. These households spend between 25 and 27 per cent on housing. In 1996-1998, households with more than one person spent just over 20 per cent on housing. The category with the smallest increase in spending on housing was elderly singles, whose expenditure increased by as little as 2 per cent in the last 17 years. Throughout their lives, however, elderly singles have spent a high proportion on housing. The proportion spent on housing was 25 per cent in 1980-1982, increased to 29 per cent in 1989-1991,

and then decreased to 27 per cent in 1996-1998.

In 1996-1998, elderly singles (65-85 years) spent the lowest proportion on transport (17 per cent), while middle-aged couples without children spent the highest (27 per cent). The proportion spent on transport has increased the most among middle-aged singles, from 14 per cent in 1980-1982 to 26 per cent in 1996-1998. This is a significant item in the budget of most categories of households.

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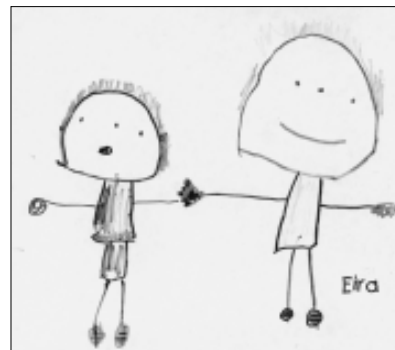
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## 7. Social security



### Two systems provide income safety net

One of the most important tasks of a welfare state is to protect its citizens against loss of income. In the Norwegian welfare state, this is first and foremost the task of national insurance and the social assistance offered by the municipalities. National insurance compensates loss of income associated with unemployment, maternity/pregnancy and birth, sickness and injury, disability, old age, and death. It is also supposed to compensate for high extraordinary expenditures, particularly in case of illness. National insurance is offered when other kinds of private and public support are insufficient. In order to receive such assistance, all other possibilities should have been tried in advance. The system is based on judgement, and is designed to cope with more diffuse or complex situations not covered by national insurance. Social assistance is also given to supplement national insurance benefits.

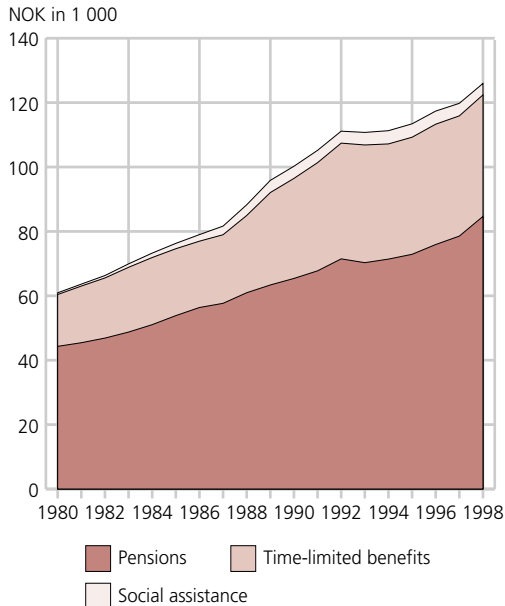
Group pension schemes and individual pensions and insurance are important supplements to national insurance benefits for many people. In addition to ordi-

nary savings, these systems make it possible for the individual, in case of loss of income, to maintain a decent or normal standard of living beyond what the public income insurance system can provide.

National insurance and social assistance are not the only public systems transferring money to households. The Norwegian system includes family allowances, Cash Benefit for Parents with Small Children, education allowances, various municipal benefits supplementing national insurance and the Norwegian State Housing Bank housing benefit. In different ways, all these systems influence the distribution of income and economic conditions between poor and rich and among the different households. The tax system and publicly subsidised services (kindergartens and other educational services and health and social services of different kinds) do the same. In this chapter, however, the focus will be on income protection and thus the two most important systems in this regard: national insurance and social assistance. The Cash Benefit for Parents with Small Children may be regarded as a form of income protection, but is covered in chapter 3. Care.

\* Eva Birkeland has written sections 7.1. and 7.2, Pål Christian Bergstrøm section 7.3.

Figure 7.1. Expenditure on pensions, time-limited national insurance<sup>1</sup> benefits and social assistance payments. 1980-1998. NOK 1998



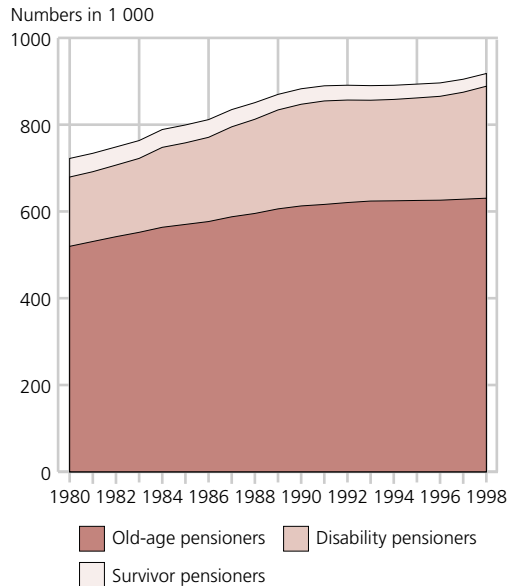
<sup>1</sup> Sickness benefits, rehabilitation benefits, maternity benefits, benefits to single parents, unemployment benefits.

Source: National Insurance Administration, Directorate of Labour and social statistics, Statistics Norway.

While social assistance is funded via municipal budgets, national insurance benefits are financed by employee and employer contributions and a state grant. The contributions or premiums and state grant are used to finance annual payments via the national insurance budget (the “pay-as-you-go” principle).

From 1980 to 1998, expenditures on pensions, temporary national insurance benefits and social assistance more than doubled in fixed NOK 1998 prices. Expenditures on time-limited benefits and social assistance increased the most in relative terms, particularly in 1986-1992 due to rising unemployment during the period in question.

Figure 7.2. Number of pensioners 31 December. 1980-1998



Source: National Insurance Administration.

### 7.1. National insurance pensions

The aim of national insurance pensions is to provide economic security to senior citizens, disabled persons, and survivors (widows, widowers and surviving children) experiencing loss of income. Pensioners are guaranteed a minimum level of income or a minimum pension. The size of a possible supplementary pension beyond the minimum pension depends on the size of previous earned income and the number of years of economic activity giving pension points. Those earning the highest income during their economically active years receive the highest pension, but get the lowest ratio of compensation by getting the lowest pension compared to previous income.

### **Box 7.1. National insurance benefits/pensions and Early Retirement Pension by Collective Agreement (AFP)**

National insurance pensions are made up of three main components. One main component, *the basic pension*, is fixed without taking into consideration the size of previous income. The other main component, *the supplementary pension*, is calculated on basis of previous earned income (pensionable income). A third component is *the special supplement*, given as a supplement to the basic pension to pensioners not having the right to supplementary pension, or having a supplementary pension smaller than the special supplement. The total amount of basic pension and special supplement constitutes *the minimum pension*.

*Old-age pension* is given to people 67 years and older. During the first three years, this pension is adjusted against earned income, but old-age pensioners aged 70 years and older are allowed to have earned income in addition to their pension without getting less pension.

Both the granting of, and the size of the national insurance benefits are linked to *the Basic Amount (B.A.)*, fixed by the Storting each year. A full basic pension equals B.A., and the special supplement is measured as a percentage of B.A. The percentage of special supplement for a single old-age pensioner equalled 7.5 per cent when introduced in 1969, and has since increased to above 60 per cent (63.2 per cent by 1 May 1997).

*Disability pension* is granted to persons with a permanently impaired capacity to work due to illness, injury or handicap. This pension is fixed in the same way as an old-age pension, but the disability pensioner is regarded as having earned income at the same level as previous earned income, until retirement age.

*Survivors pension* is given to those whose provider passes away. The pension is calculated on basis of the previous income of the deceased and is adjusted against expected earned income.

Under certain conditions, *Early Retirement Pension by Collective Agreement (AFP)* gives workers the opportunity to retire with pension before the age of 67. The pension basically equals disability pension plus an AFP supplement. For public employees, 66 per cent of the full pension basis earned over 30 years is paid from age 65. In 1989, the retirement age for this pension was 66 years, and was gradually reduced to 62 years by 1998.

### **Diminishing increase in the number of old-age pensioners**

The number of pensioners increased all through the 1980s, from somewhat above 700 000 in 1980, to close to 900 000 in 1990.

The number of pensioners levelled off in the 1990s, after having increased steadily at a rate of just under 2 per cent in the 1980s. Those joining the ranks of old-age pensioners in the 1990s were born during a period of sinking numbers of births. Each new cohort of pensioners was therefore smaller than the previous one.

As has been the case all through the 1980s and 1990s, two out of three old-age pensioners are women. This is due to women having a longer life expectancy than men.

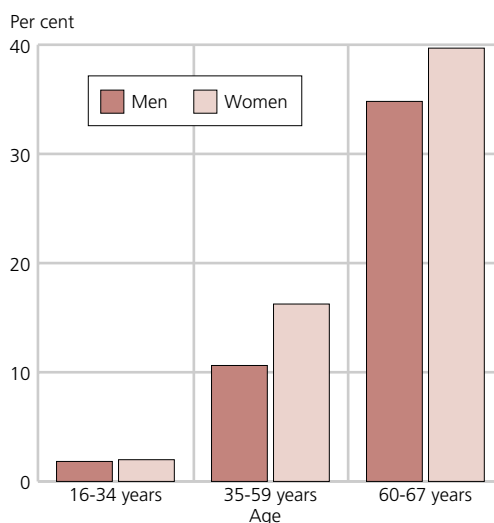
### **Disability pensioners increase during the 1980s**

The number of disability pensioners increased from 157 000 in 1980 to 234 000 in 1990, i.e. an increase of 77 000 persons or 46 per cent. Growth was particularly strong in the period 1983 to 1989. The proportion of disability pensioners increased among women in

particular. In 1980, about 7 per cent of all women and men aged 16 to 66 years had a disability pension, the rate being somewhat higher among women (7.3 per cent) than among men (6.8 per cent). Ten years later, 9.5 per cent of women and 7.4 of men received a disability pension (see appendix, indicator 7.7). There is no one single factor explaining this change. There seems to be agreement that the changes in health conditions or demographics only to a small degree can explain the development. A more common view is to view the rapid growth in the proportion of women receiving disability pension in relation to the increasing proportion of women in the labour force (see chapter 5.1). First, it was probably easier for women who had been economically active to be granted disability pension than it was for women who stayed at home. Second, most women who are economically active work double in the sense that they usually have the main responsibility for home and children. Combining work and family life can be stressful, and thus might contribute to the tendency for women to receive disability pension at a younger age than men (see figure 7.3) (Report to the Storting No. 39, 1991-92).

In the 1980s, more and more people received disability pension due to musculo-skeletal diseases, particularly ailments such as fibromyalgia. Female disability pensioners more often than men have musculo-skeletal diseases, and the increase in the 1980s was faster among women than among men. From 1980 to 1990, the proportion of disability pensioners having musculo-skeletal diseases increased from 26 to 37 per cent among women, and from 18 to 25 per cent among men. A likely contributory factor in this increase of the number of disability pensioners is more liberal practice. In 1990, it was probably easier to be granted a disability

Figure 7.3. Disability pensioners as percentage of the whole population, by age and sex. 31 December 1998



Source: National Insurance Administration.

pension on the basis of diseases like fibromyalgia than it was in the 1970s (Report to the Storting No. 39, 1991-92). But regarding women, the growth must also be seen in connection with the increase in economic activity and balancing of work and family life in the 1970s and 1980s.

### Temporary decrease due to tighter rules

From the end of the 1980s, the growth in the number of disability pensioners led to a focus on the rules regarding the granting of this pension. The criteria for granting an application for disability pension were tightened in several respects, at the same time as more resources were put into rehabilitation after 1993. The so-called "work line" was identified as the basic rule in pension policy, in order to prevent occupational passivity among people below retirement age. In the period 1991 to 1994 there was a slight decrease in the number of disability pensioners, followed by a new increase. When explaining this



new growth, the argument has been that the tighter rules and reforms only managed to postpone the granting of disability pension (Report to the Storting No. 35, 1994-95 and Proposition to the Storting No. 1, 1997-98). Consequently, the total effect of the tighter rules and reforms on the number of disability pensioners has not been that significant.

### New increase after 1995

In 1998, the number of disability pensioners was 258 000, the highest number until then. There may be many explanations for the growth in the number of disability pensioners in recent years. The probability of getting a disability pension increases by age. In recent years, the proportion of the population aged 50 years and more has increased, causing an increase in the influx of disability pensioners. At the same time, the group of people transferred from disability pension to old-age pension is rather small. However, the share of disability pensioners has grown in each age group. This might be due to the tight labour market resulting in higher employment among those in poor health. In turn, the consequence is higher sickness absenteeism and a higher number of disability pensioners.

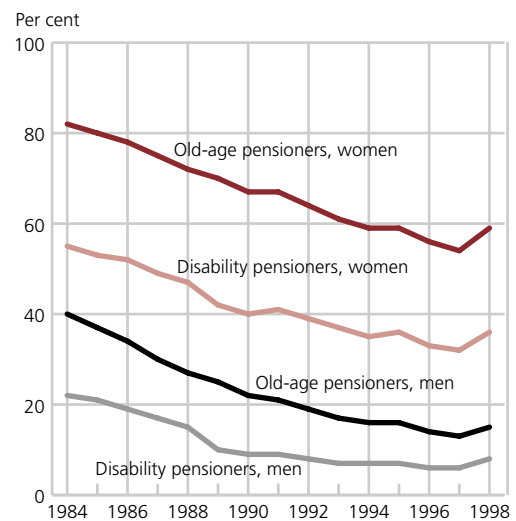
### Stable decrease in the number of survivor pensioners

From 1980 up to today, there has been a decline in the number of surviving partners receiving a national insurance pension (see appendix, indicator 7.8). The main reason is that mortality in the relevant age groups (up to 67 years) has been reduced, and more so for men than women (see chapter 1.3). Consequently, the number of widows has declined as well. The percentage of survivor pensioners among all widows and widowers aged 16 to 66 years has been about 55 per cent every year since 1980.

### Fewer minimum pension pensioners – higher pensions

In NOK 1998 prices, the average old-age pension increased from NOK 65 400 in 1984 to NOK 87 800 in 1997, an increase of 34 per cent. The growth is due to the reduction in minimum pension pensioners and that supplementary pension pensioners received higher supplementary pensions during the period. The oldest pensioners receiving the smallest pensions are passing away, while new pensioners receiving higher pensions are beginning to draw benefits, thereby raising the average. While 74 per cent (385 000) of the old-age pensioners had a minimum pension in 1980, the share was down to 37 per cent (234 000) in 1997 (see appendix, indicator 7.5). At that time, 21 per cent or 51 000 disability pensioners, and 13 per cent or 3 750 survivor pensioners, received a minimum pension.

Figure 7.4. Percentage of minimum pension pensioners among old-age and disability pensioners. Men and women. 1984-1998



Source: National Insurance Administration.

From 1 May 1998, the special supplement increased by NOK 12 000 per year, prompted by a desire to raise the minimum pension. The result was an increase in the average old-age pension (in fixed 1998 prices) from NOK 87 800 to NOK 95 500, equalling an increase of 9 per cent from 1997 to 1998. Following the reform, those receiving a smaller supplementary pension than the new special supplement received a minimum pension. Consequently, the number of minimum pension pensioners increased to 41 per cent among old-age pensioners, 24 per cent among disability pensioners and 20 per cent among survivor pensioners in 1998.

In the period 1984 to 1998, the average old-age pension received by women increased by 36 per cent, against 54 per cent among men. We are approaching a situation where almost all pensioners receiving a minimum pension are women (see figure 7.4). In other words, the increase in economic activity among women has not made their pensions keep up with those of men. When the pensioners of today were economically active and formed the basis for their pension rights, many women still had breaks in their working lives and many worked part-time. This is the situation among many of those who retire today as well. It is first and foremost men who have benefited from the rules for calculating supplementary pension, while the increase in the special supplement has mostly benefited women (see box 7.1).

### **Have pensions kept up with income?**

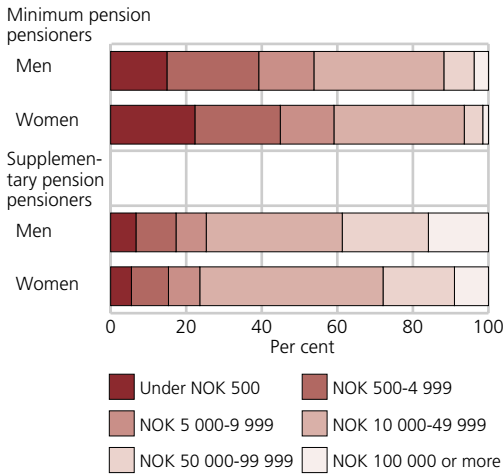
The answer to this question depends on whether one applies a group or an individual perspective, i.e. whether one looks at pensioners as a group or at the individual pensioner. In 1998, the average old-age

pension made up 36 per cent of income per full-time equivalent (see definitions in box 6.1), against 30 per cent in 1984. The main reason why the average old-age pension has increased more than income per full-time equivalent, is the change in the composition of the group of old-age pensioners. The number of minimum pension pensioners has become relatively smaller, and more supplementary pension pensioners also receive a higher supplementary pension. The old-age pension received by the individual pensioner has not increased nearly as much as this average. The minimum pension has, due to increases in the special supplement (see box 7.1), kept exact pace with regular wage increases. In the whole period 1980 to 1997, the minimum pension equalled about 28 per cent of income per full-time equivalent (see appendix, indicator 7.4). From 1997 to 1998 the minimum pension increased more than the average wage due to the rather high increase in the special supplement, and the percentage went up to 30 per cent. The increase for those with a supplementary pension has not been that good; their pensions have not kept up with salaries, and have barely kept up with inflation.

### **Most have income in addition to pension**

Nearly all pensioners have other sources of income in addition to national insurance benefits, but most have very small supplementary incomes. The frequency of small supplementary incomes is particularly high among minimum pension pensioners, and particularly so among female minimum pension pensioners. In 1997, 59 per cent of female old-age pensioners receiving a minimum pension had less than NOK 10 000 in addition to national insurance, while this was the case among 53 per cent of the male minimum pension pensioners. Among old-age pensioners

Figure 7.5. **Old-age pensioners, by size of their supplementary income<sup>1</sup>. Pensioners with minimum pension and supplementary pension. Men and women. 1997. Per cent**



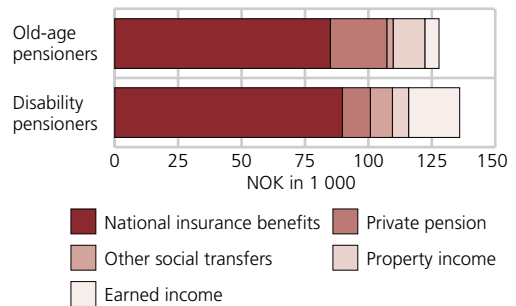
<sup>1</sup> Income in addition to national insurance benefits.

Source: Register-based Income Statistics 1997, Statistics Norway.

receiving supplementary pension, the corresponding figures were 24 per cent of women and 35 per cent of men. In 1997, close to one in four (22 per cent) female old-age pensioners receiving minimum pension had less than NOK 500 in supplementary income, against 15 per cent of the male minimum pension pensioners (see figure 7.5).

Among disability pensioners, the difference between the supplementary incomes of women and men is somewhat smaller, and these pensioners on average have higher supplementary incomes than the old-age pensioners: an average of NOK 46 000 per disability pensioner, and NOK 43 000 per old-age pensioner in 1997. In both categories supplementary income amounts to about half of their national insurance benefit. At that time, the average disability pensioner had a total income (pre-tax income) of NOK 136 000, while old-age pensioners had NOK 128 000.

Figure 7.6. **Composition of income for old-age and disability pensioners. Average individual income. 1997. NOK**



Source: Register-based Income Statistics 1997, Statistics Norway.

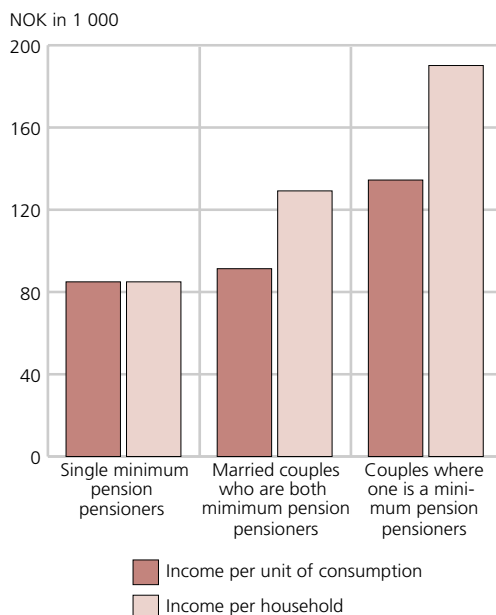
### Private pensions are important to old-age pensioners

In 1997, the main source of supplemental income among old-age pensioners was private pension (including own pension insurance and benefits derived from a surrendered property), averaging NOK 22 000 or one-fourth (26 per cent) of national insurance. Private pensions are of less importance to disability pensioners. Earned income is their main source of supplementary income. It is common for disability pensioners to have a reduced pension because they are supposed to add to their pension by working. In 1997, disability pensioners earned an average of NOK 20 000 by working.

### Considerable variations in household income among minimum pension pensioners ...

The economic situation of each pensioner is not only dependent on their own income; the income of other members of the household also plays a role. In 1996, more than half of the close to 290 000 minimum pension pensioners were either single pensioners (52 per cent) or married to a minimum pension pensioner (5 per cent), while the remaining 43 per

Figure 7.7. **Average after-tax income per unit of consumption<sup>1</sup> (E=0.5) and per household for households<sup>2</sup> with at least one minimum pension pensioner. 1997. NOK**



<sup>1</sup> Same equivalence scale as used in chapter 6. See box 6.3.

<sup>2</sup> Actual families. Families with children are excluded.

Source: Household Income Distribution Survey 1997, Statistics Norway.

cent either were married to a pensioner receiving supplementary pension or to a person still in the labour force. Single minimum pension pensioners and married minimum pension pensioners have a lower income per household than minimum pension pensioners who are married to pensioners with a supplementary pension or to economically active persons (see figure 7.7).

Figure 7.7 contains information on both the income per household and per unit of consumption in each of the categories mentioned above. In the first case, we measure household income without taking into consideration the different sizes of the households. In the second case, we

take into consideration that two persons will need a higher income than one person in order to have the same level of consumption or economic welfare as a single person, but not an income that is twice as high (see box 6.3 on equivalence scales and units of consumption). After having done these calculations, we find that minimum pension pensioners who are married to supplementary pension pensioners or someone who is economically active, are in a better economic situation than those who are not married or married to a minimum pension pensioner.

### ... and many have substantial savings

Despite the fact that many households with minimum pension pensioners have a low income, many of these households still have substantial savings. Among couples where at least one received a minimum pension, 62 per cent had NOK 100 000 or more in the bank in 1996. The same was true of 37 per cent of single minimum pension pensioners (Statistics Norway 1996).

### Rapid growth in number of AFP pensioners

Following the introduction of the Early Retirement Pension by Collective Agreement scheme (AFP) in 1989, the number of persons choosing early retirement increased rapidly. Its growth is due to the gradual lowering of the retirement age for admission to this pension system, that a higher proportion of those entitled to AFP applied for it and that the number of enterprises covered by the system has increased. Higher economic activity among middle-aged women, along with an increase in the number of persons entitled to receive AFP, are also factors contributing to the growth in the number of potential AFP pensioners. The change in the number of people receiving disability

pension must be taken into consideration as well. There has been a decline in the share of disability pensioners among men above the age of 60. On the other hand, there has been a decline in the 1990s in the size of the cohorts from which AFP pensioners have been recruited. In 1998, there were 22 000 AFP pensioners, ten times as many as in 1990 (see table 7.1). This equals 12 per cent of the population between 62 and 66. However, not all persons have this possibility to retire from work before reaching the ordinary retirement age. By the end of 1998, three AFP systems covering 575 000 employees were in force in the private sector. The AFP system in the public sector includes an equal number of employees. Altogether, about 60 per cent of all persons in the labour force are now potential AFP pensioners (Statistics Norway 1999).

**Table 7.1. Number of Early Retirement Pension by Collective Agreement (AFP) pensioners under 67 at the end of each year, and the retirement age under the system. 1990-1998**

	Retirement age	Number of AFP pensioners
1990 .....	65	2 549
1991 .....	65	3 188
1992 .....	65	3 556
1993 .....	64	4 682
1994 .....	64	7 186
1995 .....	64	8 729
1996 .....	64	10 035
1997 .....	63	12 902
1998 .....	62	20 566

Source: Directorate of Labour and National Insurance Administration.

## 7.2. Time-limited national insurance benefits

The aim of time-limited national insurance benefits is to provide economic security in the event of loss of income,

### Box 7.2. Time-limited national insurance benefits

#### Sickness benefits

*Sickness benefits* are paid to those unable to work due to illness or injury. In the first two weeks, these benefits are paid by the employer, while national insurance pays up to 50 weeks.

After receiving sickness benefits for a period of one year, rehabilitation benefits can be given up to one year if the person either is still unable to work or undergoing medical treatment or work-related rehabilitation.

#### Birth or adoption benefits

*Maternity benefits* are granted to the mother of the child if she has been economically active for a period of at least six of the nine months previous to giving birth. A one-time maternity grant is paid to women not entitled to maternity pay. Roughly the same benefits are provided in connection with adoption.

#### Transitional benefits to single parents

A single (unmarried, separated or divorced) mother or father who is a sole provider for children is entitled to a subsistence benefit during a period of transition, until he or she is able to support themselves through paid work.

#### Unemployment benefits

Unemployed persons are entitled to receive unemployment benefits for a period of up to three years. They are obliged to accept job or rehabilitation offers. If the person in question refuses to accept a job, unemployment allowance will be withdrawn.

### **Box 7.3. Time-limited benefits: Degree of coverage, level of benefit and degree of compensation**

Not all persons have the right to receive sickness benefits, maternity benefits or unemployment benefits. In order to obtain unemployment benefits, a wage/salary of a certain amount earned either through the last calendar year or as an average during the last three years, is required. In consequence, many young persons out of work will not be granted unemployment benefits.

In order to receive sickness benefits, an employee must have been working the last two weeks in advance of the occurrence of the incapacity, and the earned income must have been above a certain limit. This means that persons with occasional or sporadic work have to manage without sickness benefits when they get ill and are unable to work. In order to obtain maternity benefits, the mother of the child must have been economically active with pensionable earnings above a certain level in at least six of the ten months prior to the birth.

There is a clear difference between the level of benefit between the different kinds of benefit. Up to a certain limit, sickness benefits and maternity benefits make up 100 per cent of earned income. In the same category of income, unemployment benefits constitute 60 per cent of previous income. Rehabilitation benefits are measured according to the same methods of calculation used when measuring disability pension. Among those with the lowest incomes, these benefits are somewhat higher than unemployment benefits, and equal or somewhat lower than other categories of income. An additional benefit to providers can be granted both to those receiving unemployment benefits or rehabilitation benefits. Previously, the transitional benefits received by single parents equalled the minimum pension, but from 1 January 1998 make up 1.85 times national insurance's basic amount (see box 7.1). This benefit is calculated independent of previous income, but is adjusted against earned income.

whether the loss is due to sickness, unemployment, birth or if a single mother or father are the sole providers for small children. At any given time, there is a considerable number of persons receiving a time-limited national insurance benefit as compensation for a temporary loss of income (see table 7.2).

### **Unemployment benefits are not for everybody**

In 1983, as few as 53 per cent of those completely unemployed received unemployment benefits, a decline since 1988 when the corresponding proportion was 76 per cent (see appendix, indicator 7.11). This decrease must be seen in connection with the rapid increase in unemployment among youth during the recession at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s (see appendix, indicator 5.9).

The number of completely unemployed recipients of unemployment benefits at

the end of the year increased from 1988 up to 1992, but has declined since then (see table 7.2). The change in the number of completely unemployed recipients of unemployment benefits basically followed the change in the labour market from rising to falling unemployment at the turn of 1992-1993 (see chapter 5.4), but was also affected by the scope and implementation of different labour market measures.

In addition to those completely unemployed, people who are partly unemployed or participating in labour market training courses also receive unemployment benefits. The completely and partially unemployed nevertheless make up a majority of those receiving unemployment benefits. Among an average of 60 700 recipients of unemployment benefits in 1998, 49 per cent were completely unemployed and 45 per cent partially unemployed (Directorate of Labour 1998).

Table 7.2. Number of persons receiving time-limited cash benefits from national insurance. 31 December 1990-1998

	Total	Sickness benefits	Maternity benefits <sup>1</sup>	Rehabilitation benefits	Transitional benefits to single parents	Unemployment benefits <sup>2</sup>
1990 .....	231 000	69 900	:	52 900	37 200	71 000
1991 .....	234 500	53 400	:	60 400	41 700	79 000
1992 .....	270 280	53 300	22 000	65 600	44 300	85 600
1993 .....	261 600	49 800	25 400	63 100	46 000	77 300
1994 .....	248 800	53 000	30 600	56 400	46 300	62 500
1995 .....	238 400	56 600	31 200	49 200	46 300	55 100
1996 .....	238 200	62 400	31 000	52 400	45 500	46 900
1997 .....	243 800	70 800	31 300	54 000	45 000	42 700
1998 .....	238 300	74 600	32 300	57 100	44 700	29 600

<sup>1</sup> Men not included. Prior to 1994, female government employees were not included.

<sup>2</sup> Only completely unemployed. Some partly employed and some participants in labour market training courses receive unemployment benefits as well.

Source: National Insurance Administration and Directorate of Labour.

### More people receive sickness benefits in prosperous times

In 1990 to 1993, the number of persons receiving *sickness benefits* decreased. First of all, this decrease is caused by the decline in the number of people employed during the same period. Secondly, unemployment increased, and sickness absenteeism per employed usually decreases when the situation in the labour market worsens (Olsen and Mastekaasa 1997). The fact that employer and employee organizations waged a campaign to reduce sickness absenteeism may also have had an effect along with special efforts by the National Insurance Administration to follow up those absent due to sickness.

From 1993, the number of recipients of sickness benefits increased once more. The increase is due to the growth in employment, but the number of days on sickness benefits per employed person increased as well. One explanation might be that people who are less healthy and take more days off due to illness get work more easily in prosperous times.

Following a period of rapid growth in the number of persons receiving *rehabilitation benefits* in the early 1990s, the number decreased again to a level in 1995 which was below that of 1990. Since then the number has increased year by year. The increase from 1990 to 1993 probably was caused by counter efforts to prevent the undesired granting of disability pensions, at the same time as the criteria for receiving disability pension were tightened. The decline from 1993 to 1994 must be seen in connection with a change in the rules limiting rehabilitation benefits to a period of 52 weeks.

### The number of recipients of transitional benefits to single parents is not increasing any longer

In the 1980s, the number of *single parents* receiving transitional benefits increased from 25 000 in 1981 to 37 000 in 1990. Since 1993 the number has been quite stable, and was 45 000 in 1998. Most of the recipients are single mothers. In 1998, as few as 1 100 single fathers received transitional benefits (see

appendix, indicator 7.9). The growth in the number of recipients of transitional benefits during the 1980s and the early 1990s must be seen in relation to the changes in marriages, divorces and families as presented in chapter 1, changes which contributed to a rapid growth in the number of single parents (Dahl 1993, NOU 1996:13). One main reason why the growth in the number of recipients did not continue after 1993 is the fact that single parents are now more often economically active and support themselves by working (Kjeldstad 1999). Another factor, which probably will increase in importance in the years to come, is the changes in the rules covering benefits for single parents introduced 1 January 1998. The changes entailed a reduction in the benefit period, and a requirement stipulating active job-searching, part-time work or schooling in order to receive benefits.

Transitional benefits are adjusted against earned income. In 1990, these rules were changed in order to let the single parents keep a higher proportion of transitional benefits while having earned income as well. The 1998 changes in the rules also allowed recipients to have higher incomes without reduction of transitional benefits. This might be one of the reasons why more single parents now combine transitional benefits with earned income. In 1998, 51 per cent received reduced transitional benefits due to extra income, against 16 per cent in 1989.

### **Many women, and more and more men, receive parental benefits**

In 1980s, more and more women received *maternity benefits*, rising from one out of two (52 per cent) in 1980 to three out of four (73 per cent) from 1990 onwards. In order to receive maternity benefits, the woman giving birth has to be economically active. Consequently, the growth in the

proportion of women receiving maternity benefits is closely related to the higher economic activity of women with small children (see chapter 5.1). However, the growth in *the number* of persons receiving maternity benefits at a given time is also related to the increase in the length of paid parental leave: From 18 weeks in 1977 up to 42 weeks of full wages or 52 weeks of reduced (80 per cent) wages which is the situation today. In the period 1992 to 1998, the number of recipients of maternity benefits at year end increased from 22 000 to approximately 32 000 (see table 7.2), despite the fact that the proportion of women giving birth and receiving maternity benefits has remained stable (see appendix, indicator 7.12), and despite the fact that the number of births has not increased in the 1990s (see appendix, indicator 1.4).

Since 1977, the father of the child, instead of the mother, has had the right to stay at home with the child for part of the parental leave, but it was by the introduction of the so-called "father's quota" in 1993, reserving 4 of the 42 weeks for fathers, that the men started to use their right to a considerable degree. While barely 1 000 fathers received parental benefits in 1992, in 1998 the number had increased to 31 000 (see appendix, indicator 7.13). At the same time, the number of fathers on leave more than the obligatory four weeks increased from 1 600 in 1994 to 4 300 in 1998 (National Insurance Administration 1998).

In 1998, the quarter of the women who did not receive maternity benefits given to the economically active received a *one-time maternity grant* amounting to NOK 32 138. Ten years earlier, this benefit was as little as NOK 4 000. In ten years, the one-time maternity grant has multiplied five or six times in fixed prices. But those



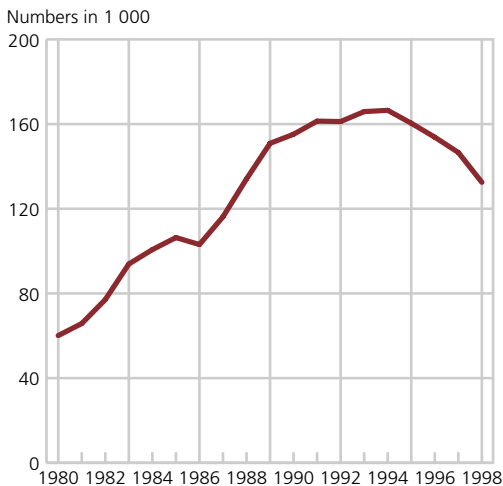
on leave from an ordinary paid job receive far more in maternity benefits: In 1998 average maternity benefits amounted to about NOK 140 000 (Report to the Storting No. 3, 1998-99).

### 7.3. Social assistance

#### Decline in social assistance payments since the middle of the 1990s

The surge in expenditures on social assistance in the 1980s was followed by a levelling off in the first half of the 1990s. From 1980 to 1990, expenditures on social assistance increased sevenfold in fixed prices. From 1990 to 1995, expenditures increased by 10 per cent. Growth subsequently subsided, falling 13 per cent from 1996 to 1998. In 1998, total payments amounted to about NOK 3.7 billion, the lowest level of expenditure on social assistance since 1988. The sum

Figure 7.8. Number of recipients of social assistance<sup>1</sup>. 1980-1998



<sup>1</sup> Before 1986: Social assistance cases. Persons receiving social assistance in a number of municipalities were counted more than one time at that time. Using the old method, the number of recipients of social assistance would have been 7 900 higher in 1986.

Source: Social statistics, Statistics Norway.

accounts for about 3 per cent of all public cash benefits received by the households.

The increase in expenditures on social assistance in the 1980s was caused by the increase in the number of clients, the extension of the payment periods and the rise in average monthly payment received by each recipient of social assistance.

From 1986 to 1990, the number of recipients of social assistance increased from about 103 000 to about 155 000. The peak, so far, was reached in 1994, when almost 167 000 persons received social assistance. Since 1995, however, there has been a stable decrease in the number of recipients. By 1998, the number was about 133 500, representing a decrease of 14 000 persons, or 10 per cent, compared to the previous year. This is the smallest number of recipients of social assistance since 1987 (see figure 7.8 and indicator 7.14). Recipients of social assistance and their dependants totalled 214 600 in 1998. Among these, 63 300 were children below the age of 18. At that time, a little below 5 per cent of the total population received social assistance, directly or indirectly.

In the early 1990s, the average payment period increased from 5.0 months in 1991 to 5.3 months in 1996. After 1996, the average period of payment decreased, and was down to 5.0 months again in 1998. In the same year, one in ten recipients of social assistance were paid social assistance the entire year, while approximately four in ten (38 per cent) received payments for six or more months (see appendix, indicator 7.16).

#### Many young people and refugees receive social assistance

The increase in the proportion of recipients of social assistance was particularly strong among young people. In 1980, a

little below 4 per cent of all youths aged 20 to 24 years were paid social assistance, in 1993 the proportion was close to 11 per cent. The increase subsequently subsided, and by 1998 the proportion was below 8 per cent (see appendix, indicator 7.17). There are considerable differences in the share of recipients of social assistance among different categories of families. In 1997, 11 per cent of all single persons without children at home received social assistance, and 13 per cent of all single parents. Among couples with small children the same percentage was as little as 3 per cent.

Many of those arriving in Norway as refugees have become recipients of social assistance. Social assistance has been used to cover the expenditures of newly arrived refugees in a municipality, and to secure a reasonable income for those lacking other sources of income or support. In 1996, six out of ten persons who arrived in Norway as refugees received social assistance (dependant spouses and children included). Refugees receive social assistance for a longer period than other recipients of social assistance. In 1996, two out of three refugees received social assistance for a period of six months or longer, compared to one out of three other recipients. Refugees receiving social assistance receive on average higher payments than Norwegian families in the same situation. Still, refugees receiving social assistance have on average a somewhat lower disposable income per unit of consumption compared to Norwegian families receiving the same assistance (Lofthus and Osmunddalen 1997) (see box 6.2 on income terms and box 6.3 about equivalence scales and units of consumption).

### **Fewer people combine work and social assistance**

During the 1980s, up to the point where economic recession and increasing unemployment became evident in 1988, about one out of four recipients of social assistance were employed. In the period 1988 to 1993, this proportion was reduced to 12-13 per cent, and has remained at this level since. From 1987 to 1995, the proportion of unemployed recipients of social assistance increased from 30 to 47 per cent of all recipients of this assistance. Consequently, the growth in the number of recipients of social assistance is clearly related to the problems in the labour market.

The high proportion of recipients of social assistance among young people and refugees is probably related to the fact that these categories were those who had particular problems in the labour market in the latter 1980s and early 1990s (see chapter 5.4). In correspondence with the decrease in unemployment in the mid-1990s, the number of recipients of social assistance has decreased somewhat. In 1998, 38 per cent of all recipients were unemployed. This might indicate that a higher number of recipients of social assistance have become self-supporting by participating in the labour market during this period.

### **Many combine social assistance with other social benefits**

Social assistance was the main source of income for 60 per cent of all unemployed recipients of social assistance in 1998. A majority of these persons are probably unemployed and do not qualify for unemployment benefits (see chapter 7.2 and box 7.2). Some unemployed persons receiving unemployment benefits also receive social assistance. In 1997, this was the

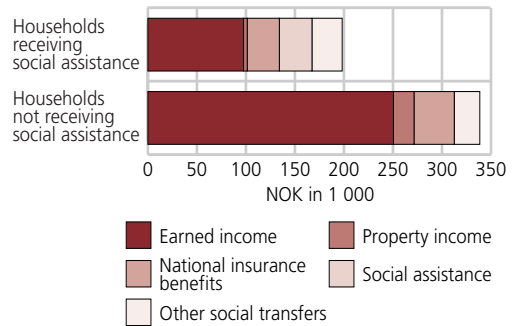
case in 16 per cent of all households receiving unemployment benefits.

Other groups also supplement their national insurance benefits with social assistance, but the share of recipients of social assistance differs greatly between the groups. In 1997, 1 per cent of the households receiving old-age pension received social assistance, a proportion well below the average of all households (7 per cent). However, in other benefit recipient groups, the proportion of recipients of social assistance was far above average. In 1997, 10 per cent of households receiving disability pension received social assistance as well. The category where the highest proportion combines social assistance and other benefits is found among single parents receiving transitional benefits. In 1998, 20 per cent of all single parents receiving transitional benefits also received social assistance.

**Decreasing level of income among households receiving social assistance**

In the 1990s, the average total (pre-tax) income of households receiving social assistance decreased. In 1991, this kind of household had a total income of NOK 204 200, while by 1997, its income was down to NOK 198 200, equalling a 3 per cent reduction of income. However, the decrease in total income seems to have levelled out after having been particularly strong at the end of the 1980s. From 1987 to 1991, the total income of households receiving social assistance was down by 18 per cent. Households receiving social assistance have seen their overall income fall by as much as 21 per cent from 1987 to 1997. In particular, the decrease in earned income has contributed to the average reduction of income. While households receiving social assistance had an earned income of NOK

Figure 7.9. **Composition of income in households receiving and not receiving social assistance. 1997. NOK**



Source: Income Distribution Survey 1997, Statistics Norway.

146 900 by 1987, by 1997 the amount was down to NOK 97 600.

Both the households receiving social assistance, and those who do not, have become smaller during the period in question. This might be another reason why the overall income of households receiving social assistance fell.

In households not receiving social assistance, average total pre-tax income in 1987 amounted to NOK 331 400. After decreasing to NOK 316 700 in 1991, income increased to NOK 338 500 in 1997. Consequently, in the same ten-year period, these households have had an income increase of 2 per cent.

**Social assistance – an increasingly important source of income**

Social assistance has gained more and more importance in the 1990s among households receiving social assistance. While social assistance contributed 9 per cent of total pre-tax income in 1987, the proportion had grown to 13 per cent by 1991 and 17 per cent in 1997. In 1997, each household receiving social assistance got an average of NOK 33 300 from the

social welfare office. From national insurance, the same households received an average of NOK 32 800, or 17 per cent of total income. Along with other kinds of social transfer, such as family allowance, housing benefit, scholarships, and basic and supplementary benefits, social assistance and benefits made up almost half of total income (49 per cent) in households receiving social assistance. While public social transfers have made up higher proportions of total income in these households during the 1990s, the part of the income originating from wages and self-employment has decreased by 10 percentage points over a ten-year period, from 59 per cent in 1987 to 49 per cent in 1997. At the same time, the share of recipients of social assistance reporting this assistance to be their main source of income, increased from 27 per cent in 1987 to 46 per cent in 1998.

In households *not* receiving social assistance, social transfers on average made up one fifth (20 per cent) and wages and income from self-employment three fourths (74 per cent) of total income in 1997.

In households receiving social assistance in 1997, the average after-tax income per unit of consumption, *before* including social assistance, was half that of households not receiving social assistance. If social assistance is included, the level of income in households receiving social assistance increases to two thirds (68 per cent) of that of households not receiving this assistance.

Social assistance is an important addition to family income in many low-income families, and has an equalizing influence on the differences in income between the two categories of families. Among families receiving social assistance in 1995,

four out of ten families had, *before* receiving social assistance, a disposable income per unit of consumption below the minimum pension granted by national insurance to singles. After receiving social assistance, this proportion was down to two in ten families (Lofthus and Osmundalen 1997).

### **More variations in the level of assistance**

The granting and fixing of subsistence benefits is supposed to be done according to the principles of individual means testing in each case. The Central government has no guidelines as to the level of this benefit, and each municipality is free to decide its own guiding rates stipulating the size of the benefit. However, municipal rules are different from municipality to municipality, and do not release executive officers from exercising individual judgement in granting benefits. This makes it possible to have variations in the level of benefit within each municipality and between municipalities. While it might sound reasonable that clients having different needs also get different benefits, it does not seem fair if clients with apparently equal needs get different benefits because they happen to live in different municipalities. This would not be in accordance with the principle of equal treatment requiring that all cases be treated equally when granting economic benefits.

By comparing benefits paid to recipients having seemingly equal needs, it was found that the level of the benefits was different both within and between municipalities (Osmunddalen 1999). For single recipients having social assistance as their only source of income throughout 1996, monthly payments had a variation of close to NOK 1 300 on a national scale,

equalling an annual variation of NOK 15 100. In this category of recipients of social assistance, the median annual income the same year amounted to NOK 50 400. Consequently, the difference in the level of benefit in supposedly equal cases, was as high as 30 per cent of annual income. The differences are considerable in the light of the level of income in this category of clients.

The differences in the level of benefits to clients with seemingly equal needs do not seem to be correlated to the economic resources of the municipalities. Consequently, the causes of the variations that cannot be explained after taking the relevant differences in needs into consideration, might be explained by differences in needs not possible to measure by others than the executive officer, or there might be a difference in treatment caused by the way the benefit is designed. When the judgement related to the fixing of the benefit is entrusted to the executive officer in question, and the executive officer in each municipality works according to different guidelines, this leaves room for arbitrary and inconsistent decisions.

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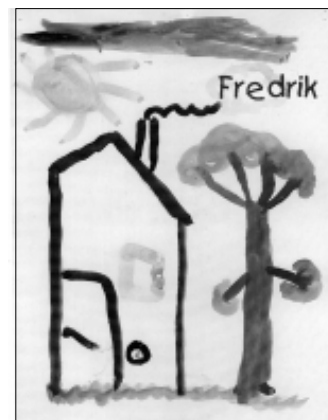
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Arne S. Andersen

## 8. Housing



### Deregulation of the housing market

In the first post-war decades, housing policy was an important part of the general welfare policy. The government took clear responsibility for housing construction. An important aim was to make it possible for everyone to have a home of reasonable standard at a reasonable cost. This housing policy was motivated by a philosophy of equalisation. Measures were taken, and institutions were designed, many of which have played an important role in the implementation of this policy ever since.

At the beginning of the 1980s, a number of deregulation initiatives was taken, which is regarded by many as "a turning point in Norwegian housing policy" (Ås 1996). Undoubtedly, the measures employed in earlier housing policy were stronger than those implemented today, and housing policy plays a less vital role in modern welfare policy. Today, the market is also more balanced than it was in the first decades after the war, though there are still some significant variations among regions and between the markets for owner-occupied and rental units. With some exceptions all demographic groups have access to a dwelling of a rea-

sonable standard. Housing policy no longer seems to be regarded as an important component of the policy of distribution and equalisation.

### 8.1. The housing market

#### Fewer houses were built during the 1990s

The exact number of dwellings in Norway is not known. Assuming that there is one dwelling for every household, there ought to be slightly less than 2 million homes in Norway. However, at any point in time some homes are unoccupied, and a few households will occupy more than one home.

Housing stocks are mainly renewed through housing construction. During the 1990s, a total of about 200 000 new homes were built. This is less than half the level of housing construction during the 1970s (412 000 homes), and well below the number built during the 1980s as well (313 000 homes). With the exception of the first couple of years in the 1990s, fewer than 20 000 homes were built annually. In 1998, the number of homes built crept slightly above 20 000 again.

Existing housing stocks are undergoing relatively slow renewal via housing construction. In 1997, barely one out of five lived in homes built before World War II. Only a fourth were constructed after 1980. Housing stocks are also altered by demolition, change of use and the rebuilding of two or more units into one unit. There are no good statistics on changes of this kind, and likewise none for rebuilding and renovation, all of which affect the quality of housing stocks.

### **Increasing mobility in the housing market**

The housing market is influenced by demographic changes. Households are established, grow, dissolve or split and move. This constant redistribution of the population affects in turn the distribution of housing conditions in the Norwegian population.

There has been considerable mobility in the housing market. In 1995, about 15 per cent of all adults had moved into their current dwelling in the last year. Among young people aged 16 to 24 years, close to 30 per cent had moved in the past year. About one out of three households had moved into their current home in the last five years, and approximately half in the last ten years.

In 1997, the proportion of households who had lived less than six years in their present home was above 40 per cent, indicating considerable mobility in the housing market during the preceding years. In 1991 as well, many had moved in the last five years - over 40 per cent - because the latter half of the 1980s was a period of great mobility in the housing market. In 1995, the proportion of households that had lived in their home for less than six years dropped to 34 per cent, the lowest level in the last ten years. This was

the result of low activity in the housing market at the beginning of the 1990s, with an annual registered sale of 30 000 dwellings. In the years between 1992 and 1995 the number of sales rose sharply. In 1997, 53 000 homes were sold (statistics on sales of real property).

### **A turbulent decade in the housing market**

The market for owner-occupied homes is by far the largest. If dwellings in housing corporations and housing stock companies are also counted, owner-occupied homes account for about 75 per cent of all dwellings. The average mobility of persons in rental units is considerably higher than for persons in owner-occupied dwellings. Hence, persons in rental units will constitute a larger share of movers than one would expect from their percentage of the population.

Naturally, the market for owner-occupied homes is strongly influenced by price trends. After growing rapidly from the middle of the 1980s, the prices of homes started to drop sharply in 1988. From 1988 to 1993, prices were down by 33 per cent (in fixed prices), and in 1993 they were 29 per cent below the 1980 level (Barlindhaug 1996). In 1993, interest rates on loans started to fall, and primarily in response to this development, housing prices began to rise. From 1993 to 1998, the prices of owner-occupied dwellings increased by 57 per cent. Strong price fluctuations of this kind have significant effects on both households and the activity in the housing market.

The sharp drop in housing prices after 1988, which followed an equally sharp rise, was particularly unfortunate as it resulted in a sharp decrease in equity. Households that had bought a home at a high price with a large mortgage often



suffered a loss of equity or even negative equity (having a mortgage larger than the value of the home). Together with a declining labour market and the accompanying loss of income, these were important causes of the "debt crisis" at the end of the 1980s. Even among households for which the consequences of the drop in housing prices were somewhat less severe, the price collapse made it unattractive for people to sell their homes and sales of existing homes fell. The decline in prices of existing homes, which at their lowest point were far below the prices of new dwellings, was another major cause of the decrease in housing construction (Barlindhaug 1996). Following the decline in interest rates, housing prices began to climb again in 2. quarter of 1993, and sales of existing homes increased.

### Growing private market for rental units

One of the consequences of the collapse of the housing prices in 1988 and the rise in 1993, seems to be a considerable increase in the private market for rental

units. A combination of low prices in the existing homes market and the prospect of increasing prices, probably persuaded (kan det være riktig?) many people to keep two houses for a while, awaiting the likelihood of a more profitable sale. In 1997, 8 per cent of households owned an additional home, while 2 per cent owned two or more additional dwellings. This amounted to a slight increase from 1988, when 8 per cent of the households owned one or more additional dwellings. In 1995, the renting out of basement units and additional dwellings constituted about two-thirds of the total number of rental units. From 1988 to 1995, the number of rental units increased by 100 000 to 400 000. Almost half of this growth can be ascribed to the increased rental of private additional dwellings owned by private households with more than one home. The rest of the growth is attributed to the renting out of basement units. Consequently, the growth was mainly the result of better utilisation of existing stocks of small houses (Nordvik 1996). This situation was probably largely steered by the economy and was related to the sharp drop in housing prices, which made it unattractive to sell, and to the start of the price rise at the end of that period. Because the professional rental housing industry is very limited (estimated at about 40 000 units in 1995 (Nordvik 1996)), the rental market may be characterised as rather unstable.

In the period 1995 to 1997, the market for rental housing still increased a little, though less than in the period 1988 to 1995. Growth was mainly attributed to the increase in social services renting and renting from professional landlords. To some extent, this growth has been at the expense of publicly owned employee housing, but the growth has occurred simultaneously with a slight decline in

Table 8.1. **Composition of the rental housing market. 1981-1997. 1 000 dwellings**

	1981	1988	1995	1997
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>359</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>418</b>	<b>434</b>
Basement units .....	54	45	109	108
Additional housing unit inside another dwelling	16	13	14	36
Other additional dwellings owned by private households .....	116	116	163	137
Privately owned employee housing .....	35	14	11	6
Publicly owned employee housing .....	16	17	22	8
Social services housing .	42	51	56	69
Professional rental .....	67	45	41	63
Other .....	4	6	1	7

Source: Surveys of housing conditions, Statistics Norway.

private renting as well. Social services and professional rentals have thus increased their share of the rental market from under 25 to 30 per cent.

### **More young people rent their homes**

The statistics reveal a dramatic drop in homeownership among young singles aged 16 to 24 years. To a significant extent this is due to changes in the way that households are registered (Andersen 1998). After 1995, all persons, including students, were registered as belonging to the household where they actually were living, whereas they previously were registered as belonging to the household where they were registered as living. Yet even when we took this change in registration procedure into consideration as much as possible, there was still a decrease in the proportion of owners among young people. From 1987 to 1997, the proportion of homeowners among young people aged 16 to 29 years decreased from 52 to 40 per cent.

Among young people who are more established, with regard to both family and work, i.e. couples where one or both are employed, the proportion of homeowners has not decreased during the same period. The decline has occurred among those who are less established: from 38 per cent in 1987 to 22 per cent in 1997. At the same time, the percentage of established young people has decreased from 68 to 47 during the period in question. The later establishment of young people is thus a significant factor behind the decrease in the proportion of homeowners.

A pertinent question concerns the role of the increase in housing prices since the middle of the 1990s. An analysis of the

trend in the period 1987 to 1997 concludes that there is little evidence that the price rises have kept young people from buying their own home (Andersen 1998). However, it is important to keep in mind that this conclusion is based on data from the whole country. The situation may be different in the larger cities where housing prices are highest. Likewise, there is no indication that young people are buying smaller homes because of the rise in prices. During the ten years in question, the average living space per person has not decreased among young people, whether they are owners or tenants.

### **More expensive to rent**

One consequence of a lower proportion of young owners is a sizeable increase in the number of young tenants in the housing market. The number of young tenants seems to have increased more than the total number of tenants. This *may* put greater pressure on the rental market, which is dominated by private landlords and is probably very price sensitive. The total rent paid by tenants has increased sharply during the last ten years, in contrast to the trend in housing expenses for all households. Whereas these costs (in fixed prices) decreased by nearly 5 per cent from 1987 to 1997, the rent paid by tenants increased by 47 per cent.

### **8.2. Housing standards**

The home is probably the material good that is given the highest priority in Norway. More than a fifth of our average consumption goes to housing expenditures (cf. chapter 6.5). To this must be added expenditures on furniture and fixtures. About 4 per cent of our total consumption went to expenditures on furniture, carpets, ovens, refrigerators and other electrical equipment. Only the expenditures on travel and transport, including the purchase and operation of cars, are of a

similar magnitude to housing expenditures. We spend almost twice as much on housing as on food.

In step with the rapid improvement in housing standards, construction and sanitary standards have become less important. Other aspects of housing, such as residential environment and location, have become more important.

### Most new homes are still designed for families ...

The great majority of all Norwegian households live in small houses - about 80 per cent in 1997. This is a higher rate than in other Nordic countries. Less than 20 per cent of households live in block of flats, urban housing, commercial buildings, etc. The most common type of dwelling is the detached house, occupied by half of the households (not including the 8 per cent living in farm houses). The proportion of households living in detached houses increased from a little over 40 per cent in 1980. The increase occurred during the 1980s, despite the fact that more people now live in the large cities where the percentage of such homes is lowest. During the last decades, the proportion of households living in small houses has remained rather constant, except for a slight increase in the beginning of the 1980s. A notably higher proportion of the small houses are now detached houses.

There was not only a dramatic change in the number of houses built, but in some aspects, the composition of homes as well. The proportion of houses built that are detached houses has varied the most. At the beginning of the 1980s, the proportion of detached houses started to increase, and by the middle of the decade it constituted a little over 60 per cent of all houses built, followed by a dramatic

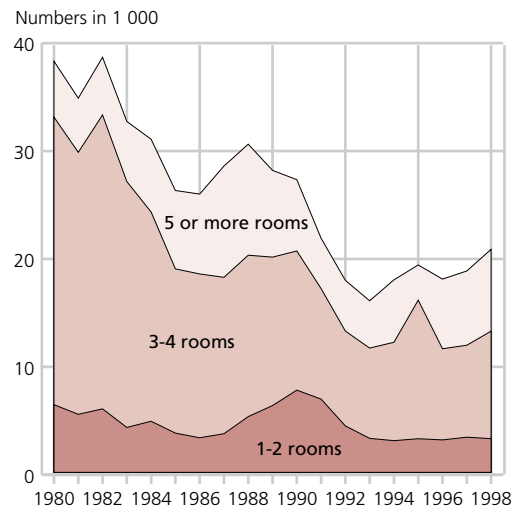
decline to about 35 per cent during the 1990s.

In 1995, 63 per cent of the households said they preferred to live in a detached house, a somewhat higher proportion than those actually living in such a home (surveys of housing conditions, Statistics Norway).

### ... while the number of one-person households is growing

Both housing construction and the much slower changes in housing stocks must be seen in relation to the significant changes in the structure of households, especially the sharp increase in the percentage of people living alone (cf. chapter 1.6). With the possible exception of the first half of the 1990s, the construction of homes designed for larger families has been predominant. Dwellings for larger families consequently constitute the great majority of the homes. This is not in accordance with the sharp increase in the number of people living alone.

Figure 8.1. Completed homes, by number of rooms. 1980-1998



Source: Building statistics, Statistics Norway.

In the last ten years it has become more common, especially among middle-aged and elderly couples without children, to live in large homes (five or more rooms). There has also been an increase among couples with children and among middle-aged and elderly singles. It is more common for young singles (below age 45) to live in small homes with one or two rooms. About 50 per cent live in small dwellings, but a substantial proportion (20-30 per cent) of young couples without children and middle-aged and elderly singles also live in such homes. The proportion of middle-aged singles, and to a somewhat lesser extent elderly singles, occupying small homes has decreased. Young singles, on the other hand, more often live in small homes. Consequently, small housing units have now been taken over by young people to a considerable extent. A little more than 60 per cent of the small housing units are occupied by young singles and young couples without children. It is the households of couples, with the exception of young couples without children, that have mainly benefited from the growth in larger homes. However, both middle-aged and elderly singles have benefited from this trend as well, in the sense that fewer live in small dwellings and more of them occupy large dwellings.

**Box 8.1. Measures of spaciousness**

Single occupants with only one room or other multi-occupant households with more persons than rooms are regarded as living in crowded housing. Kitchen, bathroom and hall do not count as rooms.

Single occupants with three or more rooms, or multi-occupant households with twice as many rooms as persons are regarded as living in spacious homes.

Unless otherwise stated, the measures of spaciousness are calculated on the basis of *persons aged 16-79 years*.

**New homes get steadily larger**

Most Norwegians live in large homes. Average net floor space (the dwelling's interior floor space, counting habitable rooms, not storage rooms) increased from 107 square metres in 1988 to 115 square metres in 1997 (surveys of consumer expenditure). At the same time, the number of persons per household has decreased. Thus the net area per person has increased even more, from 36 square metres per person in 1980, to 44 in 1988 and 51 in 1997, an increase of more than 40 per cent. In the first half of the 1990s, there was only a slight increase in the net area per person.

The construction of new homes has consequently resulted in an increase in living space. New homes have been larger than average throughout the entire period. During the first half of the 1980s the size of new dwellings increased markedly, and by 1987 a peak of 188 square metres was reached. At the same time there was a high percentage of detached houses among the new homes. By the start of the housing crisis at the end of the 1980s, when the number of new homes, and especially new detached houses, decreased, the size of new dwellings went down as well. In 1992, the average was as small as 131 square metres. After 1994 the average size has increased again, and by 1998 it was up to 157 square metres.

During the 1980s and 1990s the size of homes, measured both as average living space and as a percentage of large dwellings (five or more rooms), has increased among almost all kinds of household, with the exception of single parents. The increase in the percentage of households with large dwellings (five or more rooms) was particularly high among middle-aged couples without children (Ås 1996).

### More common to have a spacious home, but no decrease in the number of people in crowded dwellings

An important characteristic of a household's housing standard is whether the dwelling is spacious or crowded (cf. box 8.1). This is not a direct characteristic of the home, but rather of the relationship between the household and the size of the dwelling it occupies. The changes described in the preceding section have halved the number of people living in crowded homes, from 16 per cent in 1980 to 7 per cent in 1997. Most of this decline took place during the first half of the 1980s, and the situation has not changed much since 1987.

Table 8.2. Percentage of persons aged 16 to 79 years in different family cycle phases living in unmodern dwellings. 1980-1997

	1980	1987	1991	1995	1997
<b>All</b> .....	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Singles</b>					
Under 25 years <sup>1</sup> ...	42	30	15	12	25
25-44 years .....	33	18	17	10	17
45-66 years .....	33	20	12	7	12
67-79 years .....	37	27	18	6	11
<b>Couples without children</b>					
Under 45 years ....	22	20	16	11	11
45-66 years .....	16	7	6	3	4
67-79 years .....	26	16	8	2	0
<b>Couples with children</b>					
Youngest child					
0-6 years .....	13	5	10	6	11
7-19 years .....	12	5	5	3	6
Single parents .....	31	10	17	11	9

<sup>1</sup> Young singles living with their parents are not included here, but are counted under "All".

Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

The percentage of people living in very spacious homes, on the other hand, has increased quite steadily during the whole period. In 1980, 26 per cent of all persons lived in very spacious dwellings; by 1997 42 per cent had achieved this standard. Up to 1987, the percentage of people living in spacious homes increased in step with a corresponding decrease in the percentage occupying crowded dwellings, but since then the increase in people living in spacious surroundings has not been accompanied by a decrease in the percentage living in crowded houses. Inequality in spaciousness has thus increased since 1987.

For most people, crowded housing is a situation related to the period of getting established. Young singles and families with small children are the groups that frequently live in crowded dwellings. In 1997, 18 per cent of the adults in families with small children still lived in crowded housing, compared with 30 per cent in 1980. Among young singles aged 16 to 24 years not living with their parents, 40 per cent lived in crowded dwellings in 1997. Based on their own assessment of the spaciousness of their home, families with small children were in a much worse situation than young singles. Among families with small children, a little less than 30 per cent felt they lived in a crowded dwelling, whereas about 20 per cent of single parents, young couples without children and young singles were of the same opinion (surveys of living conditions).

### Higher housing standard among the elderly

The most widely used measures of a low housing standard are the lack of toilets or bathroom or structural deterioration causing cold or damp dwellings. Today, homes without a bathroom or toilet

Table 8.3 Percentage of homeowners, by family cycle phase. 1980-1997

	1980	1987	1991	1995	1997
<b>All .....</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Singles</b>					
Under 25 years <sup>1</sup>	37	53	46	36	7
25-44 years ....	54	67	62	55	50
45-66 years ....	67	73	77	79	83
67-79 years ....	65	63	65	74	83
<b>Couples without children</b>					
Under 45 years	49	60	66	59	63
45-66 years ....	89	93	92	95	97
67-79 years ....	77	79	84	86	95
<b>Couples with children</b>					
Youngest child					
0-6 years .....	73	82	86	84	84
7-19 years .....	90	94	96	94	93
Single parents .	58	65	63	61	70

<sup>1</sup> Young singles living with their parents are not included here, but are counted under "All".

Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

constitute a minor problem. In 1997, 9 per cent of all persons aged 16 to 79 years lived in unmodern dwellings, i.e. dwellings lacking a toilet or bathroom or that were cold or damp. In 1980, 19 per cent of the population were in this situation.

In the last ten years housing standards among the elderly have improved in particular. In 1987, elderly singles together with young singles had the poorest housing standard. In 1997, there are only minor differences between elderly singles and the rest of the population. There has been an improvement in housing standards among elderly couples as well. Today, young singles and single parents have the poorest housing standards.

Except for size, few indicators illustrating the trend towards high-standard homes are available. One possible indicator might be the existence of two or more rooms with a bathtub or shower. In 1997, 33 per cent of all persons aged 16 to 79 years lived in dwellings with at least two bathrooms. This proportion seems to be rapidly increasing, in 1991 it was 24 per cent. Two bathrooms were particularly common among families whose youngest children were of school age (surveys of living conditions).

### Few lifetime adaptable dwellings

As little as 6-7 per cent of all Norwegian homes are said to meet the requirements of the lifetime homes standard, making them suitable for physically handicapped persons (Gulbrandsen 1999). The figure of about 120 000 homes is just slightly above the approximately 90 000 dwellings estimated to be built since the 1980s according to the lifetime homes standard set by the Norwegian State Housing Bank, and financed by this financial institution as well.

The most common reasons why so few dwellings can meet the lifetime homes standard are: The dwelling has more than one floor, not all the main rooms are on the same level and the existence of an exterior staircase. It is more common for the elderly to live in lifetime adaptable housing. Nevertheless, only 13 per cent of the very elderly (80 years and more) living outside institutions live in a dwelling with such a standard.

### Fewer households own their own home

The priority given to housing and housing standards is reflected in the importance attached to owning one's own home. Homeownership is the most preferred form of ownership. In 1995, as many as

82 per cent of households preferred to own their own dwelling. Throughout the post-war period, the vast majority of homes have been owner-occupied. In 1960, this applied to 64 per cent, of whom 11 per cent were part owners through housing cooperatives. Over the next 20 years, the proportion of part owners increased the most, to 19 per cent of households in 1980, with overall homeownership at 74 per cent. In 1991, this share had increased to about 80 per cent, but has since subsided somewhat. In 1997, homeownership stood at 73 per cent of households.

The proportion of people who own their own home is high among families with somewhat older children and among middle-aged and elderly couples without children, at well over 90 per cent. The fastest increase in homeownership has occurred among the elderly, both singles and couples. In this group, homeownership has grown by about 20 percentage points during the last ten years. Even though the figures concerning young singles are not fully comparable over time, a closer analysis indicates a decline in homeownership (Andersen 1998).

### **8.3. Housing economy**

#### **Sharp increase in rent**

In the 1980s, housing expenditures (expenditures on housing, fuel and power, including interest payments, but not mortgage principal payments) made up an increasingly larger part of total consumption (18 per cent in 1980). The proportion increased particularly quickly from the middle of the decade, from 21 per cent in 1985 to 26 per cent in 1989. Housing expenditures as percentage of total consumption remained approximately at this level until 1994. In 1995, the

effect of decreasing interest rates on loans became fully visible, and in 1997, the proportion of total consumption spent on housing was down to 21 per cent (see appendix, indicator 6.27 and chapter 6.5).

In 1996-1997, housing expenditures of all households averaged NOK (1997) 49 700, close to the average in 1986-1988. During the same period, the average amount spent on mortgage interest fell NOK 2 000 to NOK 12 400, while the average rent increased by just over NOK 5 000 to NOK 11 800. Consequently, average expenditures on rent in 1996-1997 almost equalled average expenditures on mortgage interest, despite the fact that far less than half of all households were tenants.

In the early 1980s, 27 per cent of all households had high expenditures on housing. High housing expenditures means that housing expenditures make up more than 25 per cent of total consumption expenditures. In the early 1990s, this proportion doubled and reached a peak of 50 per cent. Not until 1994 did the fall in interest rates on loans cause a decrease in the proportion having high housing expenditures. In 1997, 42 per cent of the households still spent more than 25 per cent of total consumption on housing.

#### **Housing expenditures highest for singles and single parents**

In 1996-1997, families with small children had the highest housing expenditures, on average NOK (1997) 65 700, about NOK 9 000 less than in 1986-1988. Measured also as proportion of total consumption, housing expenditures of families with small children were reduced from 26 to 20 per cent. In particular, the decrease in interest rates after 1992

naturally reduced housing expenditures among households with large mortgages. It was basically young families, not least families with small children, who benefited from the decline in interest rates.

Singles and single parents spent the highest proportion of their consumption expenditure on housing, 27 and 25 per cent, respectively, a reduction of about 2 percentage points during the last ten years. The high proportion spent on housing is a reflection of the lower incomes of singles. Singles also have to compete with larger households in the housing market, and these households usually have more than one income. The proportion of households consisting of one person is higher in the larger cities, where housing expenditures are higher than in the rest of the country.

While families with children have seen a significant reduction in their housing expenditures in the last ten years, housing expenditures of singles have been increasing, from NOK 33 500 in 1986-1988 to NOK 39 000 in 1996-1997 (in fixed NOK 1997 prices). Two factors at work here are the lower rate of homeownership among singles, and the increase in rent.

#### **8.4. Residential environment**

##### **More are bothered by traffic noise**

As the size of homes has grown and building standards have improved, residential environments have become more important. In the major cities in particular, people are putting more and more emphasis on environmental qualities (Barstad 1994). Consequently, dwellings highly subjected to noise are less attractive and thus less expensive. This also means that these dwellings will be more accessible to low-income households.

Road traffic is causing environmental problems for a substantial portion of the population. In 1997, 16 per cent reported being subjected to such noise inside their home. Of these, half were somewhat or very bothered by noise. In the last ten years, more people have become exposed to road traffic noise (12 per cent in 1987). This change is most evident in the most densely populated areas. The development of road traffic noise as an environmental problem for the population is a complex interplay of many factors, such as the change in the amount of traffic, changes in how dwellings are situated in relation to traffic, and changes in attitudes towards traffic noise. Analyses indicate a strong correlation between actual measurements of noise of this kind and noise reported by the public, and somewhat less of a correlation between measurements of pollution and reported pollution (Flugsrud, Haakonsen and Zhang 1998). A considerable increase in the amount of traffic, together with a certain increase in urbanisation, might, in itself, have caused an increase in the number of people exposed to noise from road traffic. On the other hand, the fact that fewer people now live close to roads with heavy traffic has probably been an offsetting factor (Barstad 1994). Higher-standard houses and the more frequent use of noise baffles by the public authorities have also probably played a role in the way environmental strains are perceived.

Quite a few people are exposed to noise from aircraft as well. In 1997, 12 per cent reported problems with this kind of noise, according to the surveys of living conditions. This proportion has doubled in the last ten years. The opening of the new Gardermoen Airport in 1998 outside Oslo has probably changed the exposure to noise from air traffic in the population.



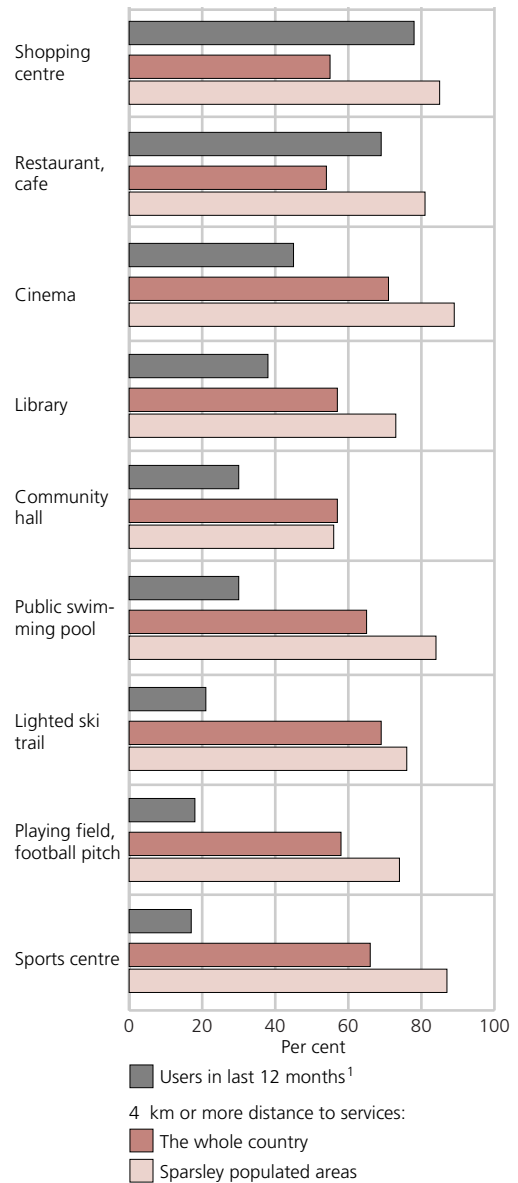
**Reduced emissions to air ...**

From a health perspective, air quality is described in terms of levels of particulate matter, nitrous oxide, sulphur dioxide and ozone. Carbon monoxide and lead levels are also important components. The main source of local pollution of nitrous oxide, carbon monoxide and particulate matter is road traffic, even though heating private households with wood may contribute to local concentrations of particulate matter.

In 1997, no petrol containing lead was sold in Norway, and emissions of lead are now far below the level that is hazardous to health. Because lead is retained in the body, earlier exposure can still cause health problems. Emissions of sulphur dioxide have also fallen dramatically, by 78 per cent from 1980 to 1997. During the 1980s, emissions of nitrous oxide increased considerably, in line, up to 1987, with the increase in road traffic. Emissions fell slightly from then until 1992, and have increased slowly since then. Emissions have increased in recent years despite a reduction in emissions from road traffic.

Particulate matter is a type of pollution that has received a lot of attention lately, particularly in the major cities. In 1997, 57 per cent of the total estimated emissions of particulate matter were caused by heating homes with wood, while exhaust from road traffic accounted for 16 per cent. Only recently has dust from the wear and tear of asphalt been included in the estimated emissions, and in 1997 annual emissions from this source made up 8 per cent of total emissions. Still, on cold days with dry winter roads, this dust is a major contributor to high concentrations of particulate matter. This is due to the fact that asphalt wears down faster when roads are wet, while the dust is churned

Figur 8.2. Percentage of persons aged 16 years and over, by use of and distance to different services. 1997



<sup>1</sup> Users of services within 25 kilometres of home. Source: Survey og Living Conditions 1997, Statistics Norway.

into the air when the roads are dry (Bang et al. 1999, and Høie 1998). In the period 1990 to 1997 emissions of particulate matter caused by heating homes with wood increased by 10 per cent. The 1990s have seen a significant reduction in emissions of carbon monoxide. In the period 1990 to 1997, there was a 22 per cent reduction in total emissions.

### **... but significant local variations**

It is difficult to link the effects of the change in total emissions to the health and well being of individuals. Pollution levels can vary considerably within small distances. Other factors, such as the length of residence in the dwelling or the quality of the home, can also play a role. Information about the way pollution is perceived by the individual is consequently an important supplement to more "objective" measurements of pollution.

### **In big cities, one out of three is exposed to pollution from road traffic**

More people are affected by pollution from road traffic than by noise from the same source. In 1997, one out of five reported problems with dust, odours or exhaust generated by road traffic. Even though this result is not fully comparable with the results of previous surveys, it does indicate an increase in pollution from road traffic. As many as 12 per cent said they were somewhat or very bothered by road traffic. Problems associated with road traffic pollution are the most widespread in major cities, defined as densely populated areas of 100 000 or more inhabitants. Almost one third of the population in these areas report being bothered by pollution.

The consequences of noise and pollution are manifold. 5 per cent of the population have problems sleeping due to noise,

2 per cent have their indoor conversations interrupted, and 6 per cent do less airing out than they would like due to air pollution.

### **More people have to travel long distances to get to a post office or grocery**

In addition to the physical aspects of residential environments, accessibility to a number of local services has also received more attention. In municipalities threatened by depopulation, high priority is given to the maintenance of basic services.

Accessibility to a number of sports and cultural activities has, no doubt, become better, and this is not only due to urbanisation. Better accessibility is also attributed to higher mobility, and some services have even become more mobile.

Still, the distance to some basic services has increased. More people have to travel a long distance to buy groceries. Although the effect of this might be reduced because of the higher proportion of households owning cars, the increasing distances might cause problems in households not owning cars. During most of the 1980s, 16 per cent of households lived two or more kilometres away from the nearest grocery. At the end of the decade, there was a significant increase in this proportion, and by 1997 the proportion was 26 per cent. The proportion having such long distances to travel has increased in sparsely populated areas in particular. In 1997, close to two out of three households living in sparsely populated areas lived more than two kilometres from the nearest grocery.

The distances between homes and post offices have increased as well. In 1997, 12 per cent of the households had to travel more than five kilometres to get to

the nearest post office, compared to 9 per cent in 1995. The increase in distances occurred only in sparsely populated areas, where the percentage of households having to travel such long distances increased from 33 to 41.

### **Most popular: Public swimming pools**

Among other services, shopping centres, restaurants and cafés are those used by most people. Libraries and cinemas are used by many as well (40-45 per cent), while the most common sport facilities are used by about 20 per cent. The exception is public swimming pools, which are used by 30 per cent. On a national basis, more than half of the population have to travel four or more kilometres to get to such services. In sparsely populated areas more than three out of four have to travel that far. Community halls are the exceptions. Only a little more than half of those living in sparsely populated areas have to travel more than four kilometres to get to a community hall.

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Anders Barstad

## 9. Social participation



### Participation and welfare

Participation in social and political life gives access to valuable resources, such as information and the possibility of getting assistance and support from others. In addition, participation provides meaning and identity for those involved. Participation can also have positive ripple effects for other people, the local community and society in general. A thriving local community presupposes widespread participation in voluntary organizations, volunteer work and other activities for the common good. In the same way, the democratic system of government is based on a minimum of political participation by the population.

Still, not all kinds of social participation have a positive value. Social contact implies subjection to the control and influence of other people, for good or bad. The term social support is often used to describe the positive content of social contacts. Emotional support from those nearest and dearest is considered particularly important for self-esteem. Above all this support is important to those who, for one reason or another, find themselves in a crisis.

### 9.1. Development of social contacts

#### More people live alone

There seems to be widespread pessimism and concern regarding the development

#### Box 9.1. How to measure social participation

The main statistical source in this chapter is the Norwegian Surveys of Living Conditions 1980 to 1998, which have certain limitations with respect to understanding changes in social participation (Barstad 1996). The main emphasis of these surveys is the quantitative aspects of social contacts. The respondents are asked how often they “see” or “are together with” parents, brothers, sisters, friends and neighbours (letters and phone calls are not included) to give an example. The surveys do not tell us much about changes in the *content* of social relations with respect to degree of conflict or support. Another problem is that not all kinds of family contact are included in the questions, such as contact with aunts, uncles and grandparents. Questions about friendship are restricted to friendships outside one’s own family. A third problem is that some people may have problems admitting having infrequent social contact when sitting face to face with an interviewer. It can be particularly difficult for people to admit feeling lonely. It is hard to tell whether these problems have changed over the years, but the greater openness and public debate about these issues might have contributed to more people conceding their true feelings.

of social participation and social bonds in modern society. The vast majority of the population share the view that society has become "colder" in recent years, meaning that people feel less responsible for each other (Langeland et al. 1999). A lack of time for others is reported to be the main reason why society has become "colder" in this sense. But is this the reality? Has there been a decrease in social bonds and contact in the last couple of decades? Within the household and the nuclear family, there has been a change indicating fewer social bonds. During the 1980s and 1990s, it has become more and more common to live alone (for definition of living alone, see box 9.2). According to the Survey of Level of Living 1980, 12 per cent of the adult population lived alone, a proportion which rose to 19 per cent by 1998 (figure 9.1). According to the population and housing censuses, the proportion of households consisting of one person doubled from 1970 to 1990 (Noack and Keilman 1993).

This change is caused by a number of factors. One major reason why more people live alone, is the higher frequency of couples breaking up than what was the case 15-20 years ago. The number of divorces increased rapidly until recently (see chapter 1). At the same time it has become far more common to live together without being married. Cohabitational relationships are easier to dissolve and last for a shorter time than marriages (Texmon 1999). Thus, the rapid growth of new marriage-like relationships consequently contributes to the break-up of a higher number of married and cohabiting couples. This in turn has caused a smaller number of people living together as couples. From 1980 to 1998, the proportion not living together as couples among those aged 16 to 79 years, increased from 29 to 34 per cent. The fact that more

### Box 9.2. Important terms

*Living alone:* Persons who do not share a household with others. As opposed to persons living in households consisting of more than one person, where more than one person lives in the dwelling on a permanent basis and shares at least one daily meal.

*Not living together as couples:* Persons who are neither married nor living in consensual unions. Most, but not all, of these persons live alone.

*Infrequent contact with family:* Persons who either have no close family (parents, children 16 years or older, brothers and sisters), or are in contact with these persons less than once a month.

*Infrequent contact with/lack of good friends:* Persons who, apart from members of their own family, have no good friends where they live or other places, or who are with good friends less than once a month.

*Lack of intimate friend:* Persons who, apart from members of own family, are not close to anyone with whom they can speak quite confidentially.

*Not on visiting terms with neighbours:* Persons who don't know any families or households in their neighbourhood well enough to visit them now and then.

*Not active in any organization, club or society:* Persons who either are not members or are "relatively passive" members of an organization, club or society.

people live alone might also be due to a higher standard of living and a change in norms. People not living as couples more often live alone than previously. In 1980, 56 per cent of persons aged 25 to 44 years not living as couples lived alone, by 1998 the percentage of persons in this category living alone was up to 77. Some, particularly young people, live alone for a rather short period of time.

**Less contact with neighbours?**

About a fourth of the adult population know no families in the neighbourhood well enough to be on visiting terms with them. When measured this way, there has been no change in contact with neighbours in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1987 and 1995, those interviewed were asked how frequently they socialized with neighbours. Frequent contact with neighbours became less common during the period. From 1987 to 1995, the proportion of those who were with neighbours at least once per week decreased from 42 to 36 per cent.

**More people have good and intimate friends**

Despite the fact that more people live alone, the development of social relationships has clearly not been entirely negative. In the last 15-20 years, the most striking change in a positive direction, is the steadily increasing proportion of those reporting having an intimate friend outside their own family. An intimate friend is defined as "someone who is very close to you and with whom you can speak confidentially". In 1998, 16 per cent of the adult population lacked such a friend, compared with 27 per cent at the beginning of the 1980s (figure 9.1).

In addition, there has been a steady decrease in the proportion who report having infrequent contact with or lacking "good friends". It has become more common to have frequent contact with friends as well. In 1998, somewhat more than seven out of ten reported seeing good friends at least weekly, up from six out of ten in 1980. We do not know whether this change is primarily attributable to an increase in number of friends, or if friends are more intensely involved with each other. In the surveys of living conditions, no questions are asked about number of

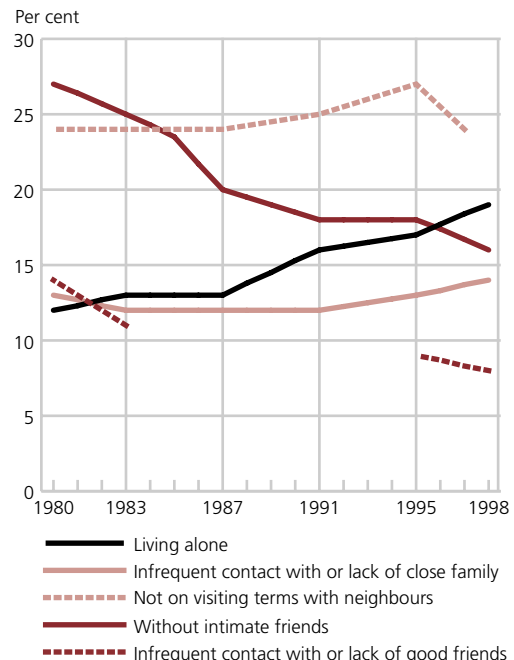
friends, but from other sources we know that it is common to have a large circle of friends. About half the population aged 18 to 79 years reckon more than ten persons among their acquaintances outside the household as close friends (Martinussen 1999).

We do not know much about the duration of the friendships, but friendships described as good and intimate often have a considerable degree of permanence. In 1995, more than 60 per cent of those having intimate friends reported that one or more of these friendships had lasted for ten or more years.

**Stable contact with the family**

In this connection, family includes parents, brothers and sisters and own children above the age of 15. In 1998, 14 per

Figure 9.1. Percentage living alone and various types of weak social relationships. Persons aged 16 to 79 years. 1980-1998



Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

cent of the population had infrequent or no contact with such close members of the family, about the same percentage as in 1980. As mentioned above, not all forms of contact with the family (such as contact with aunts, uncles or grandparents) are included, neither is contact by phone or mail (see box 9.1).

Lower mortality has caused a gradual increase in the number of adults whose parents are alive. In 1973, the figure was six out of ten, in 1998 the proportion was seven out of ten. Moreover, the frequency of contact with parents has not changed much, neither has contact with sisters and brothers. Contact with grown-up children who have moved out has become somewhat more frequent. In 1998, 69 per cent of parents of grown-up children living outside their household saw their children at least once a week, compared with 63 per cent in 1980.

### **Better relationships at work**

To many people, co-workers form an important part of their social network. One of the consequences of becoming unemployed or placed on disability pension is the loss of contact with former co-workers and exclusion from the social community at work. Some employees socialize after working hours as well, in 1989 a little more than one out of five employees socialized with co-workers in their leisure time at least once per week. Most of the employed, more than nine out of ten, are satisfied with the social environment at work. Compared with 1989, a lower proportion of employees frequently or occasionally experienced conflicts among employees or between management and employees in 1996. In 1989, 26 per cent experienced poor relationships among employees, against 20 per cent in 1996, to take an example. In 1996, 2 per cent of employees, approximately somewhat

under 40 000 persons, reported being subjected to harassment or unpleasant teasing from co-workers. Sexual harassment was about as common in 1996 as it was in 1989. 4 per cent of women and 1 per cent of men were subjected to unwanted sexual attention at work. Violence at work was about as common in 1996 as it was in 1989, although it is rarely due to conflicts between colleagues (Survey of Working Conditions 1989, Survey of Living Conditions 1996) (see also chapter 5. Employment).

Non-western immigrants are particularly subject to harassment at work. In 1996, one out of seven immigrants reported having been harassed at work or in connection with work because of their immigrant background (Blom and Ritland 1997). This might be one contributing factor to the fact that more than one-third of immigrants see their work as a psychological strain, almost twice as many as Norwegians.

### **Shifting pattern of contacts**

The changes from 1980 to 1998, as described above, point towards a shifting in the pattern of social contacts. While social relations within the household have become less stable and extensive, close intimate relations outside the household have become more common. The time budget surveys indicate a similar shift; we spend less time in our homes than previously. There has been a reduction in time spent in the neighbourhood as well (Haraldsen and Kitterød 1992, Andersen 1993).

This development is due to many causes. When more people live alone, they naturally will look for contacts outside their households. We also have indications that a more "continental" European culture is gaining popularity in Norway as more people go out dancing or to cafés and

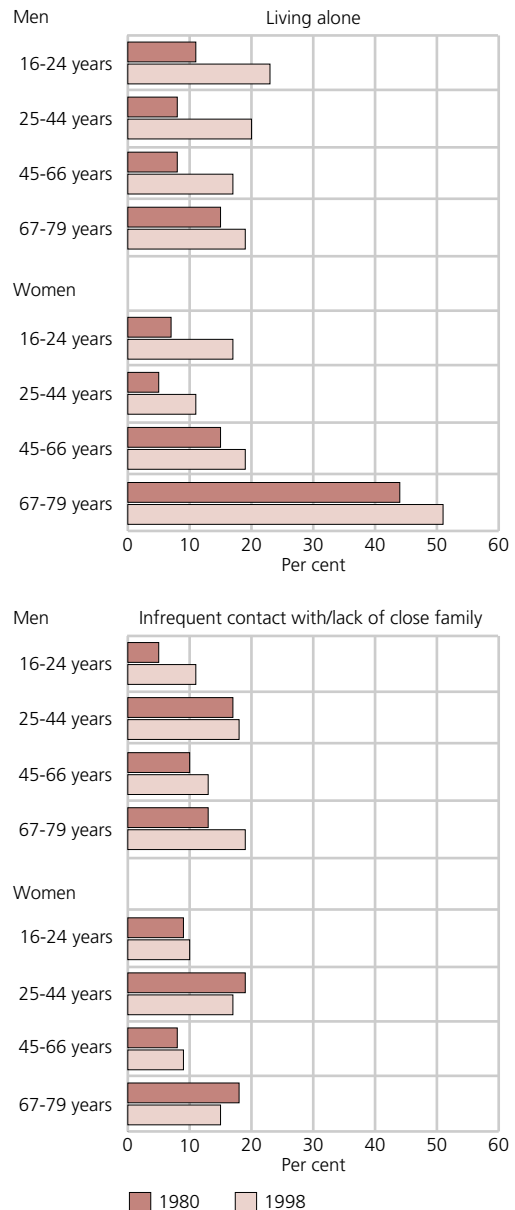
restaurants (see chapter 10. Leisure time and cultural participation). More women participate in the workforce, thereby enlarging their circle of acquaintances; the change might explain why the increase in the proportion having intimate friends has been particularly strong among women (see below). In addition, more and more people, particularly women, are going to college, a period of life that provides plenty of opportunities to make friends.

**Elderly women live alone**

How have social contacts among men and women in different age groups changed? Among those who most often live alone, elderly women, there has been only a minor change in the proportion living alone. Half of all women aged 67 to 79 years live alone, as do seven out of ten women aged 80 years. From 1980 to 1998, the proportion of people living alone has doubled or more than doubled among women below the age of 45 and among men in all age groups below 67 (figure 9.2).

In the last 15-20 years, there have been only minor changes in the contact people have with their family in most age groups. The proportion having infrequent contact with the family was somewhat higher in 1998 than in 1980, both among young men aged 16 to 24 years and elderly men aged 67 to 79 years. Among women aged 67 to 79 years, a weak tendency in the opposite direction was observed. This is attributed to the higher number of elderly women who have good contact with their grown-up children. Among women born in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a relatively high proportion remained unmarried and never had any children. Childlessness has never been as high in Norway in any cohort born previously or since (Østby 1995). Among

Figure 9.2. **Percentage of men and women in various age groups living alone, with little contact with close family. 1980 and 1998**



Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.



women born in 1910, one in five remained childless, while among those born in 1920 the percentage was down to 14 (Noack and Texmon 1990). Among middle-aged women of today, the proportion of childlessness is somewhat below 10 per cent (Noack 1999).

### More women than men have intimate friends

Men, to almost the same degree as women, have contact with good friends, and the increase in these friendships has been almost the same for women and men. On the other hand, more women than men have intimate friends, a disparity that has grown larger through the last 15-20 years. While 21 per cent of men lacked an intimate friend in 1998, the corresponding percentage among women was 10. There have been remarkably small changes in intimate friendships among middle-aged and elderly men. Among men aged 67 to 79 years, the proportion not having an intimate friend was almost the same in 1998 as in 1980, in sharp contrast to the change among women in the same age group.

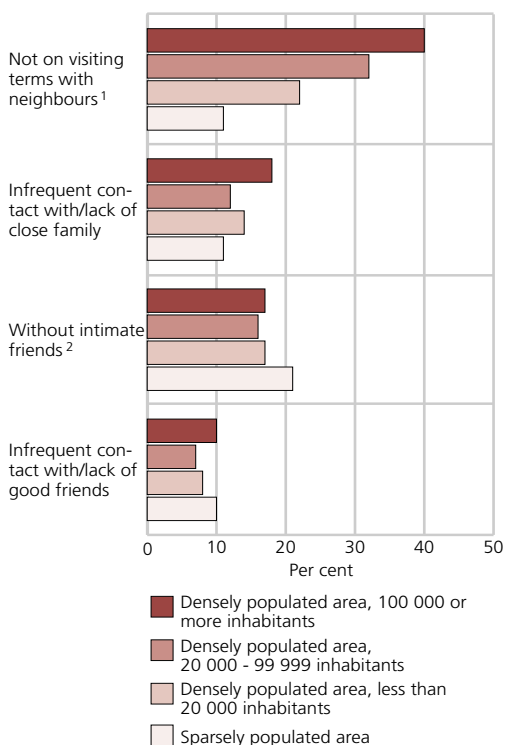
Contacts with friends and friendships are strongly connected with age, keeping frequent company with friends is a typical characteristic of young people. Among young people aged 16 to 24 years, two out of three have almost daily contact with good friends. This intense contact with friends among young people is even stronger today than at the beginning of the 1980s. Among the age groups 25 to 44 years and 45 to 66 years, the proportion seldom in contact with good friends has decreased considerably. Among those who have reached the age of retirement, the changes have been of a more modest kind, although a weak positive trend can be observed.

Figure 9.3. Percentage of men and women in various age groups without intimate friends, and with little contact with friends. 1980 and 1998



Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

Figure 9.4. **Percentage of persons with little social contact in various residential areas. 1998**



<sup>1</sup> 1997.

<sup>2</sup> "Don't know" included.

Source: Surveys of Living Conditions 1997 and 1998, Statistics Norway.

### Most contact with neighbours in sparsely populated areas

It is common to imagine social relations in the rural areas as being closer and more intimate than in cities. In fact, one really important difference does exist between rural areas and towns, namely contact with neighbours (figure 9.4). In the largest cities, four out of ten do not visit any of their neighbours, while in sparsely populated areas only one out of ten has as little contact with neighbours. These differences have remained quite stable in the last 15-20 years. In other areas there are far fewer differences between rural areas and towns. While the proportion of

the population with little contact with family is highest in the largest cities, it varies otherwise little between the different types of areas (figure 9.4). Contact with good and intimate friends is almost the same all over the country. A somewhat higher proportion in sparsely populated areas, however, lack an intimate friend. People living in the large cities live alone somewhat more often than persons living in other parts of the country. In Oslo, by far the largest city in Norway, as much as 35 per cent of the adult population live alone. While 20 per cent of the population of Oslo have infrequent contact with their families, their contact with friends does not differ much from the national average.

## 9.2. Isolation, support and loneliness

### Fewer people are socially isolated

How many people are socially isolated in Norwegian society, and will the number of socially isolated persons increase? The term social isolation is difficult to define; how little contact is needed before it makes sense to use the term isolation? For our purpose, isolation is defined in two ways: The first way is to define as socially isolated those who live alone and meet neither close members of the family (parents, brothers, sisters and grown-up children) nor good friends as much as once a week. In 1998, this category made up as little as 1.7 per cent of the adult population, about 50 000 persons roughly estimated. There are no signs indicating that this category has grown larger through the years (table 9.1). According to the second method, the socially isolated are defined as those neither married/cohabiting nor having an intimate friend outside their own family. In 1998, 4 per cent of the population aged 16 to 79

years, about 120 000 persons, lacked these forms of close relationship, compared with a proportion of 8 per cent in 1980.

### Less isolation among elderly women

There is a tendency for elderly women to be less socially isolated than previously. In 1980, 7 per cent of women aged 67 to 79 years lived alone and also had little contact with close family and friends, compared with 4 per cent in 1998. During the same period, the proportion of women neither married/cohabiting nor having an intimate friend was reduced from 30 to 10 per cent (table 9.1). However, only the

latter of these two trends is statistically significant. As seen above, the increase in the proportion of people living alone has not been as strong among elderly women as in the rest of the population, and there has also been a reduction in the number of elderly women having little contact with their grown-up children.

The highest proportion of socially isolated persons is found among men and women 80 years and older. Because the questions in the survey of living conditions does not measure all kinds of family contact, we have reason to believe that the estimate of social isolation among the elderly is too high. A study including a sample of childless elderly people above 80 years old, found that as many as four out of ten had a nephew or niece as their closest contact (Gautun and Romøren 1992).

Table 9.1. **Percentage of men and women in various age groups who live alone and have infrequent contact with family and friends<sup>1</sup>, and percentage neither married/cohabiting nor having an intimate friend<sup>2</sup>. 1980 and 1998**

	Living alone, not in weekly contact with family/friends		Not living together with anyone and without an intimate friend	
	1980	1998	1980	1998
<b>All 16-79 years</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Men</b>				
16-24 years ...	0	-	16	6
25-44 years ...	1	0	5	4
45-66 years ...	1	2	6	4
67-79 years ...	3	5	10	11
80+ years .....	..	10	..	24
<b>Women</b>				
16-24 years ...	-	1	4	2
25-44 years ...	0	0	2	1
45-66 years ...	2	2	8	3
67-79 years ...	7	4	30	10
80+ years .....	..	5	..	27

<sup>1</sup> Contact with close family and good friends more seldom than weekly. Includes those who do not know whether they have a good friend.

<sup>2</sup> Includes those who do not know whether they have a good friend.

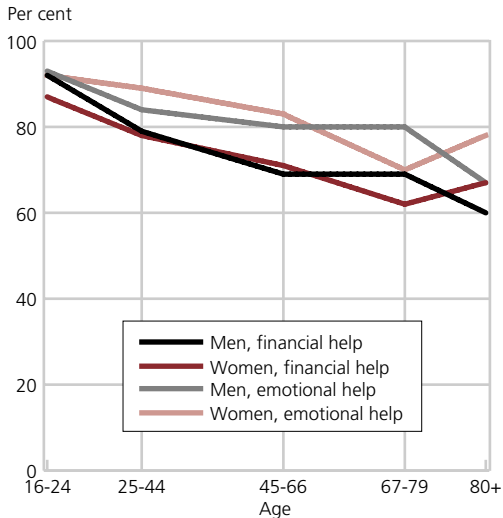
Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1980 and 1998, Statistics Norway.

### Most people have easy access to financial and compassionate help

In the Survey of Living Conditions 1998, people were asked whether they thought it was difficult to obtain help from family or friends in two different situations: Financial hardship, where they might need to borrow money, or emotional hardship, where they might need support. A clear majority expressed the opinion that it would be easy to get the help needed, 75 per cent thought it would be easy to get financial help, and 84 per cent thought it would be easy to get support in a difficult emotional situation.

The feeling of having access to financial and compassionate support is almost equally distributed among men and women. This access, however, decreases with increasing age (figure 9.5). Elderly people, more often than younger ones, find it difficult to get help in financially or emotionally difficult situations.

Figure 9.5. **Percentage of men and women in various age groups who believe it is easy to get help from family or friends when they are experiencing financial or emotional hardship. 1998**



Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1998, Statistics Norway.

Also, those interviewed were asked who they would contact to obtain financial and compassionate help. By far, close family (parents, brothers, sisters and children) are the main sources for both kinds of help. In times of financial or emotional hardship, eight out of ten would ask members of their close family for help. Only 9 per cent would ask their friends for financial help. Friends are more important as sources of compassionate help, one out of three would contact friends to get help in a difficult emotional situation.

### How many are lonely?

What then do we know about the subjective lack of social contact, and the feeling of loneliness in the population? According to the Survey of Living Conditions 1998, 4 per cent of the population often feel lonely, while somewhat more than a fifth of the population frequently or occasionally feel lonely (table 9.2). Because the

question about loneliness is posed in a face-to-face interview, some people probably hide their real feelings. In a questionnaire survey conducted in Oslo in the mid-1980s, as many as 10 per cent said they often felt lonely, twice as many as in the survey of living conditions (Thorsen 1990). In the National Health Survey 1995, 18 per cent reported being somewhat or very lonely over period of 14 days.

Who, then are the lonely? Among women, those aged 67 years and up are in a class by themselves, while men aged 80 years and up are in the same situation. People living alone are, almost regardless of age and sex, more lonely than the average population. A particularly high proportion of lonely people is found among middle-aged and elderly people who live alone. Loss of spouse probably contributes to the feeling of loneliness among many elderly. Among women aged 67 years and older living alone, more than eight out of ten are widows.

Bearing in mind the apparently strong need for social contact among some of the elderly (see figure 9.7 as well), there might be reason to ask to what degree public services are able to meet these demands. Unfortunately, many elderly report that there is little time for social contact with home helpers or visiting nurses. Among home help users older than 80 years, more than half report that there is never or only occasionally time to chat with the home helper (Finnvold 1997).

### More loneliness than previously?

Few surveys can tell whether there has been an increase or decrease in the feeling of loneliness in the Norwegian society. Such surveys are difficult to interpret as well, given the possibility that more people than before admit to having

such feelings. According to Norwegian "value surveys", there was a slight increase from 1982 to 1990 in the proportion of the population who felt "very lonely or remote from others" in the last few weeks prior to the interview (from 10 to 13 per cent, see Barstad 1993). Various Nordic surveys on loneliness among the elderly might indicate an increase over the years (Thorsen 1990).

A more widespread feeling of loneliness seems surprising, bearing in mind the increase in the frequency of social contact in many areas and the fact that more people have intimate friends. But, as presented above, more people now live alone, are divorced or separated. These are groups of people who are more lonely than others (see table 9.2 and Thorsen 1990). The proportion of lonely people is twice as high among those living alone than in the population as a whole. Consequently, more couples breaking up and more people living alone might be having a greater impact on the extent of loneliness than the increased frequency of contacts outside the households. In the Oslo survey mentioned above, the lack of a spouse/partner, and "coming home to an empty house", were the most frequently mentioned causes of loneliness (Thorsen 1990). Because of cultural changes, expectations might also be higher than previously in regard to the content of social contacts.

A number of forms of social contacts including contact with the family, working and friendships, reduce the risk of feeling lonely. All else being equal, i.e. keeping factors such as sex, age and other kinds of social contact constant, the statistics nevertheless show that being married or cohabiting reduces the feeling of loneliness to a considerably higher degree than

Table 9.2. **Percentage feeling lonely, by sex, age group and whether living alone or not. 1998**

	All		Living alone	
	Often lonely	Lonely now and then	Often lonely	Lonely now and then
<b>All .....</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Men .....</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>25</b>
16-24 years .	0	14	2	20
25-44 years .	1	16	3	29
45-66 years .	3	12	11	18
67-79 years .	5	12	24	23
80+ years ....	14	19	: <sup>1</sup>	: <sup>1</sup>
<b>Women .....</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>31</b>
16-24 years .	4	24	2	33
25-44 years .	2	21	0	31
45-66 years .	4	20	14	29
67-79 years .	11	19	16	27
80+ years ....	8	32	12	35

<sup>1</sup> Figures can not be published due to the small number of respondents.

Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1998, Statistics Norway.

other kinds of social participation (Barstad 1997 and table 9.2).

The proportion of lonely people in the cities is not higher despite the fact that more people live alone in cities than in rural areas, and see neither family nor friends as often as once a week.

### **Immigrants more often lonely than Norwegians**

Social participation among non-western immigrants is, in many areas, lower than that of Norwegians. Above all, non-western immigrants are less integrated in the workforce (see chapter 5. Employment). The majority of non-western immigrants, six out of ten, have a good Norwegian friend. It is striking, though, that among the Pakistanis, who on the average have been in Norway for 16 years, still close to half do not have a good Norwegian friend

(Blom and Ritland 1997). Participation in organizations is relatively low as well (see chapter 9.3).

Against this background, it should come as no surprise that more non-western immigrants than Norwegians feel lonely. Both the rather weak occupational integration and little contact with Norwegian friends are factors contributing to the feeling of loneliness among immigrants (Blom 1997). The fact that many immigrants live far away from their home countries and thus have little contact with parents, brothers and sisters is, of course, a significant factor. A little more than four out of ten non-western immigrants report feeling frequently or occasionally lonely, about twice as many as Norwegians.

### **Many socially isolated persons have little money**

The surveys of living conditions indicate that lonely and isolated persons have less money than others (Barstad 1999). This connection between isolation and a lack of money still remains even if we take into consideration other factors that set isolated persons apart from the average population. One major explanation is probably that isolated persons enjoy to a lesser degree the benefits of sharing a household with others. A lack of money can also restrict social activity, thus contributing to a loss of self-confidence and social status.

Recipients of social assistance make up a category of people with severe financial problems, and many report feeling lonely. Close to five out of ten recipients of social assistance below the age of 45 report being frequently or occasionally lonely, compared with two out of ten in the same age group in the population as a whole (Survey of Living Conditions 1995).

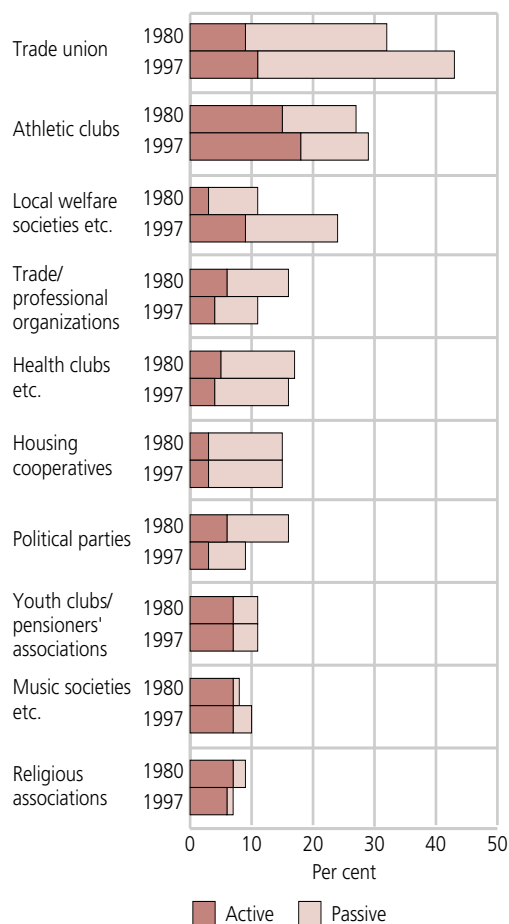
## **9.3. Organizations and political participation**

### **More sport, less politics**

From a historical perspective, voluntary organizations represent one of the new forms of social bonding and interaction, a substitute for the old forms of social cohesion based on the family and local community. Voluntary organizations began to grow in the latter half of the last century. In the beginning of the 1990s, close to 2 400 nation-wide voluntary organizations were registered in Norway. Half of these were established after 1960 (Hallenstvedt and Trollvik 1993).

More than half of the adult Norwegian population are members of various voluntary organizations, trade unions or trade or professional organizations. In the period 1980 to 1997, the level of participation remained almost unchanged. Sport is the largest mass movement of our time, particularly when children and young people are included. The Norwegian Confederation of Sports has 1.7 million members, up from barely 1.4 million in 1980. While it is true that more adults are members of trade unions than sports clubs, only a fourth participate actively in trade unions, whereas a majority of members of sports clubs are active (figure 9.6). What does membership of sport clubs entail? Two out of three members report sometimes doing unpaid work for the club. Those who do such work volunteer an average of 80 hours a year. In addition to organized matches, games, tournaments etc., many people are physically active outside sports clubs. Most of those who exercise on a regular basis are not members of a sports club. Informal athletic activity includes, however, a social element; four out of five exercise or work out with other people (Vaage 1999).

Figure 9.6. **Percentage active and passive members of various types of organizations. 1980 and 1997**



<sup>1</sup> Changes in survey questions make comparisons difficult for some of the organizations. This applies particularly to local welfare societies etc.

Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

Some kinds of organizations have experienced an influx of new members and expanding activities, while other organizations have seen the opposite happen. While the proportion of the population who are active members of sports clubs increased from 15 to 18 per cent from 1980 to 1997, the decrease in active

participation in political parties has been remarkable. Over a period of 17 years, active participation in political parties in Norway has been cut in half, from 6 per cent of the population in 1980 to only 3 per cent in 1997. During the same period, the proportion who are members of political parties declined from 16 to 9 per cent. While trade union membership is up, the proportion of employees who are active members of trade unions and trade and professional organizations has nevertheless remained rather stable.

### Young men: Low turnout in elections

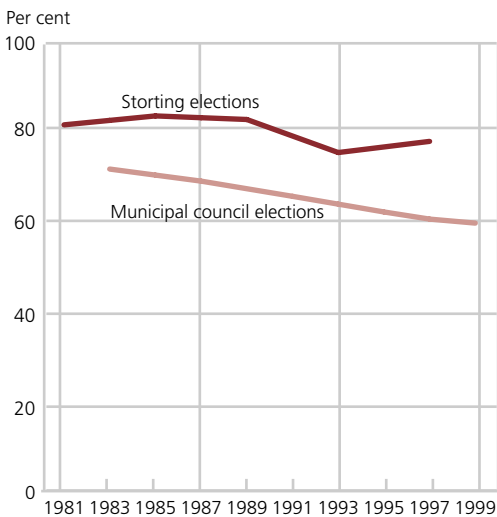
Voter turnout also declined in the 1980s and 1990s (figure 9.7). According to preliminary figures, voter participation in the municipal council election of 1999 was 60.4 per cent, the lowest since 1922, and voting in the county council election was at an all-time low (56.3 per cent). Voter turnout for the Storting (general) election fell from 82 per cent in 1981 to barely 76 per cent in 1993, but was slightly higher in 1997. The modest increase from 1993 to 1997 may be attributed to the expansion of advance voting at post offices. Among young people in particular, voting at post offices contributed to a higher participation rate (Aardal et al. 1999). While it used to be that fewer women than men voted, more women than men turned up at the polls during the last Storting election. Voter turnout is particularly low among young men; less than half of all men aged 18 to 21 years cast a vote in the 1997 election. By comparison, 68 per cent of women in the same age group came out to vote in the same election, while as many as 86 per cent of women aged 50 to 59 years did the same (Aardal et al. 1999). There are also regional variations in participating in elections, in 1995 voter turnout was highest in the smallest municipalities.

A comparative study of the municipal elections in 1971 and 1995 indicates that non-voters have not caused voters to become less representative of the whole population. On the contrary, the connection between income, education and voting is weaker than before, even though those with a higher income and education still vote more frequently than others (Bjørklund 1999). A similar tendency was observed in a study of the impact of education on voting rates in Storting elections (Aardal et al. 1999).

### More involvement in issues than party politics?

Other political activities than voting have become more common, perhaps as a consequence of an increasing level of knowledge and education. More people participate in political discussions, and have tried to influence decisions by signing petitions and taking part in demonstrations and other forms of political actions (Martinussen 1993, Bjørklund 1999).

Figure 9.7. Voter turnout in Storting and municipal (council) elections. 1981-1999. Per cent



Source: Election statistics, Statistics Norway.

General interest in politics is not declining. In 1997, more than six out of ten reported to be highly or quite interested in politics, considerably more than compared with 1985 (Aardal et al. 1999). The decline in electoral participation during the 1990s is contrasted by the all-time high participation in the November 1994 referendum on Norwegian membership in EU, when more than 89 per cent of those qualified to vote actually voted. Participation in the corresponding referendum in 1972 was slightly above 79 per cent.

### Towards fewer gender differences in organizational activity?

According to the Surveys of Living Conditions 1980 to 1995, men were more active in organizations than women. In 1997, however, there were no significant differences between men and women in the level of organizational participation. This might be an aberration of 1997, or it might be so that the organizational participation of women really has made a "leap" forward during the last years. By comparing 1980 and 1997, we find that it has become somewhat more common for women of all age categories and middle-aged and elderly men to participate in organizations. On the other hand, the proportion of organizationally active men below the age of 45 is somewhat lower compared with 15-20 years ago. Women participate more often than men in certain kinds of organizations: religious associations and humanitarian and social organizations. Elderly women are particularly active in such organizations.

### Immigrants participate less frequently than Norwegians

Participation in organizations follows certain social and economic dividing lines. Activity is particularly low among unskilled workers and low-level salaried employees, and particularly high among



high-level salaried employees and among farmers and fishermen. The latter groups are among those participating most actively in political parties as well. How active a person is in various organizations is related to his/her level of education. Those with little education are the least integrated in organizational activities, while those with the most education are the most integrated (Andresen 1999a, 1999b). These differences between people with different levels of education remained stable during the 1980s and 1990s.

A smaller proportion of non-western immigrants are members of voluntary organizations when compared with Norwegians. But once immigrants are members of organizations, they are just as or even more active than Norwegians (Blom and Ritland 1997). Also, the proportion of immigrants participating in elections is lower than Norwegians. During the 1995 municipal election, 39 per cent of the foreign citizens came out to vote. As among Norwegians, the electoral participation rate declined among foreign citizens in the 1980s (Faye 1995) but then remained unchanged from 1991 to 1995.

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**Odd Frank Vaage**

## 10. Leisure time and cultural participation



In everyday speech, leisure time is the time which is left after subtracting the time spent on paid work, education and sleep. However, many of the activities carried out during this leisure time can hardly be viewed as "leisure time", in the meaning of time at your own free discretion. This includes activities such as housework, looking after children, and homework, activities which should rather be characterized as unpaid work. Thus, the term "leisure time" is used only for activities which we are not obligated to do, activities that we do because we want to, such as reading newspapers, watching TV or going to the cinema.

### **More leisure time**

According to the time budget surveys, the leisure time of the average Norwegian increased by about one hour from 1970 to 1990, from 5 hours and 10 minutes to 6 hours and 11 minutes per average day (the average day includes both weekdays and weekends). This increase mostly took place during the 1970s. In 1990, which is the last year from which we have such data, men had 6 hours and 24 minutes of leisure time, while women had 6 hours and 3 minutes. Accordingly, men had about 20 more minutes of leisure time compared with women. Still, both sexes

saw their leisure time increase by more than one hour from 1970 to 1990.

### **Does more leisure time enhance the quality of life?**

Norwegians apparently appreciate this increase in leisure time. According to a survey carried out by Statistics Norway (Barstad 1999), more leisure time is regarded as the most important contribution to a better life, and is valued more highly than more money and better health.

Other surveys (Kitterød 1999) show that a direct link between increased leisure time and a better life does not necessarily exist: While there has been an increase in average leisure time, a higher proportion of the population report having a tighter schedule and being more busy. More freedom to choose and more options can cause more people to try to do several things at once, or at a higher speed.

According to the time budget surveys, our leisure time is spent more or less in this way (looking only at the time spent on main activities, excluding secondary activities): Socializing and television viewing occupy more than half of all leisure time, taking respectively 2 and 1.5 hour per

day. Next is reading (40 minutes), sports and outdoor recreation (30 minutes), travel in connection with leisure time activities (30 minutes) and entertainment and other leisure time (1 hour).

### 10.1. Media and media use

As mentioned above, we use a considerable part of our leisure time on mass media. According to the media use surveys (Vaage 1999c), we spend more than five hours per day on different media. Having in mind that we have somewhat more than six hours of leisure time on an average day, it might look as if almost all our leisure time is spent on the use of media. But we have to take into consideration that part of our consumption of media does not take place during leisure time; we read newspapers on our way to and from work, to take one example. Moreover, much of our use of media (such as listening to the radio) is done simultaneously with other activities. The media use surveys register all our use of media, including when it is only a secondary activity. Consequently, more time is reported as media use in the media use surveys compared with the time budget surveys.

#### Lower number of newspapers, higher circulation

Access to most kinds of media continues to increase, including print media. Norway is a world leader in access to newspapers, particularly local newspapers. The number of newspapers has nevertheless declined slightly in recent years, from 165 in 1982 to 155 in 1998. On the other hand, net circulation per day has increased from approximately 2.3 million to about 3.0 million during the same period. Most of this growth occurred during the 1980s. In recent years we have also seen the introduction of newspapers published on Sundays. While the number of news-

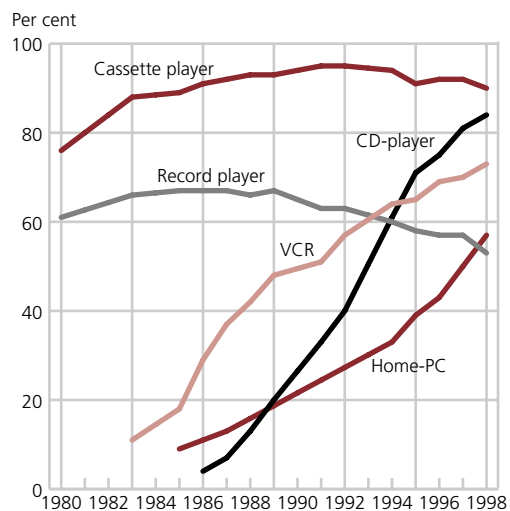
papers published is somewhat lower, circulation is higher.

An opposite trend has been seen in book publishing: The number of titles published each year is increasing while print runs are decreasing. In 1980, 1 274 fiction titles were published, against 1 757 titles in 1998. The same trends of more titles and smaller print runs have also been seen in non-fiction books and children's books. It thus seems as if the book market is increasingly aimed at more selective readers; instead of everybody reading the same books, each book is more often "tailored" to fit specific groups of readers.

#### New electronic media more widespread

TV has a dominate position in mass media, and is an important factor in the everyday life of most Norwegians. Today, almost everybody has a television set, and

Figure 10.1. Percentage of persons aged 9 to 79 years with various types of home electronic appliances. 1980-1998



Sources: NRK media use surveys; The culture and media use surveys, Statistics Norway.

**Box 10.1. The culture and media use surveys**

The culture and media use surveys done by Statistics Norway were carried out in 1991, 1994 and 1997. In addition, surveys on media use were conducted in 1992, 1995, 1996 and 1998. In these surveys, a representative sample of the Norwegian population aged 9 to 79 years is asked about their use of/attendance at cultural offerings during the past 12 months and their use of various media during the past 24 hours. In order to get a picture of the average use of media, the surveys are carried out at four different periods throughout the year, and all seven days of the week are included. The number of respondents in each annual survey has been between 1 800 and 2 000 persons.

Reading books or going to the cinema might be regarded as use of both media and culture. Since reading books is a highly frequent activity, often performed daily, we define it, for this purpose, as media use, and measure the average time per day spent on this activity. Cinemas, on the other hand, are attended outside the home and on a less frequent basis, much like the attendance of theatre and other cultural activities. These activities are measured on the basis of one year.

in recent years there has been a considerable increase in access to other types of home electronic equipment. Video cassette recorders (VCRs), CD-players and PCs made their entry in Norwegian homes in the early and mid-1980s. Well above 80 per cent of the population have access to a CD-player, while 73 per cent have access to a VCR. In 1998, 57 per cent had a PC in their home.

**PC: The generation gap is widening**

There are considerable variations in the access to these media when comparing different age groups. While TV is available to almost everybody regardless of age, the distribution of VCRs is rather uneven. Among young people aged 9 to 19 years, close to 90 per cent have a VCR at home. The situation among the elderly is definitely different: In 1998, 37 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women aged 67 to 79 years had access to a VCR.

Close to 80 per cent of all children and young people have a PC at home, and about 60 per cent have a CD-ROM-player linked to their PC. In 1998, the figures were respectively 15 and 3 per cent among those aged 67 to 79 years. In

other words, there is a remarkable generation gap in access to the new electronic multimedia. To a high degree, this difference between generations can largely be attributed to different interests and preferences in the use of leisure time.

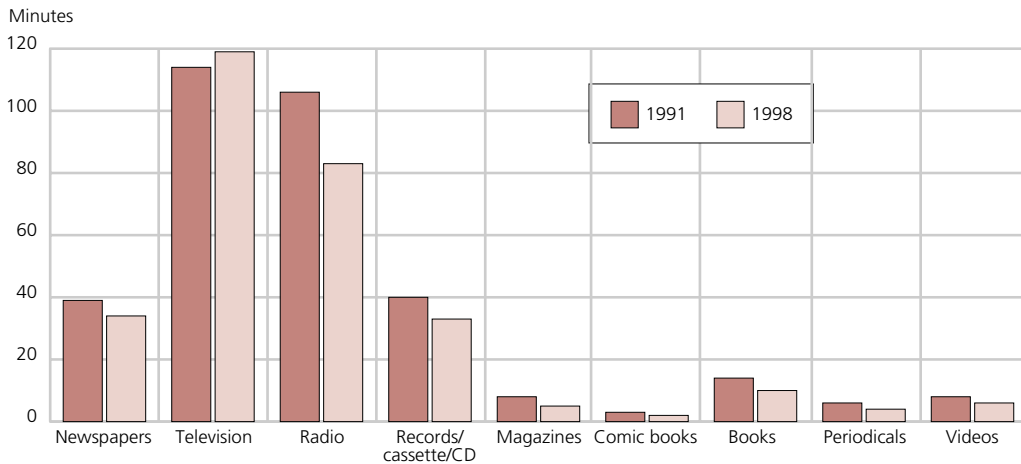
**Home PC: Most frequent in cities**

VCRs have almost become requisite, and are found almost as frequently in rural areas as in the large cities. On the other hand, there is a higher proportion of home PCs, CD-players and CD-ROM-players in the cities. In the cities, as many as 88 per cent own a CD-player, 64 per cent possess a home PC, while 46 per cent have a CD-ROM-player. In sparsely populated areas, the proportion owning these relatively new types of media equipment is 75, 50 and 37 per cent, respectively.

**More TV channels ...**

Not only has there been an increase in access to electronic media, but programmes and channels have increased considerably as well. While Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation's sole competitor in the early 1980s was Swedish Broadcasting, today a majority of viewers have access to both satellite TV (more than 60 per cent) and TV2, the leading commercial

Figure 10.2. Average time spent on media on an average day. All persons aged 9 to 79 years. 1991 and 1998. Minutes



Source: The culture and media use surveys, Statistics Norway.

Norwegian TV channel available to 90 per cent of the population. Privately owned local TV channels reach more than 40 per cent of the population. About 90 per cent can listen to local radio channels in their own district. In addition to the increase in the number of channels, the number of hours each channel is on the air has increased.

### ... but no increase in time spent watching TV

This expansion of electronic media has, however, not led to a corresponding increase in media use, at least not during the 1990s. From 1991 to 1998, total time spent on electronic media decreased (see figure 10.2 and table 10.1). This is particularly the case with radio listening: Despite more stations, more hours of broadcasting and more "listener friendly" programmes, radio listening among Norwegians has declined. While we spent on average 106 minutes per day listening to radio in 1991, only 83 minutes was used on this medium in 1998. Yet, what is per-

haps most surprising is the fact that the time spent watching TV in the period 1991 to 1998 remained almost at the same level, at a little less than two hours per day, despite the growth in the number of channels and hours of broadcasting. Despite the huge investments in commercial channels, TV as a medium has not attracted more interest. Instead, the same hours of viewing have been split up and divided among a greater number of channels. The use of VCRs as well has remained stable, even though the proportion having access to one has increased by 27 percentage points. In 1991, each Norwegian spent an average of 8 minutes per day watching videos, by 1998 this was down to 6 minutes. Among those who do in fact watch videos on a certain day, the time spent has decreased from 85 to 75 minutes during the period in question.

### Less reading

Bearing in mind the emergence of a number of new television and radio channels in recent years, one should expect that

Table 10.1. Average time per average day spent on various media in different age-groups. 1991, 1994 and 1998. Minutes

Media	9-15 years			16-24 years			25-66 years			67-79 years		
	1991	1994	1998	1991	1994	1998	1991	1994	1998	1991	1994	1998
Newspapers .....	10	9	9	30	26	21	44	44	37	58	65	54
Magazines .....	8	5	3	8	8	7	8	6	4	11	15	10
Comic book .....	14	12	12	5	4	3	1	1	1	0	0	0
Periodicals .....	1	1	1	4	5	4	7	6	4	8	7	6
Books .....	13	15	8	18	12	7	12	11	11	22	7	12
Television .....	90	110	127	99	94	118	117	115	114	152	136	143
Radio .....	39	25	21	109	92	74	117	109	94	109	98	94
Videos .....	22	13	13	17	16	14	5	6	4	1	0	1
Records/cassette/CD	63	46	41	89	84	81	29	30	27	5	7	4
Home PC <sup>1</sup> .....	.	13	18	.	11	21	.	11	12	.	0	2
Total print media ...	46	42	33	65	55	42	72	68	57	99	94	82
Total electronic media .....	214	194	202	314	286	287	268	260	239	267	241	242
Total media use .....	260	236	235	379	341	329	340	328	296	366	335	324

<sup>1</sup> In 1991, data on the use of home PC was not collected, and thus is not included in total time spent on media use.  
Source: The culture and media use surveys, Statistics Norway.

these media would get more attention at the expense of printed media. While we did spend less time on reading in 1998 compared with 1991, going from 70 to 55 minutes, there are no indications that the electronic media are taking over.

### Supplement rather than competition?

How can we explain why electronic media have not taken more time and attention away from printed media? One explanation might be that the two media are supplementing each other rather than competing; they cover different needs. They are used under different circumstances and at different times of the day. We read our newspapers first and foremost in the morning and in the afternoon, often on our way to work or school. Television watching is usually done in a comfortable chair in the evening, often in the company of other members of the family, while books are often read in bed. In other words, different media are linked to

different social settings and occupy certain slots in our daily schedules.

So far, the entry of PCs into peoples' homes has not significantly altered the use of media by Norwegians in general. In 1998, we spent only an average of 13 minutes per day in front of a home PC, 18 minutes by men and 7 minutes by women. On the other hand, the increasing use of home PCs by children and young people seems to compensate for the decrease in the use of other kinds of media. Consequently, among the youngest, the use of PC is probably replacing the use of other media rather than being a supplement to such use. Print media seem to be the "loser" in this "battle". The situation among adults is different.

### Women more often read books and magazines

In recent years we have seen a tendency of women to spend somewhat less time reading newspapers than men do, while they use more time on magazines and

books. In 1998, women spent an average of 30 minutes per day on reading newspapers, against 38 minutes by men. The situation regarding magazines and books is the opposite: In all surveys in the 1990s women were the most eager readers of magazines and books. In 1998, women spent 8 minutes per day on magazines and 23 minutes on books, while men used 2 and 13 minutes, respectively.

### **Children are the most infrequent users of media**

Children aged 9 to 15 years spend the least time on media, and from 1991 to 1998 their use of time has decreased. This is the situation both for printed and electronic media. Children watch TV more frequently than before, but this is compensated by less video-viewing. They listen less to radio and CD/cassettes as well, and spend less time reading magazines and books.

Young people also spend somewhat more time in front of the TV than previously reported, but the time they spend watching videos is about the same as in the early 1990s. They spend less time on radio, CD/cassettes and books. Moreover, they use less time on reading newspapers. Among adults and the elderly we find only minor changes in media use, but these groups also spend less time listening to radio.

### **Young people prefer entertainment**

The high level of media use among young people is mostly attributed to their frequent use of CD and cassette players. They also spend more time on videos, but less time on newspapers compared with adults. A general observation is that young people, when compared with adults, are more interested in entertainment media, while adults prefer news and information. The elderly nevertheless

watch the most TV and are the most frequent readers of newspapers and magazines.

### **One out of five young men use the Internet on an average day**

In recent years, the Internet has become commonplace both at work and at home. So far, however, the Internet cannot compete to a substantial degree with the more traditional media. In 1998, 10 per cent of the population used this new media on an average day. Internet use among men was 14 per cent, compared with 7 per cent of women. The most eager users are men aged 16 to 24 years, among whom 22 per cent had logged onto the Internet on an average day.

### **Most reading among the highly educated**

People with a higher education spend more time on reading newspapers, periodicals and books compared with those having lower education. When adding the time used on these three media, people with a higher education spend 64 minutes on average per day on these media. People who completed lower secondary education only use 41 minutes on the same media. The highly educated, on the other hand, spend less time on magazines, TV and radio. They spend a total of 173 minutes on these media, compared with 230 minutes by those with the least education.

Total time spent on media does not differ much between people living in large cities and those living in sparsely populated areas. Those living in large cities, however, spend more time reading newspapers and books and listening to CDs and cassettes, while people in rural areas spend more time listening to radio. This might be attributed to the higher general level of education of those living in large



cities compared with people living in more sparsely populated areas. Thus, the level of education might influence these figures as well.

## 10.2. Culture and entertainment

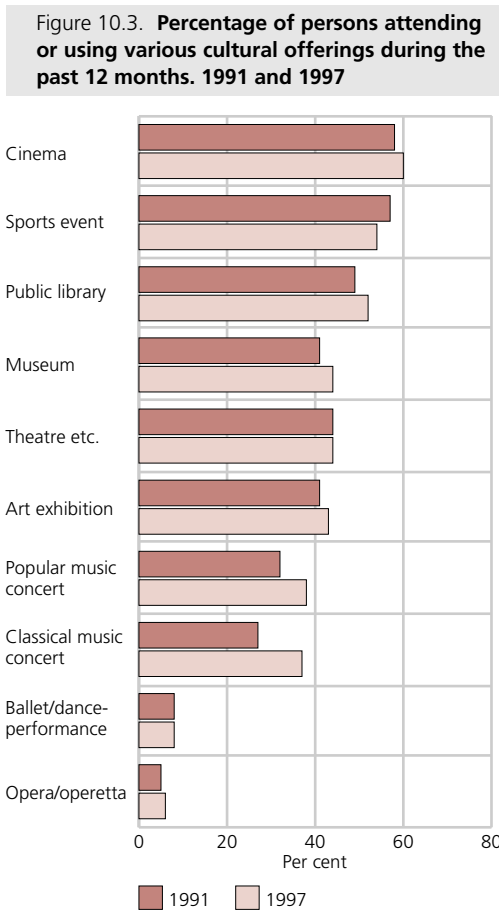
### Increasing cultural activity

A considerably shorter time is spent on cultural activities compared with time spent on media use. Still, Norwegians on average attend 21 cultural activities annually, visits to cinemas and sports events included (see figure 10.3 on cultural activities).

In recent years, there has been an increase in cultural activity, both in terms of options and attendance. In the 1990s, attendance percentages increased for all kinds of cultural activities, with the exception of plays/musicals/revues, ballet/dance performances and sports events. A particularly high increase was noted in the proportion attending classical music concerts.

The increase in cultural activity can be attributed to a number of causes. As we will return to later, there is a tendency for people to spend more time outside their home; to go out more. Many Norwegians have seen an improvement in their financial situation, giving them the opportunity to spend more money on cultural activities. The increasing level of education in the population is also a significant factor; highly educated people are more frequently attending most cultural activities compared with people with less education. So the demand is increasing. At the same time, the number and categories of cultural activities, professional as well as amateur, have increased.

Compared with data collected around 20 years ago, the number of visitors to both the professional theatres and the Norwegian Opera have increased. In 1980, these institutions had approximately 1.10 million visits. The number of visits increased up till 1993, then decreased somewhat, to 1.37 million visits in 1998. The number of books borrowed at public libraries has increased as well. In 1980, approximately 16.2 million books were borrowed, increasing to 17.9 million in 1986 and 19.0 million by 1998. On the other hand, cinema attendance plunged from 17.5 million visits in 1980 to 11.1 million in 1986. Since then, attendance has remained rather stable and in 1998 11.5 million visits were counted.



Source: The Culture and Media Use Surveys 1991 and 1997, Statistics Norway.

### Geographic variations

According to the culture use surveys, there are distinct geographic variations in the types of cultural activities available. This is really quite natural since expensive plays, large museums or art exhibitions require a large potential general public. 60 per cent of the population lives within ten kilometres of an art collection or a museum. 50 per cent live within ten kilometres of the nearest concert hall or events centre where concerts are frequently held. 44 per cent have a theatre or facility where plays are regularly staged less than ten kilometres from home. Other cultural activities are even more accessible: More than 90 per cent of the population has less than ten kilometres to travel to the nearest playing field or sports hall, while 88 per cent have a public library within the same distance. A further 70 per cent live less than ten kilometres from the nearest cinema.

### Most people go to the cinema or sports events

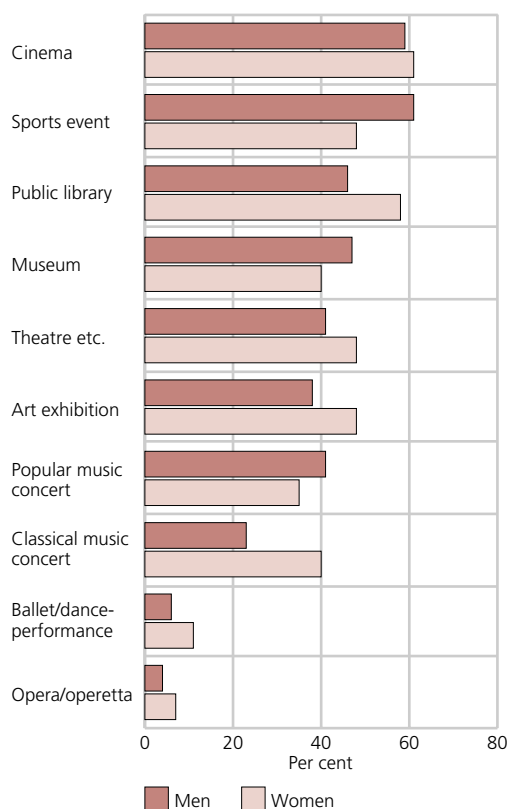
Cinema and sports events are the cultural activities that attract the highest proportion of Norwegians, followed by public libraries, museums and theatres/musicals/revues. Ballet and dance performances and operas/operettas have the smallest audiences.

Geographic differences in accessibility are naturally reflected in attendance figures, both overall and annual frequency of attendance. Oslo/Akershus is the area with the easiest access to cultural activities, and people living in this area attend cultural activities more often than others. This is particularly the case with theatre/musicals/revues and opera, but also ballet and dance performances, cinemas and museums. The high level of education in the Oslo region probably plays an

important role in this connection, in addition to accessibility.

Children and young people generally attend cultural activities more frequently compared with adults, and often go to cinemas, museums, libraries and ballet performances. Without a doubt, some of these visits are school trips. Children are also the most frequent spectators at sports events. Concerts with popular music are particularly popular with young people.

Figure 10.4. Percentage of men and women attending or using various cultural offerings during the past 12 months. 1997



Source: The Culture and Media Use Survey 1997, Statistics Norway.

### Women attend cultural activities more frequently

Women attend cultural activities more frequently than men. This is the case with theatre/musical/revues, classical music concerts, art exhibitions and public libraries. The proportion attending cinema, opera, popular music concerts and museums is about the same for women and men, while men are the most frequent spectators at sports events.

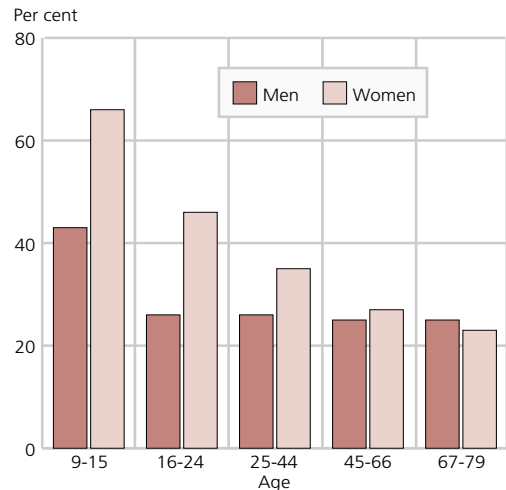
As mentioned above, people with higher educations attend most cultural activities more often than those with least education. While 44 per cent of the entire population had been to the theatre, a musical or similar cultural activity in the last 12 months of 1997, the percentage among those with a university or college degree was 65. 43 per cent of the entire population had been to an art exhibition, compared with 69 per cent of the highly educated. These differences might be attributed to the interest in culture acquired through education, and the fact that highly educated people more often live in areas with a wide range of cultural activities.

### Large personal involvement, particularly among women

The percentage of people active (see note in figure 10.5) in music, singing, theatre, revues and fine arts has remained rather stable: 34 per cent in 1991 and 32 per cent in 1997. Women are more active than men: In 1997, 27 per cent of men and 36 per cent of women were active. This difference has remained stable as well. Young people, and young women in particular, are more active than the elderly, while adult men are relatively inactive in this sphere.

The participation of Norwegians in cultural activities is quite considerable: 12 per

Figure 10.5. Percentage of women and men in various age groups being a member of or active participant in one or more cultural area.<sup>1</sup> 1997



<sup>1</sup> Member of/performed in public with an amateur theatre/revue group in past two years, member of a fine arts society, engaged in/exhibited fine arts/crafts in last two years, member of/performed in public with choir/orchestra in last two years or plays an instrument regularly.

Source: The Culture and Media Use Survey 1997, Statistics Norway.

cent engage in fine arts and handicrafts in their leisure time. 11 per cent play an instrument regularly, compared with 31 per cent of those aged 9 to 15 years. 8 per cent are members of a choir or an orchestra, compared with as much as 19 per cent of 9 to 15-year-olds. 2 per cent are members of an amateur theatre or revue group. Men participate as often as women in choirs, orchestras and similar cultural activities, while women are more often engaged in fine arts or handicrafts.

### We go out more often

Norwegians are making more frequent use of leisure offerings located outside their own home. More are going to restaurants, dances or discotheques. According to the Survey of Living Conditions 1980, approximately 50 per cent had been to a dance or discotheque during the last 12 months. In 1991, this percentage

had increased to 60, and remained stable at this level in 1995. The proportion who went to a restaurant or café in the last 12 months has increased as well, from 76 per cent in 1987 to 93 per cent in 1997. Combined with the increasing cultural activity, this is an indication of leisure activities that are less home-oriented (Barstad 1997).

**Eating out: Decreasing generation gap**

Whereas 98 per cent of 16 to 24-year-olds had been to a restaurant or café and 90 per cent had been to a dance or discotheque in 1995, only 76 and 19 per cent respectively of those aged 67 to 79 years had been to the same places. Accordingly, these types of leisure time activities, and in particular the latter one, are rather limited to certain age groups. But the differences between young and old have dimi-

nished. In 1987, 42 per cent of the elderly had been to a restaurant or café and 13 per cent to a dance or discotheque.

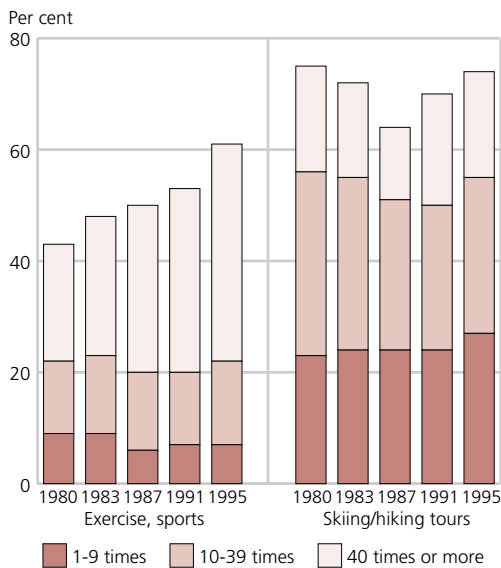
**10.3. Physical activity**

**Increasing physical activity**

From 1986 to 1998, the membership of the Norwegian Confederation of Sports increased from approximately 1.63 million to about 1.89 million. This implies a rather minor increase from 39 to 43 memberships per 100 inhabitants during the past ten years. Going back to 1980, the ratio was as low as 34 memberships per 100 inhabitants. Even though the proportion of female members has increased during the period, the majority, 61 per cent, still consists of men.

According to the surveys of living conditions, more Norwegians participated in sports and physical exercise in 1995 compared with 1987. During the 1980s, the percentage who had gone for long hikes or ski trips in the past 12 months decreased to 64 per cent in 1987. The percentage subsequently increased to 70 per cent in 1991 and 74 per cent in 1995. The proportion doing other kinds of sports and physical exercise has increased as well, from 43 per cent in 1980 to 50 per cent in 1987 and 61 per cent in 1995. In all these years, more men than women were active, but the gap between them has diminished: In 1980, 47 per cent of men and 39 per cent of women were engaged in sports and physical activities per year. In 1995, the percentages were 61 and 58, respectively.

Figure 10.6. Percentage of persons aged 16 to 79 years participating in various leisure time activities during the past 12 months. 1980-1995



Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

**Walks in the country and short strolls preferable**

Longer walks in the country and short strolls near home are the dominant outdoor recreation activities of adult

Norwegians (Vaage 1999b). In 1997, more than nine out of ten had taken a short or long walk in the country in the last 12 months, and more than three out of four had gone for a stroll. On average, each Norwegian takes 31 strolls near home and goes for 42 walks in the course of a year.

In the course of a year, two out of three Norwegians go swimming outdoors, and approximately every other Norwegian goes fishing or skiing or picks berries and mushrooms. Boating is also popular. Four out of ten go boating or sailing, and two out of ten go canoeing, kayaking or rowing. One out of three goes for a bike ride in the forest or in the countryside, while as few as one in ten goes hunting in the course of a year. While the average Norwegian goes fishing, boating, sailing and skiing about six times per year, we go on about five bike trips, two berry and mushroom picking trips and one hunting trip.

### **A majority go walking in forests and mountains**

Norwegians are enthusiastic walkers and hikers. During the last 12 months, 70 per cent of the population aged 16 to 79 years had been on walks or hikes in the forests while 52 per cent had gone on walks or hikes in the mountains. On average, we go walking or hiking in the forests 25 times and 6 times in the mountains. Those who actively participate in such activities go for 36 walks or hikes in the forests and 12 walks or hikes in the mountains per year.

81 per cent of men and 78 per cent of women go for a walk during the year. The proportion of people going for walks is highest among those below 16 years of age: above 90 per cent. Among those aged 25 to 66 years, the percentage of

people going for walks is somewhat above 80 per cent. Among the elderly, aged 67 to 79 years, 56 per cent go for a walk. It is worth noting that in this age group the proportion of men who are active is 64 per cent compared with only 49 per cent of women.

Whereas 67 per cent of those with a primary school education went for walks during the last year, the proportion was 91 per cent among those with a college or university education. However, those with little education go for the most walks once they first become involved with this form of outdoor activity, and this is particularly the case with walks in forested areas.

### **High level of activity in all parts of the country**

The notion that walkers and hikers are mostly made up of city dwellers, particularly of large cities, is not correct. The proportion of people going for walks is high, regardless of the density of population or geography: No region stands out. For topographical reasons, those living in Western and Northern Norway go for walks somewhat more often in the mountains, while people living in Eastern Norway more often take their walks in forested areas.

### **Less than half go skiing in the course of a year**

The idea that all Norwegians go skiing appears to be a myth. Less than half of the population actually engage in this activity. Among those aged 16 to 79 years, 45 per cent go skiing one or more times per year. On average, we go skiing six times per year. Those who actually go skiing, do it 14 times during the year. A somewhat higher proportion go skiing in the mountains compared with the forested areas in the lowlands: 34 and 29 per cent, respectively.

Men go skiing somewhat more frequently than women. 51 per cent of men go skiing in the course of a year, compared with 40 per cent of women. On average, men go skiing twice as often as women; eight times against four times.

### Most skiers among the highly educated

As was the case among those going for walks, skiers are more likely to be highly educated than others. While less than one out of three persons with a primary school education goes skiing during the year, two out of three active skiers have a higher education. This difference between people with different levels of education is seen across all age groups. Still, active skiers with a primary education go skiing more often than active skiers with higher educations.

Table 10.2. Number of times participating in physical activity in order to train or exercise, by sex and age. 1997. Per cent

	Seldom or never	1-2 times per month	Once per week	2 times per week or more
<b>6-15 years</b>				
All .....	13	4	26	56
Boys .....	16	4	19	59
Girls .....	10	4	32	55
<b>16-79 years</b>				
All .....	36	11	18	35
Boys .....	38	11	16	35
Girls .....	33	11	21	36
6-10 years .....	14	4	37	43
11-15 years .....	10	4	14	71
16-24 years .....	22	10	15	53
25-44 years .....	31	13	22	34
45-66 years .....	40	10	17	33
67-79 years .....	55	6	11	28

Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1997, Statistics Norway.

### Physical exercise: Children the most active, half of the elderly never take exercise

According to the Survey of Living Conditions 1997 (Vaage 1999a), the proportion of people never involved in physical activity for the purpose of training or getting exercise increases with increasing age, if we exclude the youngest age groups. Young children are more active than adults in all regards. But their activity is categorized as play rather than physical exercise or training.

Close to three out of four children aged 11 to 15 years exercise often (twice per week or more). Among young people aged 16 to 24 years, more than half train often, compared with approximately one out of three of those of working age. Half of the elderly never or seldom take physical exercise. Still, almost 30 per cent in this age group exercise on a regular basis.

### Working out: Equal status

In general, men and women have a rather identical activity level regarding physical exercise and training; the genders are equal here. Still there is a difference among the elderly: 56 per cent of these women never exercise, compared with 45 per cent of men.

The difference between the genders is also small among children, whose level of activity is higher than adults. More than 80 per cent train or exercise at least once a month. 10 per cent never train and 13 per cent train on almost daily basis. Girls are active to a somewhat higher degree than boys: Less than 80 per cent of the boys train once per week or more often, compared with almost 90 per cent of girls.

### Education is a factor

More than 40 per cent of those with only a primary education never take physical exercise, while 30 per cent in this group train at least twice a week. Among those with higher educations, less than 20 per cent never take physical exercise, and more than 40 per cent train at least two times per week. Education therefore has a great impact on physical activity. These differences are also apparent even after taking age differences into consideration. The idea of a "healthy life style" is much more popular among the well educated. At the same time there are reasons to believe that the highly educated belong to occupational groups who do little manual work, and thus more often are in need of, and have the capacity, to take physical exercise after work.

### Training most common in large cities

Among those living in the large cities, more than 30 per cent exercise twice a week or more. Among those living in sparsely populated areas the proportion is below 30 per cent. To some degree this might be due to the easier access to health studios and sports facilities in the most densely populated areas.

### Adults prefer walking, children swim or go bicycling

In the Survey of Living Conditions 1997, those who trained or took physical exercise at least once a month were asked which kind of activity they participated in at least once per month, depending on the season. The most common activity among adults is to go for a walk, followed by bike riding, swimming, skiing and jogging/running. More than one out of three participate in such activities. Among exercisers, less than one in four do weight training, aerobics/gymnastics/keep-fit

Table 10.3. **Percentage who do different types of physical exercise on a regular basis among those training at least once per month. 6-15 years and 16-79 years. 1997**

	6-15 years	16-79 years
Jogging/running .....	25	34
Skiing/cross-country skiing .....	56	38
Slalom/telemark/snowboard-skiing .....	31	21
Swimming .....	65	37
Bicycling .....	60	45
Walking .....	25	48
Folk or ballroom dancing, (jazz) ballet .....	10	8
Skateboarding/rollerblading .....	17	.
Aerobics/gymnastics/exercising to keep fit .....	21	23
Weight training .....	16	24
Football .....	48	16
Handball .....	17	4
Ice hockey, bandy .....	11	4
Other team sports .....	14	6
Tennis <sup>1</sup> .....	8	5
Squash .....	.	6
Golf .....	.	5
Other .....	14	12

<sup>1</sup>Tennis and squash among children.

Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1997, Statistics Norway.

exercises and slalom/telemark/snowboard-skiing. 16 per cent play football.

Among children, the average proportion doing each activity is higher than among adults, indicating that a high percentage of children take part in more activities per month compared with adults. Among children, the proportion of active participants is highest in swimming, bicycling and skiing. More than half of the children aged 6 to 15 years are active in these fields in the course of one month during the season. Almost half are active in football. 25 to 30 per cent take part in walks, slalom/telemark/snowboard-skiing and go jogging/running. Approximately one in five are active in aerobics/gymnastics, handball, skateboarding or weight training.

## 10.4. Holidays and holiday trips

### No increase in Norwegians going on holiday trips

There have been relatively few changes in the holiday activities of Norwegians since 1980. In 1982, 74 per cent of the population went on a holiday trip, compared with 72 per cent in 1998. In 1982, the average annual number of such trips per person was 1.5. In 1998, the average number was 1.4, in fact almost identical. In 1982, each Norwegian spent an average of 16 days on holiday trips, increasing to 17.4 days in 1986. Then came a period of shorter holiday trips: In the period 1992 to 1998, the number of days spent on holiday trips has been approximately 14. One factor behind this change is the rising popularity of "weekend-trips" including charter tours with two or three overnight stops to the large cities of Europe. In these surveys, only holiday trips with four or more overnight stops are counted, meaning that this category of shorter holiday trips is not included.

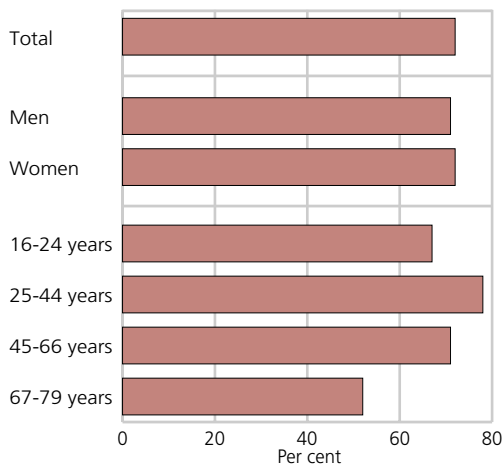
### The well-off and city dwellers travel the most

Because going away on holiday is often expensive, personal finances are a determining factor in holiday travel. Among those with a household income below NOK 100 000 is a considerable percent-

#### Box 10.2. The holiday surveys

Since 1970, Statistics Norway's holiday surveys have been carried out on a rather regular basis. In these surveys, a representative sample of the Norwegian population aged 16 to 79 years are asked whether they, during the last 12 months, have been on holidays with at least four overnight stops. There have been some variations in the number of respondents, but the average of the most recent surveys has been about 1 800 persons each year.

Figure 10.7. Percentage on holiday among persons aged 16 to 79 years, by sex and age. 1997/1998



Source: Omnibus Survey November 1998, Statistics Norway.

age of students who give high priority to holiday trips. Consequently, two out of three in this group have been on a holiday trip in the last 12 months. In households with an income between NOK 100 000 and 200 000 in 1998 as few as 55 per cent had been on such a trip during a period of 12 months. Among those with a total household income of NOK 500 000 or more, 87 per cent had been on a holiday trip.

Traditionally, going on holidays has been an urban activity, and this is still the case. More people living in the large cities go on holidays compared with those living in the countryside. And their holidays last longer: Those living in sparsely populated areas on average went for holiday trips for a period of 9.0 days, while those living in large cities were away from home for a period lasting more than twice as long: 20.2 days.



### **14 days on holiday trips**

In 1998, Norwegians on average had been on holiday trips for 14.2 days in the last 12 months. 9 per cent had been on holidays for less than a week, while 15 per cent had spent four weeks or more on holiday trips. Among those who had been on holidays during the last 12 months, the elderly (aged 67 to 79 years) are away from home for the longest period: 26.6 days compared with an average of 19.9 days among all those who went on holiday trips.

### **Most people spend their holidays in Norway**

Despite the increasing number of possibilities to travel to Southern Europe, the Canary Islands and even more exotic destinations, most Norwegians spend their holidays in Norway. Among those going on holiday trips in 1997/1998, 70 per cent spent one or more of their holiday trips in Norway. Our nearest neighbouring countries are popular destinations as well: 20 per cent, or one out of five, went for holidays in one of the other Nordic countries. 45 per cent of those going on holiday trips went on a holiday to a destination outside the Nordic countries. This is a considerable increase since the first half of the 1990s, when the proportion of people on holiday outside the Nordic countries was approximately 34 per cent.

### **Young people travel the longest distances**

The highest proportion of people on holiday outside the Nordic countries is found among young people aged 16 to 24 years and women. Place of residence is also of importance: Among those going on holidays and living in large cities, 51 per cent went outside the Nordic countries, the similar percentage was 35 among holidaymakers from sparsely populated areas.

Among those from Oslo and Akershus who went on a holiday trip, 52 per cent travelled abroad. As few as 35 per cent of holidaymakers from Northern Norway went abroad. The geographic situation of this part of the country and the consequent extra travelling costs are probably a factor here.

Those who earn the least, NOK 100 000 and less, are among those who travel the most abroad. As mentioned above, this group includes many students who travel on their own rather than with their families, and many of them have the opportunity to travel at modest prices, for instance by Interrail. If this group is excluded from the analysis, we find that the proportion of people travelling abroad increases with income.

### **Less than half of the elderly go on summer holiday**

There is a widespread impression of "everybody" going on summer holidays, but this is not the case. While 62 per cent went on a summer holiday in 1998, more than a third of the population did not go on a holiday trip with at least four overnight stops from May to August. The elderly in particular stay at home during the summer months. In 1998, only 41 per cent of the 67-79-year-olds went on a summer holiday. On the other hand, the elderly more often go on holiday during the autumn.

To go on summer holidays is most common among people living in the large cities. Only 51 per cent among those living in sparsely populated areas went on such a holiday. Income is a factor: Among households with an income of NOK 500 000 and above, the proportion of summer holidaymakers was as high as 77 per cent in 1998.

**Easter holidays less common**

Most people go on holiday during the summer, only a minority go on holidays during other seasons. In 1998, 17 per cent of the population went on holiday in the autumn. Young singles and elderly couples without children living at home are those who mainly go on holiday during the autumn. Only 12 per cent went on holiday during the winter, while 13 per cent went on Easter holiday. Easter holidays are most common among people with a high level of education living in the large cities. On the other hand, the elderly, particularly elderly singles, seldom go on holiday at Easter.

During the last 15 years, the proportion going on Christmas, winter and summer holiday has been rather stable, while the proportion going on Easter holiday (four or more overnight stops) is steadily decreasing. In 1982, 30 per cent went on such a holiday during Easter, compared with 13 per cent in 1998.

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Arnt Even Hustad

# 11. Crime



## Two sources of information

Statistics Norway offers two sources for those seeking information on crime and offenders: Surveys of living conditions and crime statistics. In the surveys, people are asked whether they have been victims of crimes such as violence, larceny and property damage. The basis of the crime statistics is criminal acts discovered and reported to the police.

Both sources of information have their weaknesses. While the Survey of Living Conditions 1997 indicated that 110 000 persons had been the subject of physical violence, 13 000 violent crimes were reported to the police the same year. This comparison of figures leaves little doubt about the huge dark figures in the crime statistics. It also strengthens the impression that the surveys of living conditions give a more adequate picture of the violence experienced by ordinary people. On the other hand, the crime statistics give us an idea of the violence that citizens choose to report to the police. The combination of the two sources provides a basis for statements about the number of criminal acts and changes over time.

## 11.1. Victimization and dark figures

### No wave of violence

In the Survey of Living Conditions 1997, 6 per cent reported having been victims of violence or threats of violence in the last year, up from 4 per cent according to the corresponding survey in 1983. The number of violent crimes reported to and investigated by the police increased far more rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s.

### Young women victimized more often

Younger adults in particular reported the highest rates of victimization of violence or threats of violence. 13 per cent of women aged 16 to 24 years reported being victimized, while 12 per cent of men of the same age had the same experience. Compared with previous surveys, the rate of victimization increased for women while the rates for men have decreased slightly.

### Gendered scenes of violence

According to the persons interviewed, the acts or threats of violence were distributed quite evenly between three places: One third took place in their own or someone else's home, one third were committed at school or in the workplace

and one third in public places like public transport, streets or cafés. Men and women are victimized in different ways: Women more often report having been subjected to violence in their own home or workplace, while men more often are victimized in public places.

15 per cent of the acts of violence against women that resulted in visible harm took place in their own home. Far more women – in 46 per cent of the cases – were victimized at their workplace. This is related to the fact that employees in the public care system, who are traditionally women, have a relatively high risk of becoming victims of violence. Violence to women resulting in injury was far more rare in public places - only 22 per cent of reported cases.

For men, the home was the scene of violent acts in barely 5 per cent of the cases. 38 per cent of the violent acts occurred in

their own workplace, the same proportion as in public places. The picture is also gendered when studying the perpetrator. Crime statistics show that nine out of ten persons charged with violent crimes are men.

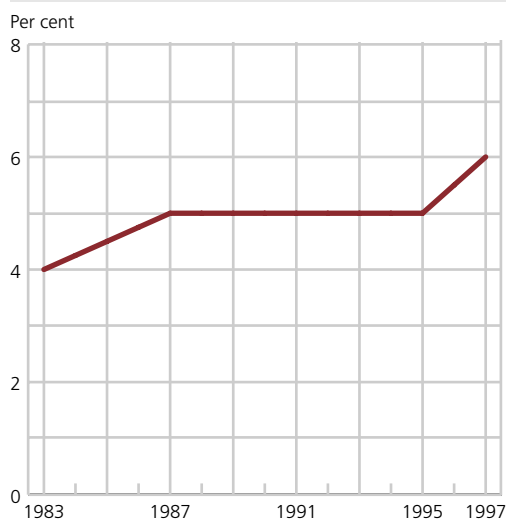
### Most fear among women

Many Norwegians are experiencing a reduction in the quality of their lives because they fear violence, threats or other sorts of crime. The fear of violence is mostly expressed by women. A total of 17 per cent of women said they feared for violence or threats of violence in their neighbourhood, according to the Survey of Living Conditions 1997. Among men, only 5 per cent expressed the same fear. Young and elderly women were the most fearful. Among those between 16 and 24 years, and also those between 67 and 79 years, 22 per cent reported being fearful of violence or threats of violence in their neighbourhood. In contrast to the situation among young women, a very small proportion of elderly women (2 per cent) had actually been victims of violence or threats of violence. There is reason to believe that women see themselves as more vulnerable than men, especially in situations experienced as threatening. A statistical analysis has also shown that women who report fear of this kind, more often show symptoms of poor mental health (Olaussen 1995b). Consequently, the general feeling of being insecure is just as serious as the actual risk of becoming a victim of these crimes.

### Larceny and property damage: Higher reporting rates

According to the Survey of Living Conditions 1997, one out of eight respondents had been victims of larceny and property damage in the last 12 months. This is the same percentage as reported in the same survey six years earlier. Among the

Figure 11.1. Percentage of persons victimized by violence. 1983-1997



Source: Surveys of living conditions, Statistics Norway.

**Box 11.1. Data sources**

This article is based on information from the surveys on living conditions conducted in the period 1983 to 1997 and crime statistics in the period 1980 to 1998. Throughout the period, survey interviewers have asked representative samples of the Norwegian population above 15 years of age whether they have experienced violence or threats of violence. In 1991 and 1997, questions about whether they had been victims of larceny and property damage were also included. One drawback is that children are not included in the samples. Interviewers furthermore seldom meet the homeless and residents of institutions are not included in the samples. The crime statistics are based on the Penal Code and special legislation and count the offences known to the police, either through the work of the police itself or through reports from the public.

victims, 63 per cent of those who had experienced larceny reported the crime to the police, while 47 per cent of the victims of property damage did the same.

The relatively high frequency of larceny reports is especially true of grand larcenies, due to the demand from insurance companies that these crimes be reported to the police before compensation can be paid. Those who decided not to report the larceny to the police, had the following three main arguments: It was not worth the trouble, the police wouldn't take action anyhow, or the insurance company's deductible was too high.

**Few report violence**

The same survey of living conditions clearly shows that it is far more uncommon to report violence. Among those victimized and physically harmed, only 13 per cent reported the violence to the poli-

ce. The low frequency of reporting is due to a series of circumstances, but the severity of the violence seems to have little influence on the decision. While 13 per cent reported the violence that led to visible harm, 12 per cent reported violence without such harm. The situation and the relationship between the victim and the aggressor seem to be more important. When the victim and the perpetrator know each other, there is less reason to expect a report compared with when the violence has occurred between strangers in a public place. The visibility and degree of psychological violation also has a bearing on the decision, as well as the strain or the benefit that the victim expects from reporting the case to the police.

**Dark figures in crime statistics**

The criminality shown in the crime statistics reflects the crime that has become visible to the police and the judicial

**Box 11.2. Definition of crime**

Crime is defined as acts that contravene Norwegian laws containing penal provisions. Most of the acts concerned are found in *the Penal Code of 1902*. Larceny, murder and rape are examples of such offences. Other acts are criminalized through special legislation covering crimes defined according to laws and regulations for more "modern" spheres of social life, such as crimes against the Tax Assessment Act, traffic misdemeanours and Working Environment Act misdemeanours. Crime covers a wide variety of acts involving different motives, emotions and consequences. Crime is normally regarded as something happening between two main parties, the offender and the victim, which is mostly the case in traditional crimes such as larceny, murder and threats. The crime picture is, however, more complex. There are also crimes that affect the welfare state, society as a whole and the environment, and are committed by groups of people, companies or organizations. This is seen in different forms of economic crime, environmental crime and working environment offences.

system, and is partially influenced by what the public has found worthwhile to report to the police. The Survey of Living Conditions 1997 tells us that 87 per cent of the victims of violence who suffered physical harm decided not to report the incident, which again tells us that a high proportion of the violence remains unknown to the police.

The dark figures in the crime statistics are all the criminal acts that are not registered by the police, and hence not shown in the crime statistics. The size of these figures depends on the kind of crime, and, along with that, the risk of being detected and the victims' willingness to report the crime. The size of the dark figures might, or might not, vary over time, depending on the priorities of the authorities and the willingness of the public to report the crime.

### **Justice today and before**

The law is supposed to express the prevailing opinion of right or wrong, and to define the acts that are so reprehensible that society must intervene and punish the perpetrator. The right to define what is right or wrong is a political question in the broadest sense. Public opinion can change and lead to adjustments of statutes.

Since 1980 we have seen more stringent sentencing for some acts, or the passage of new laws or amendment of existing laws. Maximum sentences for drug crimes have been increased. In 1964 the maximum penalty was two years of unconditioned imprisonment; in 1984 this was changed to 21 years. Only murder, counterfeiting and certain crimes against the independence and security of the nation can be punished as hard as drug crimes. The Working Environment Act of

#### **Box 11.3. Offences known to the police**

The crime statistics are divided into four main parts:

1. Offences reported to the police.
2. Offences investigated by the police.
3. Sanctions.
4. Imprisonment.

The crime statistics are organized according to the Penal Code and differentiate between two main categories of offences: crimes and misdemeanours. A crime, with some exceptions, is an offence which under the law may be punished with imprisonment for more than three months. Examples of crimes are larceny, racial discrimination and murder. Misdemeanours are less serious offences, and with some exceptions they can be punished with imprisonment up to three months. Examples of misdemeanours are petty larceny, violations of the Working Environment Act, and driving under the influence of alcohol. The statistics concerning reported crimes were compiled for the first time in 1990, giving comparable figures for the years from 1991 to 1998. This part of the crime statistics is regarded as the most suitable for tracking crime trends, partly because it is compiled every six months, and partly because it is less dependent on the capacity of the police force to investigate crimes. A lack of such capacity may, however, influence this statistic as well: Fewer offences may be reported by the public if it is a common view that the police will not be able to investigate the offence within a reasonable period of time. When we want to study the development of crime through a longer period, as in this article where the main focus is on 1980 to 1998, we have to use the statistics on investigated crimes. From 1992 on the statistics also include misdemeanours, but when commenting on the period 1980 to 1998 we focus on crimes, since this is what normally is perceived as serious, traditional crime. In some exceptional cases we focus on reported offences in the period 1991 to 1998. When counting reported crimes, we include both misdemeanours and crimes.

1977 (revised 1981) and the Pollution Act of 1981 are examples of more recent laws with criminal provisions. Petty larceny is an example of decriminalization; it was downgraded from a crime to misdemeanour in 1972.

## 11.2. The offences

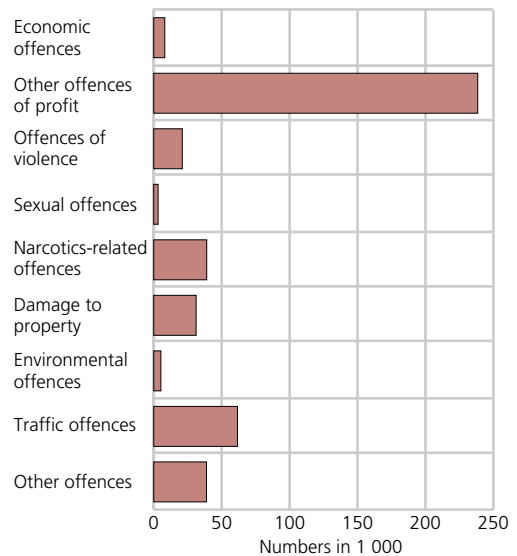
### Crimes against property dominate

In 1988 a total of slightly more than 318 000 crimes and 128 000 misdemeanours were reported to the police. The number of larcenies totalled 194 000, or 64 per cent of all crimes. The Penal Code distinguishes between aggravated and simple larcenies: A larceny is aggravated if the thief commits the crime by breaking in, with the use of weapons or by stealing an object worth a considerable amount of money. Larceny committed against a person in a public place, for instance by a pickpocket or purse-snatcher, is also regarded as aggravated larceny. Simple or minor larceny applies to items of a lesser value, taken without breaking in through windows or doors. Almost 91 000 simple or minor larcenies and more than 81 000 aggravated larcenies were reported to the police in 1998. More than 21 000 motor vehicles were reported stolen the same year as well.

If we include blackmail and robbery, counterfeiting, embezzlement, fraud and breach of trust, receiving stolen goods and crimes against the Tax Assessment Act, we see that close to four out of five reported crimes seem to be motivated by economic gain.

In figure 11.2 we separate between economic crimes on the one hand and other crimes for profit (larcenies, blackmailing and robbery) on the other. Economic crime is just a small part of the total amount

Figure 11.2. **Offences (crimes and misdemeanours) reported to the police, by category of offence. 1998. Numbers in 1 000**



<sup>1</sup> Both crimes and misdemeanours. See box 11.3.

Source: Crime Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

of crimes for profit. "Economic crime" is usually defined as crimes for profit taking place in connection with otherwise legal private or public business. The relatively low number of such offences is probably due to the low risk of detection for such offences. The reporting frequency depends on the efforts of the police or other supervisory bodies. The same applies to many types of environmental crimes or crimes against the Working Environment Act. In the period 1980 to 1998, the activities of environmental protection organizations, the National Authority for Investigation and Prosecution of Economic & Environmental Crime in Norway (Økokrim) and other public supervisory bodies have increased the risk of being detected.

### Traffic misdemeanours and drug crimes

Traffic offences are the second largest category of offences; close to 62 000



offences were reported in 1998. These are misdemeanours against the Road Traffic Act. Drug offences are mostly of a more serious character and constitute the third largest category of crimes; 39 000 crimes were reported in 1998. Drug crimes consist of crimes against the Act relating to Medicinal Goods and § 162 of the Penal Code.

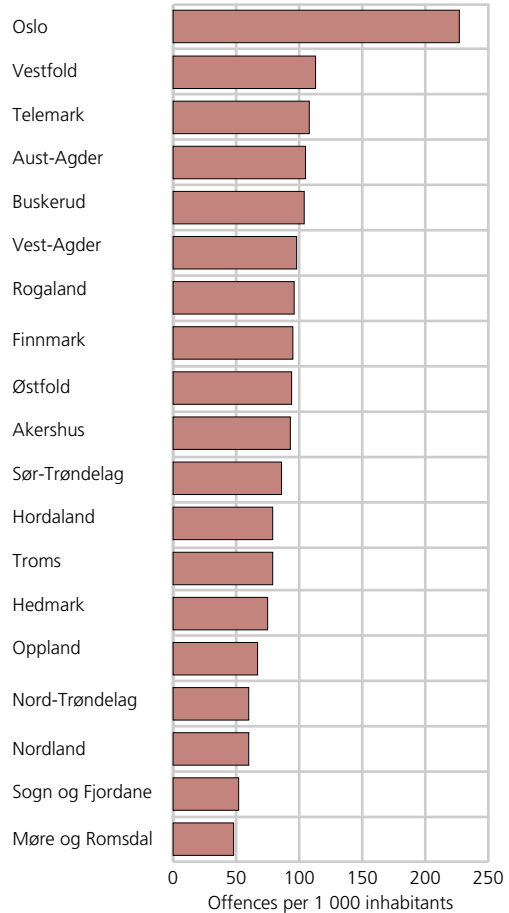
Property damage numbered up to 31 000 reported cases, of which 10 500 were misdemeanours. Property damages were thus the fourth largest category of offences in 1998.

**Violence and sexual crime – small proportions**

21 000 incidents of violence were reported in 1998. This category of offences consists of crimes against the Penal Code, such as duress and threats, assaults against public servants and crimes of violence against the person. When we speak of crimes inflicting bodily harm, we refer to the last two categories. In 1998, 13 200 crimes of violence against the person were reported, accounting for 4 per cent of all reported crimes the same year. By comparison, the Survey on Living Conditions 1997 indicates that 110 000 persons were victims of violence that year, a comparison that underlines the significance of dark figures in the relationship between actual and reported violence.

In 1998, 3 200 incidents of sexual crimes were reported, which is less than 1 per cent of all reported crimes. The dark figures for sexual crime and abuse are believed to be huge because reporting the incident puts an additional strain on victims. The victim views the sexual assault as a personal violation and social taboo. The perpetrator may be someone the victim knows. Many cases have a long history,

Figure 11.3. Reported offences per 1 000 inhabitants, by county. 1998



Source: Crime Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

and in some instances the crime itself may have taken place as much as 30 years before it was reported to the police. Going deeper into the crime statistics we see that more than two thirds of the victims reporting incest in 1998, reported a crime that did not take place the same year. More than one third reported an offence which had occurred more than five years previously (Ellingsen and Lilleaas 1999). There are, however, reasons to believe that the frequency of reporting these crimes has risen through the 1980s

and 1990s: Victims have been encouraged to report sexual crimes. Centres for battered women and rape and incest victims have been established. Women who have been raped or battered can get economic compensation and have a legal right to have their own lawyer. Despite these remedial actions there is still reason to believe that only a tiny fraction of sexual assaults are reported. The dark figures are generally high in cases where victim and offender know each other.

### **Crime rates across the country**

Slightly more than 101 offences per 1 000 inhabitants were reported in Norway in 1998. Oslo, the capital, had the highest registered crime rate, with more than 227 offences per 1 000 inhabitants, followed by Vestfold with 113 and Telemark with 108. The lowest rate of crime was found in Møre og Romsdal, with 48 offences per 1 000 inhabitants followed by Sogn og Fjordane (52) and Nordland (60). Broadly speaking, counties with higher levels of centrality often seem to have the highest crime rates.

### **Crime – an urban phenomenon?**

More crime is registered in the larger cities than elsewhere in the country. In 1998 Oslo was the scene of more than one out of four reported offences, while only one out of nine Norwegians live in Oslo. The reasons for this are many: Some of the offences are committed by people residing outside Oslo. It is also possible that the dark figures are higher outside urban areas because acts may be interpreted in other ways, or to a greater degree tolerated, based on the knowledge of the offender and his background. It is common, however, to cite greater alienation and isolation and weakened informal social control in the cities. Temptations are more numerous in the cities, and the risk of being recognised is lower. The risk

of being discovered is far higher in the smaller communities.

### **Historical trends**

Because more detailed statistics on reported crimes are only available from 1991 on, a historical approach to crime therefore has to focus on the changes in investigated offences. The statistics regarding investigated crimes can be used as an indicator of crime trends, but have to be used with caution. For instance, changes in the resources available to the police might cause changes in the amount of offences registered and investigated. The police have changed their registration procedures twice since 1980. The first was the introduction of STRASAK, an electronic registration system, which is probably the reason for a significant part of the increase in registered offences at the end of the 1980s (Olaussen 1995a and 1996).

Secondly, the police also changed its procedures significantly between 1994 and 1995. In cases where a number of offences are committed at approximately the same time by the same offender, the new procedure requires police officers to register all crimes that may constitute a separate count in the charges. Before 1994 the procedures were different from district to district, and many police districts registered only one crime in situations like these. The new routines resulted in a significant increase in the numbers of offences reported to and investigated by the police, the rise being highest among the less serious offences. The number of investigated crimes rose from 225 000 up to close to 270 000 from 1994 to 1995. The tendency was strengthened by the policy of the Oslo Police District to dismiss a significant number of larceny cases in order to concentrate on more recent cases. Statistics from the period before

1995 are consequently not fully comparable with statistics produced in the following years. We should therefore be careful about attaching too much importance to statistical changes occurring within a short period of time.

### More crime – more larcenies

The number of investigated crimes has risen 140 per cent from 1980 to 1998. Compared with the number of inhabitants, the number has risen from 30 to 66 registered crimes per 1 000 inhabitants, as seen in figure 11.4 and table 11.6 in the appendix.

The rising number of larcenies is a major part of the total increase in investigated crimes over the last 20 years and in the post-war period as a whole. 95 000 larcenies were investigated in 1980 against 185 000 cases in 1998. Simple or minor larcenies increased by 150 per cent during the period, aggravated larceny by 77 per cent.

What are the reasons behind this change? The increasing importance of materialism may foment crime, particularly when the opportunities for attaining a high standard of living are unevenly distributed in the population. Poverty itself can explain crimes against property in general and larcenies in particular. More products have become available to the public, and the number of temptations has increased. The percentage of offences cleared up by the police has been relatively low, which in turn sends the message that the risk of detection is small for this type of crime. All in all, these factors may have led to a real increase in crime.

On the other hand, control measures have increased in the form of more shop alarm systems and private security guards. An increasing number of items are being in-

Figure 11.4. Crimes investigated per 1 000 inhabitants. 1980-1998



Source: Crime statistics, Statistics Norway.

sured, and insurance companies require a report to the police before indemnification is paid. This might also be a factor explaining the increase in registered larcenies.

### Rise in economic crime

The attention given to economic crime has increased substantially through the last two decades. In 1989 Økokrim was established. Previously a small number of cases of this kind was reported, investigated and sentenced due to the complexity of the offences and limited competency of the police to handle these cases. But, as shown in figure 11.5, the number of cases has increased substantially through the last ten years.

The rise in economic crime in the period 1981 to 1993 is to a high degree explained by an increasing number of debt-related crimes. Some of the change was due to the rapid increase as bankruptcy-related crime concurrent with the stepped up efforts of Økokrim to investigate and

Figure 11.5. **Economic crimes investigated and debt-related crimes. 1981-1998. Number of crimes in 1 000**



Source: Crime statistics, Statistics Norway.

clear up such cases (Statistics Norway 1997). As seen in figure 11.5, a new rise in economic crime took place from 1994 to 1995. This was due to a rise in contraventions of Tax Assessment Act and the Value Added Tax Act. While the number of violations of the Tax Assessment Act has continued to rise since then, the rising number of counterfeiting and aggravated fraud cases is the main reason for the rise in economic crimes in the period 1996 to 1998.

### Drug crimes: 15-fold increase

The number of investigated drug crimes has tripled throughout the 1990s and it has increased 15-fold since 1980. This reflects both the spread of narcotics use, and the increase in resources spent on crime control in this field. A survey in 1986 showed that in Norway as a whole, 8 per cent of young people aged 15 to 20 years had tried cannabis. By 1998, the proportion had increased to 18 per cent (National Institute for Alcohol and Drug

### Box 11.4. Economic crime

In cooperation with the National Authority for Investigation and Prosecution of Economic & Environmental Crime in Norway (Økokrim), Statistics Norway has produced a "basket" of crimes normally belonging to the category "economic crime" (Birkelund and Haslund 1992, Oftedal Broch 1994). The combination of crimes in the "basket" differs somewhat from what is defined as "economic crime" by Statistics Norway in its standard categorization of offences established in 1994. These are the offences included in the "basket" and also in figure 11.5:

- Unlawful gain in public service
- Unlawfully influencing public servant
- Counterfeiting
- Embezzlement by civil servant
- Gross embezzlement
- Aggravated fraud
- Insurance fraud
- Breach of trust
- Crime in connection with debts
- Violation of the Act relating to Value Added Tax
- Violation of the Price Act
- Violation of the Tax Assessment Act

Research 1998). In addition to long maximum sentences, police have committed resources into investigating drug crimes, which in turn has led to more cases being discovered and registered. Although the number of serious narcotic crimes has also increased since 1984, the most serious cases amounted to barely 760 out of the 30 000 drug crimes investigated.

### More violence, but no wave of violence

Although the surveys of living conditions present a minor increase in the risk of being victimized by violence, there has been a significant rise in the violence registered by the police. Crimes of violence against the person rose from 4 100 cases investigated in 1980 up to 12 500 cases in 1998. The least serious type of crime against the person, assault, makes up the

largest category of investigated crimes of violence. In 1980, 84 per cent of violent crimes were assault. Until 1993 this share sank to 72 per cent while the percentage of aggravated violence increased correspondingly. From 1993 on we have seen a new rise in the share of assaults, up to 79 per cent in 1998.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, most murders and cases of aggravated assault became known to the police. The number of such crimes remained quite stable through the period, and the dark figures are probably small, as for most serious crimes. It is, for instance, hard to imagine an armed bank robbery not resulting in a report to the police. But even though there are good reasons to believe the number of violent crimes has risen, the change in the way the cases are registered by the police have also pushed up the number, particularly of the least serious crimes. More than 12 times as many aggravated robberies were investigated in 1998 as in 1980.

### **More rapes**

The number of investigated rapes has also increased: Whereas 220 rape cases per year were investigated in the 1980s, the corresponding average so far in the 1990s (1990-1998) is 350. There has been an even more significant increase in the number of incest cases: From a corresponding average of 37 investigated cases in the 1980s to an average of 111 cases per year so far in the 1990s. Public awareness of such cases and problems has increased through the period, which results in more crimes being reported. Assaults that took place decades ago are being reported now. Other serious crimes have increased since 1980: The number of cases of immoral intercourse with children under 14 years of age has quadrupled in the period.

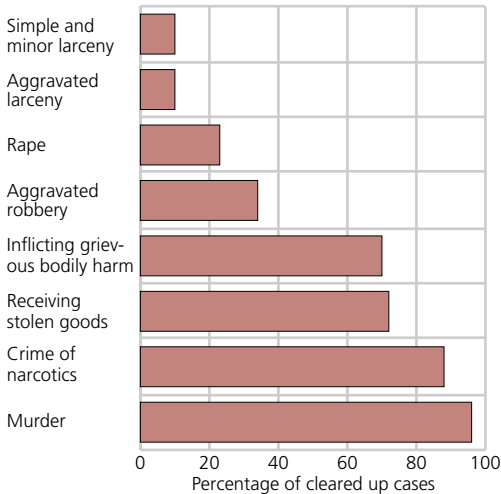
### **Most murder cases are cleared up – few larcenies**

In 1998, 28 per cent of the investigated cases were cleared up. The other cases were dropped, either due to lack of a suspect, or because of insufficient evidence. The percentage of cleared up cases depends heavily on the type of crime in question. The seriousness of the offence plays an important role, as do police priorities and actions. In general, the more serious the offence, the higher the clear-up rate. Murder has high priority, larceny is at the other end of the scale. While 96 per cent of all investigated murders were cleared up in 1998, the clear-up rate for larcenies was 11. But also crimes considered to be very serious can have a relatively low percentage of cleared up cases: In 1998, the rate for rapes was 23 per cent.

#### **Box 11.5. Cleared up crimes**

The purpose of the investigation is to bring forward the information necessary to decide upon whether to prosecute or not, and to prepare the case for trial. The investigation might result in one or more persons being charged, but far more often the case is dropped without charges. Many cases are dropped almost immediately without using resources on investigating. This may be because the police have no leads and little information, other and more important cases have to be given priority, or the case is dismissed because the evidence against the suspects is not strong enough to take the case to court. The cases belonging to the above-mentioned categories are all counted as investigated crimes, but not as cleared up crimes. The crime is counted as cleared up when the police have found at least one person to charge, which means that the police believe they have evidence strong enough to prove that the person in question actually has committed the crime. In the statistics, the crime is also counted as cleared up if the application for prosecution is withdrawn, which means that the person who has reported the crime to the police has withdrawn the report.

Figure 11.6. Percentage of cleared up cases in some categories of crime. 1998



Source: Crime Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

The percentage of cleared up crimes was between 18 and 23 in the 1980s, and in the 1990s between 23 and 28 (in 1998). A considerable contribution to the rise in this percentage is due to the increasing amount and share of drug crimes. In 98 per cent of the cases these offences have been reported by the police (Gundersen 1998). In most cases the offender is already known to the police at the time the offence is reported, making the crime easy to clear up. This results in a high percentage of cleared up cases, as seen in figure 11.6.

When a case is cleared up, and the police have found someone to charge for the offence, the police (or rather the prosecution authorities) decide whether the person should be brought to trial. A trial means that the case is handed over to the courts. If it is not brought to trial, the case could be referred to municipal mediation boards, prosecution could be suspended, a ticket fine could be issued or the case could be dropped.

### 11.3. The offenders

#### More persons charged

Most of the persons that the police, at the end of the investigation, find reason to suspect having committed a crime, actually get punished. Broadly speaking, and for the purpose of this presentation, persons charged and persons punished are consequently identical categories.

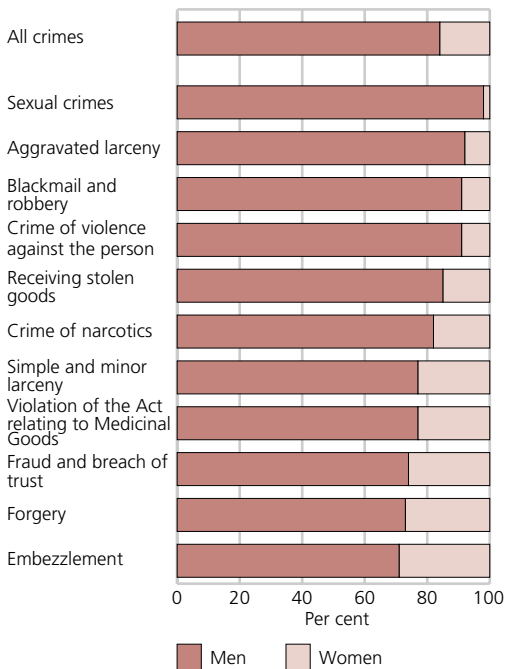
The number of persons charged with crimes during the last two decades has grown: In 1980 there were 3.3 persons charged per 1 000 inhabitants, in 1990 the number was 5.3, and in 1998 we had 6.4 persons charged per 1 000 inhabitants. The growth indicates in part that more persons commit crimes now than 20 years ago. It can also be seen as a result of an increase in the formal crime control exercised in various fields. From a third perspective the growth can be interpreted as an indicator of a higher level of social exclusion (Høigård 1997).

As mentioned above, changes in the public's willingness to report crimes and tighter controls will influence changes in the numbers of some offences, which in turn gives the police more persons to charge. But even though the police charge more people, the group has the same social composition as previously. The persons charged still differ significantly from the rest of the population on most social variables.

#### Mostly men, but a rising proportion of women

Men make up the majority of persons charged, 84 per cent in 1998. The proportion is even higher among persons charged with offences like violence, larceny and sexual crimes, as seen in figure 11.7.

Figure 11.7. **Proportion of women and men charged with different categories of crime. 1998. Per cent**



Source: Crime Statistics 1998, Statistics Norway.

The number of women charged with crimes has increased since 1980, when the percentage was a little above 11, up to 16 per cent in 1998. The offences committed by women are likely to be less serious than those committed by men, and the proportion of women charged differs from crime to crime. Fraud and breach of trust are the most common types of crime among women. The proportion of women is also relatively high for simple or minor larceny and drug crimes. Almost no women are charged with sexual crimes.

**More adults**

The stable or declining trends seen in the number of young people aged 15 to 20 years charged with crimes from 1980 to 1987 was followed by a rise in juvenile delinquency registered by the police. The

number of persons between 15 to 17 years charged with crimes rose from 13 per 1 000 inhabitants in 1987 up to 18 per 1 000 inhabitants in 1990. Young people aged 18 to 20 years increased their ratio from 14 to 20 persons charged per 1 000 inhabitants. The rise for young persons has been more moderate in the 1990s. In 1998 the ratio was 20 persons charged per 1 000 inhabitants among those aged 15 to 17 years, and 24 per 1 000 inhabitants among those between 18 and 20.

To explain the rise in juvenile delinquency from 1987 to 1998, we should pay special attention to drug crimes and violence. Through this period, persons charged with drug crimes grew from 0.6 to close to four per 1 000 inhabitants aged 15 to 17 years. Among those aged 18 to 20 years we saw a change from two up to eight persons charged per 1 000 inhabitants. In 1987 a little below one person per 1 000 inhabitants was charged with violence in the group aged 15 to 17 years, in 1998 the ratio was almost four persons per 1 000 inhabitants. Among those aged 18 to 20 years close to two persons per 1 000 inhabitants were charged with this sort of crime in 1987, while in 1998 the ratio was four to 1 000.

Compared with all age categories, young people aged 18 to 20 years are most frequently charged with crimes, the ratio being 24 persons charged per 1 000 inhabitants in 1998. By comparison, the corresponding ratio among those aged 21 to 35 years was 13 per 1 000 inhabitants and only three per 1 000 inhabitants among those above 35 years of age. Even though the rate of persons charged is highest among young people, older adults have seen a significant increase in their proportion of persons charged in the period 1980 to 1998. In 1980, 8 per cent

of the persons charged were 40 years or older, in 1998 this share had gone up to 16 per cent.

Despite the growth in drug crime, larceny is still the most typical crime committed by young people, while adults older than 20 years more often are charged with more serious sexual assaults and crimes against the person, embezzlement and fraud. Young people more often commit crime in the company of others, adults usually do it on their own. A small fraction of young people are responsible for a large proportion of the crime registered to the police, and probably a large share of unrecorded crimes as well (Balvig 1981). Most young people, as well as adults, are typically "one-time criminals", having few experiences with offences. The anti-social behaviour of persons with long criminal records is evident in many respects.

Persons charged are more often residents of towns than the countryside. Oslo's ratio was 8.7 per 1 000 inhabitants in 1998. On the other hand, Sogn og Fjordane had the lowest number of persons charged, with 4.3 per 1 000 inhabitants. Of all the counties, Sogn og Fjordane has the largest proportion of inhabitants living in sparsely populated areas.

### **Immigrants overrepresented**

Among Norwegian men, 32 per 1 000 inhabitants were charged with offences (both crimes and misdemeanours) in 1998. Among male immigrants the ratio was 41 per 1 000 inhabitants (Hustad 1999). The overrepresentation was highest among non-western immigrants living in Oslo, with a proportion of 57.5 registered offenders per 1 000 inhabitants. The term "offender" here is almost synonymous with "persons charged" (see Hustad 1999 for further details). The

same ratio for Norwegian men living in Oslo was 31.9 per 1 000 inhabitants. Immigrants from western parts of the world had a lower ratio than Norwegian men.

### **Immigrants most often caught by officers and guards**

A little more than half the cases involving non-western immigrants in Oslo were traffic misdemeanours, larcenies and petty larcenies. Consequently, a substantial part of the registered crimes committed by non-western immigrants are detected by the police and private security guards. This can contribute to a higher proportion of registered criminality among non-western immigrants compared with Norwegians. At the same time the higher rate of violence and threats of violence committed by the same category of immigrants indicates that non-western immigrants actually commit more of these acts compared with Norwegians. Another hypothesis explaining the higher rate of offences among non-western immigrants may be the prevalence of mechanisms of social exclusion, as documented in the lower standard of living conditions in this sector of the population compared with Norwegians.

### **Many recidivists**

The statistics on recidivism provide few arguments in favour of the preventative effects of punishment on the offender. Of those charged with crimes in 1993, 57 per cent had committed one or more new crimes within the following five years. The rate of recidivism is highest among those charged with drug crimes (65 per cent), but also high among the persons charged with property crimes, crimes against the person and crime inflicting damage to property (53-54 per cent). Among those charged with other crimes, the rate of recidivism was considerably lower (25-30 per cent).



**Box 11.6. Individual and general prevention**

Punishment is an evil that the State intentionally inflicts upon the offender so that he or she actually experiences it as an evil. The punishment is supposed to keep the offender and others from committing such undesirable acts in the future. Punishment is seen as an instrument for keeping the public law abiding and to protect society. The types of punishments are imprisonment, fines, ticket fines, loss of civil liberties and community service. Custody in remand is not punishment in a legal sense, but is meant to be used as part of the investigation process. The period in custody may be of a long duration and have serious consequences for the person in question. The intention of the preventive effects of punishment on individuals and the public is to make it possible to keep the public law abiding and to protect society. The effects of individual prevention are twofold: The person incarcerated will be harmless to society when in prison. Furthermore, the punishment is intended to have a rehabilitative effect on the offender. General prevention refers to the effects of the threat of punishment on others. The risk of getting punished is supposed to prevent the public from committing unlawful acts. Punishment is meant to act as a deterrent and to strengthen the morals of the public so that we stay away from crime.

The effects of individual prevention can to a certain degree be measured by recidivism rates. By looking at the different sorts of punishment that were used, we can measure the effects of each type of punishment. The results of such comparisons are, however, ambiguous. Recidivism or law-abiding behaviour may be caused by other factors than the punishment. The effects of general prevention are even harder to measure. We do not know which and how many crimes would have been committed if the threat of a punishment did not exist, nor do we know much about the way changes in the Penal Code affect the law-abidingness of the public. The theory of general prevention assumes that the public is aware of the risk of being punished and what it entails, and it is also assumed that the citizen faces a real choice as to whether or not he should commit an offence. This knowledge and understanding is hardly present in all citizens. For instance, many of violent crimes are crimes of passion where rational choice is seldom a factor.

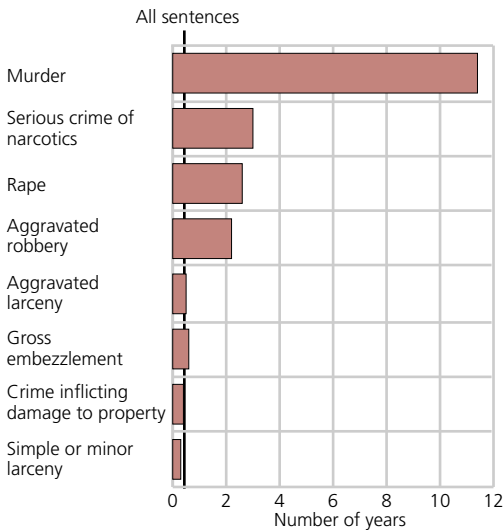
Most of the recidivists commit offences like larceny and traffic misdemeanours when they commit a new crime. Those charged several times have a tendency to be charged with the same sort of crime as previously committed. Among the recidivists charged with larceny, 45 per cent had committed a new theft the next time they were charged, while 12 per cent committed drug crimes. Among those charged with drug crimes in 1993, 36 per cent of the recidivists committed a drug crime the next time, and 33 per cent committed a theft.

**11.4. Sanctions****The prison population is socially excluded**

The most frequent sanctions are ticket fines, followed by unconditional and con-

ditional imprisonment. The ticket fines represent the "softest" category of sanctions, while unconditional imprisonment is at the other and "toughest" end of the scale. The closer we get to the harshest sanctions in the criminal justice system, the more social exclusion or marginalization we see among repeat offenders (Høigård 1997). Among those sanctioned for crimes in 1997, the proportion of previous offenders was 62 per cent. Among those sanctioned with a ticket fine, 50 per cent had committed one or more offences, compared with 80 per cent of those sanctioned with unconditional prison. It is also documented that sanctioned persons generally have little education (Otnes 1987). A study from 1991 based on a sample of Norwegian inmates, documented that 60 per cent of the prisoners did not have regular employment (Fridhov 1991). 17 per cent had not completed

Figure 11.8. Length of unconditional imprisonment sentence, by category of crime. 1997. Number of years



Source: Crime Statistics 1997, Statistics Norway.

primary education, and only 12 per cent had completed upper secondary school. They also came far more frequently than the rest of the population from the lower social strata and had been brought up in troubled and broken homes.

Figure 11.8 shows the average sentences for different crimes in 1997. That year, a little more than one out of three crimes resulted in a punishment including unconditional imprisonment. 69 per cent of these sanctions resulted in a sentence of three months or less and 23 per cent from three months up to one year. 8 per cent of the sentences were for one year or more. In 1997, 12 persons were sentenced to eleven or more years in prison.

**The prison population has grown older**

Unconditional imprisonment is usually given to criminals above 18 years who are

also previous offenders. Younger persons are usually sentenced to conditional imprisonment or fined, often including a probation period of two years. This is partially due to the fact that younger persons usually commit less serious crimes, but it is also because the law permits the courts to give milder sentences to young people below the age of 18. When a person is a previous offender, the condition is often that he or she should be under the surveillance of probation and aftercare services.

Those in prison today are on average older than those who were inmates in 1980. In 1980, 42 per cent of those sent to prison were between 15 and 24 years of age, against 26 per cent in 1998. Close to half the prison population is more than 30 years old. There are few women in prisons. In 1998 less than 6 per cent of the inmates were women. At the beginning of the year 1998, 113 women were incarcerated.

**More inmates**

On an average day in 1980, Norwegian prisons had a total of 1 800 inmates. The average number of prisoners subsequently increased over the years, reaching a peak of close to 2 700 in 1994. The number of prisoners has since dropped to close to 2 500 in 1998. The average number of inmates rose by 37 per cent from 1980 to 1998, despite the decline of the last four years. Not all prisoners are serving an ordinary prison sentence. In 1998 this was the case for 71 per cent of the average number of inmates, while 24 per cent were in custody. Prisoners serving jail time in default of paying a fine or in security detention made up 5 per cent.

In nine out of ten cases, murder, rape, aggravated robbery and serious drug crimes resulted in unconditional

**Box 11.7. Custody**

Custody is used when there is a strong reason to suspect the person who is charged, and when he or she is suspected of having committed acts that carry a prison sentence of more than six months. A further condition is that there is reason to believe that the suspect might escape, destroy evidence, remove clues or influence witnesses or accomplices, or that there is a risk of repetition. The court trial may, however, end in acquittal or a milder sentence such as conditional imprisonment or fine. The length of the custody period is first set at two or four weeks, which can then be prolonged rather often for quite a number of periods. Custody is often experienced as tougher than ordinary imprisonment, both because of the uncertain time perspective and the added strain of living in isolation. 88 per cent of the stays in custody in 1998 lasted less than three months, while 110 persons concluded a custody stay of more than one year.

imprisonment, and thus long periods of incarceration. Among those convicted for other sorts of offences, only a small proportion of the offenders will serve unconditional imprisonment.

The increasing number of sentences involving drug crimes has had a major impact on Norwegian prisons in the last two decades. In 1980, close to 690 sanctions against drug crimes were issued. The corresponding number in 1997 was 4 300. Some of the sentences given in drug crimes are rather strict. The close to 320 persons who in 1997 were sentenced to unconditional imprisonment for serious drug crimes, received an average sentence of just over three years. On an average day in 1997, one in five prisoners served a sentence for a drug crime.

**Fewer serve prison sentence, more in custody**

Even though the increase in the average number of inmates has been relatively slow in the 1990s, there has been a change in the composition of the prison population. While the average number of inmates serving a sentence of imprisonment has decreased somewhat since 1994, the number of prisoners in custody has increased since 1993.

The decrease in inmates serving sentences of imprisonment is mainly due to a lower number of sanctions of unconditional imprisonment; down from 9 600 in 1993 to 8 650 in 1997. The number of new admissions to prison decreased from 8 000 in 1993 to slightly above 6 400 in 1998. At the same time the length of the average sentence of imprisonment went down from 242 days in 1993 to 222 days in 1997. Altogether this led to a decrease in the number of persons serving a prison sentence: On an average day in 1993 there were 2 589 such inmates, down to 2 327 in 1998 (Kristoffersen 1999). On the other hand, the number of admissions to custody increased from 3 129 in 1993 to 3 703 (Kristoffersen 1999) in 1998. Many of these prisoners were released after custody, without being transferred to prison. In 1993 this was the case in 1 772 of the releases from custody, in 1998 the number had risen to 2 291.

There is probably a range of reasons behind the increase in the use of custody. While the number of persons charged with crimes has grown during the period in question, this is not the whole explanation. There is also reason to believe that unused capacity in the prisons has led to more persons in custody. From 1990 to 1994 a project designed to speed up the penal process placed restrictions on the prosecution authorities and the courts'

use of custody. After 1994 prison capacity improved, and one of the main objections against using custody was thus eliminated (Kristoffersen 1999). This could be another reason why prosecution authorities' requests for custody have been approved more often than previously, motivated by a desire to keep a small group of frequent recidivists out of society, at least for a period of time. Those in custody by and large have the same social characteristics as the rest of the prison population, and this raises an ethical dilemma. On the one hand is society's demand for protection and safety, on the other hand the prisoners' need for rehabilitation.

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**Appendix A**

# Social indicators 1980-1999

As part of Statistics Norway's ongoing work on social reporting, we present here a broad range of social indicators in this tabular appendix.

Roughly speaking, social indicators – processed to a greater or lesser degree – are statistical measures that describe or illuminate major areas of social development. Social indicators are attempts at quantifying the development of various aspects of the living conditions and lifestyles of the population and are meant to provide an overall and concentrated overview of demographic, social and cultural conditions.

The main objective of social indicators is not always to provide unambiguous answers, but to invite interesting questions and issues and to stimulate curiosity.

Statistics of this type necessarily represent a sample that accentuates certain aspects of social development at the expense of others. One objective has been to cover as many social spheres as possible, so that the overview provides a general picture of developments. An important criterion has been accessibility, i.e. that data already exist for several points in time, thereby enabling us to show changes over time.

Most of the indicators in this appendix are represented with a time series that provides statistics for the entire population. As a main rule we do not present time series for subgroups such as age, type of household, size of municipality or region. One exception is gender: separate statistics for men and women are presented for many of the indicators.

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>1. Population</b>									
1.1. Population at 1 January.									
Million .....	4.08	4.09	4.11	4.12	4.13	4.15	4.16	4.18	4.20
Men .....	2.02	2.03	2.03	2.04	2.05	2.05	2.06	2.06	2.08
Women .....	2.06	2.06	2.07	2.08	2.09	2.10	2.10	2.11	2.12
1.2. Population growth per year. Per thousand .....	3.3	3.6	3.8	2.9	2.8	3.2	3.9	5.5	5.3
1.3. Percentage of all men aged 80 and over. ....	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.4
Percentage of all women aged 80 and over .....	3.6	3.8	3.9	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.6	4.7
1.4. Live births .....	51 039	50 708	51 245	49 937	50 274	51 134	52 514	54 027	57 526
Boys .....	26 348	25 860	26 454	25 769	25 763	26 305	27 056	27 502	29 473
Girls .....	24 691	24 848	24 791	24 168	24 511	24 829	25 458	26 525	28 053
1.5. Total fertility rate (TFR)	1.72	1.70	1.71	1.66	1.66	1.68	1.71	1.75	1.84
1.6. Abortions per 1 000 women 15-49 years .....	14.6	14.8	14.2	14.1	14.5	14.7	15.3	15.1	15.4
1.7. Age of women at first childbirth <sup>1</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	25.0	25.1	25.2
1.8. Percentage of children born out of wedlock .....	14.5	16.1	17.6	19.3	21.3	25.8	27.9	30.9	33.7
1.9. Number of deaths .....	41 340	41 893	41 454	42 224	42 581	44 372	43 560	44 959	45 354
Men .....	22 606	22 818	22 631	22 919	23 005	23 783	23 462	24 008	23 705
Women .....	18 734	19 075	18 823	19 305	19 576	20 589	20 098	20 951	21 649
1.10. Life expectancy									
Men .....	72.3	72.6	72.7	72.7	73.0	72.6	72.9	72.8	73.1
Women .....	79.2	79.3	79.5	79.6	79.6	79.4	79.7	79.6	79.6
1.11. Number of marriages <sup>2</sup>	22 230	22 271	21 706	20 803	20 537	20 221	20 513	21 081	21 744
1.12. Number of divorces ....	6 634	7 136	7 165	7 668	7 974	8 206	7 891	8 417	8 772
1.13. Expected percentage of dissolved marriages.	25.0	27.2	27.6	29.9	31.4	32.5	31.9	34.5	36.4
1.14. Percentage of cohabitants among all couples, women 20-44 years. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	<sup>3</sup> 21.6

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
4.22	4.23	4.25	4.27	4.30	4.32	4.35	4.37	4.39	4.42	4.45
2.09	2.09	2.10	2.11	2.13	2.14	2.15	2.16	2.17	2.19	2.20
2.13	2.14	2.15	2.16	2.17	2.19	2.20	2.21	2.22	2.23	2.25
2.9	3.9	5.6	6.0	6.0	5.5	5.0	5.2	5.7	6.3	...
2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8
4.7	4.9	4.9	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.6
59 303	60 939	60 808	60 109	59 678	60 092	60 292	60 927	59 801	58 352	...
30 461	31 276	31 305	31 154	30 566	30 936	31 006	31 490	30 724	29 870	...
28 842	29 663	29 503	28 955	29 112	29 156	29 286	29 437	29 077	28 482	...
1.89	1.93	1.92	1.89	1.86	1.87	1.87	1.89	1.86	1.81	...
15.5	14.8	14.6	14.2	13.9	13.5	12.8	13.4	13.1	13.2	...
25.3	25.5	25.7	25.9	26.0	26.3	26.5	26.7	27.0	27.2	...
36.4	38.6	40.9	42.9	44.4	45.9	47.6	48.3	48.7	49.0	...
45 173	46 021	44 923	44 731	46 597	44 071	45 190	43 860	44 595	44 112	...
23 604	23 866	23 145	23 071	23 769	22 348	23 020	22 106	22 262	22 067	...
21 569	22 155	21 778	21 660	22 828	21 723	22 170	21 754	22 333	22 045	...
73.3	73.4	74.0	74.2	74.2	74.9	74.8	75.4	75.5	75.5	...
79.9	79.8	80.1	80.3	80.3	80.6	80.8	81.1	81.0	81.3	...
20 755	21 926	19 880	19 266	19 464	20 605	21 677	23 172	23 815	23 354	...
9 238	10 170	10 281	10 209	10 943	10 934	10 360	9 982	9 961	9 346	...
38.7	43.0	43.7	43.6	47.1	47.4	45.6	44.4	44.4	41.8	...
..	..	..	..	30.2	30.6	31.8	32.8	33.3	35.3	38.8



	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>1. Population (cont.)</b>									
1.15. Single <sup>4</sup> mothers with children under 18 at home as a percentage of all families with children .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Single fathers <sup>4</sup> with children under 18 at home as a percentage of all families with children .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1.16. Percentage of men aged 18 and over who live alone .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Percentage of women aged 18 and over who live alone .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Percentage of men aged 80-84 who live alone .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Percentage of women aged 80-84 who live alone ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1.17. Immigration to Norway	18 776	19 698	20 468	20 063	19 688	21 858	24 196	31 149	29 964
Men .....	9 719	10 128	10 652	10 451	10 062	11 592	12 609	17 817	16 493
Women .....	9 057	9 570	9 816	9 612	9 626	10 266	11 587	13 332	13 471
1.18. Emigration from Norway	14 705	14 522	14 728	15 778	15 927	15 630	16 745	17 380	19 821
Men .....	7 559	7 524	7 449	8 163	8 248	8 016	8 601	8 960	10 341
Women .....	7 146	6 998	7 279	7 615	7 679	7 614	8 144	8 420	9 480
1.19. Net migration .....	4 071	5 176	5 740	4 285	3 761	6 228	7 451	13 769	10 143
Men .....	2 160	2 604	3 203	2 288	1 814	3 576	4 008	8 857	6 152
Women .....	1 911	2 572	2 537	1 997	1 947	2 652	3 443	4 912	3 991
Norwegian citizens .....	-474	-633	-1 032	-850	-1 459	-1 156	-659	-1 433	-3 578
Foreign citizens .....	4 545	5 809	6 772	5 135	5 220	7 384	8 110	15 202	13 721
1.20. Number of residents taking Norwegian citizenship	2 680	2 441	3 095	1 754	2 798	2 851	2 486	2 370	3 364
1.21. Internal migration per 1 000 population <sup>5</sup> .....	44.4	43.2	42.0	42.2	41.1	42.3	43.2	44.3	44.2
1.22. Net migration to most central municipalities <sup>6</sup> .....	-1 150	-32	1 253	1 886	5 185	6 129	6 760	3 948	3 151
Net migration to least central municipalities <sup>7</sup> .....	-589	-1 012	-1 977	-1 801	-4 164	-5 898	-6 643	-5 125	-4 422
1.23. Foreign citizens on 1.1. per 1 000 population	19.7	20.2	21.1	22.0	22.9	23.6	24.4	26.2	29.5

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
15.7	..	17.1	..	18.4	18.9	19.0	19.2	19.3	19.3	..
2.4	..	2.5	..	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.6	..
22.9	..	23.9	24.5	25.0	25.5	25.9	26.3	25.7	27.2	...
26.7	..	27.1	27.4	27.6	27.8	28.0	28.1	26.7	28.6	...
..	..	..	39.4	38.9	38.8	38.2	38.3	37.8	37.4	...
..	..	..	77.2	76.9	77.0	76.6	76.2	75.6	75.3	...
25 847	25 494	26 283	26 743	31 711	26 911	25 678	26 407	31 957	36 704	...
13 589	13 171	13 835	13 737	15 650	13 005	12 268	12 451	15 590	18 312	...
12 258	12 323	12 448	13 006	16 061	13 906	13 410	13 956	16 367	18 392	...
27 300	23 784	18 238	16 801	18 903	19 475	19 312	20 590	21 257	22 881	...
15 108	12 880	9 539	8 829	10 127	10 062	9 802	10 393	10 524	11 526	...
12 192	10 904	8 699	7 972	8 776	9 413	9 510	10 197	10 733	11 355	...
-1 453	1 710	8 045	9 942	12 808	7 436	6 366	5 817	10 700	13 823	...
-1 519	291	4 296	4 908	5 523	2 943	2 466	2 058	5 066	6 786	...
66	1 419	3 749	5 034	7 285	4 493	3 900	3 759	5 634	7 037	...
-9 274	-4 216	328	837	964	-848	-1 124	-1 347	-1 292	-919	...
7 821	5 926	7 717	9 105	11 844	8 284	7 490	7 164	11 992	14 742	...
4 622	4 757	5 055	5 132	5 538	8 778	11 778	12 237	12 037	9 244	...
41.5	39.9	39.0	37.6	38.5	40.9	41.8	42.1	42.9	43.1	...
1 787	2 939	4 875	3 929	5 505	5 177	6 114	7 156	6 329	5 239	...
-3 240	-3 402	-3 336	-2 934	-3 039	-4 385	-4 136	-4 938	-6 095	-5 677	...
32.2	33.2	33.7	34.6	35.8	37.5	37.7	36.8	35.9	35.8	37.1

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>1. Population (cont.)</b>									
1.24. Immigrant population on 1.1. per 1 000 population	23.3	..	..	..	..	..	29.7	31.4	34.8
Immigrant population on 1.1. from Eastern Europe per 1 000 population	1.7	..	..	..	..	..	2.1	2.2	2.5
Immigrant population on 1.1. from Asia, Africa, South and Central America and Turkey per 1 000 population .....	5.5	..	..	..	..	..	9.3	10.5	13.2
1.25. Population growth in most central municipalities <sup>6</sup> . Per cent .....	0.37	0.48	0.58	0.48	0.64	0.81	0.91	0.94	0.91
Population growth in least central municipalities <sup>7</sup> . Per cent .....	0.11	0.04	-0.11	-0.12	-0.48	-0.76	-0.83	-0.35	-0.33
1.26. Percentage of municipalities with population growth <sup>8</sup> .....	68	63	63	61	50	43	45	54	55

<sup>1</sup> Average observed age at childbirth. <sup>2</sup> The statistics for 1980-1985 do not cover marriages (around 500 per year, where only the woman was a resident of Norway). <sup>3</sup> Figures for women 23, 28, 33, 38 and 43 years. <sup>4</sup> Neither married nor cohabiting with common children. <sup>5</sup> Migration between municipalities. Not corrected for the reduction of municipalities from 454 in 1980 to 435 in 1997. <sup>6</sup> Municipalities in centrality group 3 according to the Standard Classification of Municipalities 1994. <sup>7</sup> Municipalities in centrality group 0 according to the Standard Classification of Municipalities 1994. <sup>8</sup> Based on the division of municipalities in 1997 (435 municipalities).  
Source: 1.1-1.5, 1.7-1.13, 1.15-1.26: Population statistics. 1.6: Norwegian Board of Health. 1.14: Family and Occupation Survey 1988, Omnibus surveys.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
38.0	39.8	41.1	42.8	44.9	47.5	49.5	51.2	52.9	55.4	58.7
2.8	3.2	3.5	3.7	4.3	6.1	7.0	7.6	7.9	8.0	8.4
15.9	18.1	19.8	21.3	22.6	23.4	24.2	25.1	26.1	27.4	29.1
0.56	0.70	0.94	0.94	0.95	0.95	0.91	0.99	0.82	0.83	...
-0.46	-0.46	-0.26	-0.14	-0.02	-0.37	-0.37	-0.47	-0.72	-0.54	...
47	46	49	50	54	53	50	47	44	52	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>2. Health</b>									
2.1. Infant mortality; deaths per 1 000 live births (under 1 year) .....	8.1	7.5	8.1	7.9	8.3	8.5	7.9	8.4	8.3
2.2. Post neonatal mortality; deaths per 1 000 live births (4 weeks-under 1 year) .....	3.0	3.1	3.5	3.1	4.0	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.8
Age-standardized mortality rates according to selected causes									
2.3. Malignant tumours									
Men .....	294	302	302	300	301	311	306	303	315
Women .....	185	188	188	187	184	189	188	187	189
2.4. Cardiovascular diseases									
Men .....	727	734	717	717	711	722	710	717	676
Women .....	453	454	432	429	415	419	401	402	398
2.5. Accidents									
Men .....	75	66	69	65	65	70	68	67	63
Women .....	38	37	36	33	34	36	35	31	33
2.6. Suicide									
Men .....	19	20	22	22	23	21	21	24	25
Women .....	7	7	8	8	7	8	8	8	9
2.7. Number of new cases of cancer per year per 100 000 inhabitants. Age-standardized									
Men .....	357	367	374	380	381	389	394	382	389
Women .....	299	287	303	309	305	308	312	305	311
2.8. Percentage of daily smokers (16-74 years)									
Men .....	42	40	40	42	42	42	39	40	41
Women .....	30	31	34	32	34	32	31	33	35
2.9. Percentage of 18-year- olds who consume 2 cl or more of pure alcohol per day									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..
2.10. Public expenditure on health (1993 prices, mill. NOK) per 1 000 population .....	9.3	9.3	9.4	10.0	10.1	10.3	10.6	11.3	11.3
2.11. Total physician man-years in somatic hospitals per 10 000 inhabitants .....	8.8	9.1	9.2	9.2	9.4	9.7	9.9	10.3	10.3
2.12. Total nurse man-years in somatic hospitals per 10 000 inhabitants .....	27.8	28.2	29.0	29.9	30.4	30.6	31.2	32.9	33.6

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
7.9	7.0	6.4	5.9	5.1	5.2	4.1	4.1	4.1	...	...
4.0	3.1	2.7	2.1	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.5	...	...
306 186	302 188	304 181	304 179	312 188	310 192	311 190	311 196	...	...	...
662 391	672 392	635 376	629 366	619 366	574 339	584 337	561 328	...	...	...
68 33	62 32	57 28	55 27	57 27	53 25	52 25	49 26	...	...	...
23 8	24 8	24 8	22 8	21 6	18 7	19 6	18 6	...	...	...
404 320	409 322	410 329	429 332	430 345	431 344	431 354	442 367	449 372	...	...
37 34	37 34	36 33	37 32	38 36	35 31	33 32	34 32	34 33	34 32	32 32
..	..	14 3	..	..	15 3	..	..	..	..	18 5
11.1	11.4	11.9	12.1	12.2	12.4	13.4	14.2	...	...	...
10.6	10.8	10.7	11.1	11.4	11.6	12.4	13.1	14.1	14.8	...
33.9	34.8	35.3	35.7	37.0	37.8	40.0	41.9	44.0	45.4	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>2. Health (cont.)</b>									
2.13. Number of bed-days in somatic hospitals <sup>1, 3</sup> per 1 000 population .....	1 550	1 501	1 470	1 462	1 454	1 452	1 396	1 256	1 256
2.14. Number of hospital stays in somatic hospitals <sup>1, 3</sup> per 1 000 population .....	143	142	143	145	148	152	152	149	150
2.15. Number of outpatient consultations in somatic hospitals per 1 000 population .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	653
2.16. Total physician man-years in psychiatric institutions per 1 000 population .....	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.15
2.17. Total nurse man-years in psychiatric institutions per 1 000 population .....	0.50	0.49	0.53	0.57	0.60	0.62	0.61	0.61	0.64
2.18. Number of bed-days in psychiatric institutions per 1 000 population .....	971	909	827	820	807	766	725	684	628
2.19. Number of discharges in psychiatric institutions per 1 000 population .....	5.1	4.7	4.6	5.0	5.0	4.6	4.6	4.2	5.2
2.20. Number of outpatient consultations in psychiatric institutions per 1 000 population .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2.21. Man-years of physicians in municipal health service <sup>2</sup> per 10 000 inhabitants .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.7	7.0
2.22. Man-years of physio- therapists in municipal health service <sup>2</sup> per 10 000 inhabitants	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.0	6.0
2.23. Man-years of midwives per 10 000 births .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	19
2.24. Man-years of health visitors per 10 000 inhabitants 0-4 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	41

<sup>1</sup> Psychiatric departments are included from 1980 to 1988. <sup>2</sup> Man-years in institutions for the elderly are not included. <sup>3</sup> There are breaks in the time series in 1989.

Source: 2.1-2.6: Cause of death statistics. 2.7: Cancer Registry of Norway. 2.8: National Council on Smoking and Health.

2.9: National Institute for Alcohol and Drug Research. 2.10: National accounts statistics. 2.11-2.12. 2.15-2.20: County health service statistics. 2.13-2.14: Patient statistics. 2.21-2.24: Municipal health service statistics.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
1 076	1 063	1 021	999	996	976	973	972	967	960	...
143	145	142	143	145	144	147	149	151	154	...
610	599	634	646	698	672	696	718	749	746	...
0.13	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.22	...	...
0.72	0.78	0.81	0.82	0.84	0.86	0.88	0.97	0.99	...	...
653	614	577	552	549	504	493	480	468	...	...
4.8	5.0	5.2	5.4	5.6	5.5	6.0	6.2	6.6	...	...
..	92	104	113	118	133	140	131	134	...	...
7.0	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.6	7.8	...
6.0	6.2	6.4	6.6	6.7	6.7	6.9	7.3	7.4	7.6	...
18	19	21	24	27	27	33	37	40	44	...
41	41	42	41	45	48	50	51	52	53	...



	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>3. Care</b>									
3.1. Dependency ratio <sup>1</sup> .....	26.9	26.4	25.9	25.4	24.9	24.6	24.3	24.3	24.4
3.2. Households with children 0-6 years, with various types of childcare. Per cent									
Percentage with children in kindergarten	17	..	..	22	..	..	..	27	..
Percentage who use relatives, friends .....	15	..	..	10	..	..	..	15	..
Percentage who use childminder, au pair/nanny	12	..	..	14	..	..	..	20	..
3.3. Resources in child welfare service. Number of man-years									
Municipal child welfare service .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Children's institutions .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.4. Resources in child welfare service. Man-years per 1 000 children 0-17 years									
Municipal child welfare service .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Children's institutions .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.5. Children under protection per 1 000 children 0-17 years <sup>2</sup>	8.0	7.6	8.4	10.1	10.9	11.5	..	9.9	10.2
3.6. Percentage who have given unpaid practical help to ill, elderly or disabled persons ...	8	..	..	9	..	..	..	11	..
Men .....	6	..	..	8	..	..	..	13	..
Women .....	9	..	..	10	..	..	..	12	..
3.7. Resources in municipal nursing and care service									
Number of man-years <sup>3</sup>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Man-years per user <sup>3</sup> ....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Man-years per 1 000 persons aged 67 and over <sup>3</sup>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.8. Users of nursing and care services. Number <sup>4</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Percentage of women...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Percentage aged 80 and over .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
24.6	24.9	25.3	25.7	26.0	26.4	26.8	27.1	27.4	27.6	27.6
..	..	34	..	..	..	45	...	...	...	...
..	..	12	..	..	..	14	...	...	...	...
..	..	15	..	..	..	12	...	...	...	...
..	831	1 446	2 233	2 211	2 285	2 450	2 385	2 526	2 563	...
1 652	1 362	1 647	1 947	2 183	2 310	2 442	2 552	2 647	2 946	...
..	0.8	1.5	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.5	...
1.7	1.4	1.7	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.8	...
10.6	12.3	14.0	18.4	19.8	19.9	20.2	20.2	20.9	21.4	...
..	..	11	..	..	..	17	..	...	...	...
..	..	12	..	..	..	17	..	...	...	...
..	..	11	..	..	..	16	..	...	...	...
..	..	58 953	66 430	69 395	68 331	69 795	73 733	79 435	82 794	...
..	..	0.31	0.35	0.37	0.36	0.39	0.39	0.41	0.42	...
..	..	9.6	10.7	11.2	11.0	11.2	11.9	12.8	13.4	...
..	..	..	191 843	187 501	185 801	187 781	187 840	191 947	195 202	...
..	..	..	..	69.8	68.9	69.7	69.6	69.5	69.2	...
..	..	..	52.2	53.3	52.7	53.8	54.7	52.1	52.8	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>3. Care (cont.)</b>									
3.9. Percentage of users of nursing and care services in various groups <sup>4</sup>									
Women 67-79 years ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Men 67-79 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women 80 years and over .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Men 80 years and over..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.10. Total users of home services. Number <sup>4</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Home help .....	..	149 850	148 188	149 664	146 613	151 006	148 223	151 706	148 383
Home nursing care .....	..	81 824	89 671	94 486	100 957	..	105 915	108 678	109 367
3.11. Users of home services per 1 000 population aged 67 and over <sup>4</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.12. Institutions for elderly and disabled. Number of beds .....	40 751	41 139	42 119	43 021	43 786	45 607	48 695	48 774	49 887
Beds per 1 000 population aged 80 and over .....	335	328	323	320	316	322	334	327	328
3.13. Places in housing units for the elderly. Number <sup>5</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	20 965	21 899	22 092	22 609	22 948

<sup>1</sup> Number of children 0-9 years + number of elderly aged 80 and over as a percentage of all persons of employable age (16-66 years). <sup>2</sup> Break in time series from 1987. Before 1987 per 1 000 persons 0-19 years. Child welfare clients during these years may include young people aged up to 22. <sup>3</sup> Before 1994 physicians and physiotherapists were included. Starting 1994 they were excluded. The number of man-years in 1993 would have been approx. 600 less if physicians and physiotherapists had not been counted. <sup>4</sup> For 1995, 10 720 recipients of "home help-like services", i.e. various services for the developmentally disabled, added to the total count and the number of recipients of home help in NOS Nursing and Care Statistics. <sup>5</sup> Break in the time series from 1994 because of changes in questionnaire. The number in NOS 1994 (30 260) shows the number of residents and not the number of units.

Source: 3.1: Population statistics. 3.2 and 3.6: Surveys of level of living. 3.3-3.5: Social statistics. 3.7-3.13: Nursing and care statistics.

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
	..	..	..	..	15.7	15.9	15.2	15.8	15.9	15.9	...
	..	..	..	..	10.0	9.7	9.2	9.3	9.4	9.5	...
	..	..	..	..	65.0	62.7	60.4	61.2	62.4	61.1	...
	..	..	..	46.5	43.3	40.9	41.5	41.0	41.7	...	...
	..	..	..	146 272	142 623	142 354	145 249	144 765	149 026	152 796	...
148 406	..	..	..	120 956	118 085	120 303	124 732	121 575	123 796	123 292	...
114 271	..	..	..	75 426	73 194	69 120	65 210	70 643	75 001	81 711	...
	..	..	..	236	230	229	234	233	240	247	...
	47 933	45 628	45 946	45 890	45 767	44 941	43 928	43 735	43 377	43 196	...
	307	286	285	277	270	259	249	243	235	229	...
	24 056	22 368	28 291	28 067	26 345	28 695	32 423	37 882	39 987	42 110	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>4. Education</b>									
4.1. Kindergarten coverage.									
Per cent									
1-5 years .....	19.3	21.3	22.8	24.0	25.4	26.6	28.1	29.8	31.7
1-2 years .....	6.8	7.7	8.2	8.5	9.1	9.3	9.7	10.5	11.6
3-5 years .....	27.3	30.2	32.3	34.2	36.0	38.0	40.4	42.8	45.8
4.2. Percentage of kindergarten children with full-day place <sup>1</sup>									
1-2-year-olds .....	78.0	75.9	81.1	83.3	84.1	86.0	86.2	85.6	86.0
3-5-year-olds .....	41.6	40.5	41.0	42.2	43.4	45.7	46.9	49.4	52.8
4.3. Percentage of private kindergartens .....	46.4	45.1	43.7	42.8	42.4	42.3	41.1	39.7	39.4
4.4. Percentage of kindergarten children 1-5 years with place in private kindergarten	39.3	40.8	37.7	36.1	35.6	36.0	35.5	34.8	34.7
4.5. Number of children per man-year in:									
Private kindergartens ..	..	..	..	..	..	8.8	8.2	7.2	6.8
Public kindergartens ...	..	..	..	..	..	5.1	4.9	4.6	4.5
4.6. Percentage of kindergarten administrators/pedagogic supervisors with approved pre-school training <sup>2</sup> .....	91.4	90.4	91.0	93.4	94.1	94.4	90.0	86.5	81.7
Percentage aged 16 and over by highest completed education <sup>3</sup>									
4.7. Primary school .....	43.9	..	..	..	..	38.5	37.4	36.6	35.6
Men .....	40.5	..	..	..	..	35.1	34.0	33.3	32.3
Women .....	47.1	..	..	..	..	41.7	40.6	39.8	38.8
4.8. University or college ...	12.3	..	..	..	..	14.0	14.4	14.7	15.1
Men .....	14.4	..	..	..	..	15.8	16.1	16.3	16.6
Women .....	10.3	..	..	..	..	12.3	12.7	13.1	13.6
4.9. Percentage who completed qualifications for higher education and were in college/university that same autumn									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4.10. Percentage in upper secondary school. Percentage of registered cohorts 16-18 years									
Men .....	62.7	64.0	64.5	68.0	69.6	71.4	71.1	71.0	74.0
Women .....	68.6	70.4	71.4	73.8	74.6	75.4	75.0	74.9	77.8

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
34.0	36.3	39.9	43.4	46.6	49.8	52.3	54.9	59.8	61.1	...
13.5	15.4	18.3	21.8	25.1	28.6	31.3	33.9	39.8	38.8	...
48.8	51.7	55.9	58.6	61.2	63.6	66.0	68.7	73.3	75.9	...
85.8	84.9	84.7	82.6	80.5	78.4	77.2	75.1	72.6	69.5	...
56.6	59.6	61.9	62.7	63.3	63.4	63.5	63.4	63.9	64.6	...
40.0	41.1	43.8	45.9	47.9	50.1	51.8	52.3	52.5	51.3	...
35.4	36.9	39.1	39.7	40.6	41.7	42.4	42.3	41.6	40.9	...
6.6	6.2	5.9	5.8	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.2	5.2	...
4.5	4.6	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.4	4.4	...
81.3	79.7	76.8	76.8	76.2	76.1	78.1	79.7	81.1	81.7	...
34.2	33.1	32.0	30.9	29.7	28.7	26.9	25.3	24.3	23.3	...
31.0	29.9	28.8	27.8	26.5	25.6	23.9	22.4	21.5	20.6	...
37.3	36.1	35.0	33.9	32.7	31.6	29.8	28.0	26.9	26.0	...
15.9	16.6	17.2	17.9	18.8	19.5	20.2	20.9	21.6	22.2	...
17.5	18.0	18.5	19.1	20.0	20.6	21.1	21.7	22.3	22.7	...
14.5	15.2	16.0	16.7	17.6	18.5	19.3	20.2	21.0	21.8	...
30.8	30.3	29.9	29.2	27.7	27.5	27.8	26.9	19.9	19.0	...
27.7	28.2	28.0	29.1	30.1	34.2	35.1	36.5	33.2	34.0	...
80.4	81.9	84.9	86.4	87.6	89.1	90.0	91.6	91.6	91.0	...
82.2	83.1	84.6	86.5	87.2	88.9	90.6	92.7	92.6	92.1	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>4. Education (cont.)</b>									
Percentage in higher education									
4.11. Percentage of registered cohorts 19-24 years <sup>4,5</sup>									
Men .....	11.8	11.9	11.9	11.9	12.2	11.5	12.3	12.7	13.2
Women .....	9.5	12.3	13.0	13.4	14.0	13.6	14.8	15.9	16.8
4.12. Percentage of registered cohorts 25-29 years									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	8.4	7.8	7.7
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.8	7.0	7.3
4.13. Percentage of foreign-born persons in upper sec. education. Percentage of registered cohorts 16-18 years									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Percentage of foreign-born persons in higher education									
4.14. Percentage of registered cohorts 19-24 years									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4.15. Percentage of registered cohorts 25-29 years									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number of pupils and students in:									
4.16. Primary school .....	591 320	586 071	576 910	565 497	550 136	534 000	519 867	505 942	492 769
4.17. Upper sec. schools <sup>5,6</sup> ..	183 931	184 334	188 040	196 317	204 199	209 621	204 811	199 642	208 405
4.18. Higher education <sup>4,5</sup> ...	73 856	82 781	88 008	90 381	93 535	87 559	101 187	103 129	109 346
4.19. Number of pupils per teacher man-year in primary/upper sec. school...	..	..	..	..	..	..	9.8	9.2	9.2
4.20. Number of students per teacher man-year in higher education .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	11.4	10.9	11.4

<sup>1</sup> 31 hours or more per week. <sup>2</sup> For 1980 and 1981 the figures cover administrators and pre-school teachers. For 1982, 1983 and 1984 only administrators are included. <sup>3</sup> Persons with unspecified or no completed education are excluded from the calculation of the percentages. <sup>4</sup> Due to data that was not handed in, the number of university and college students in 1985 is around 6 000-8 000 too low. <sup>5</sup> In 1981 a number of health occupation schools were converted into colleges. Until 1980 students at these schools were classified as pupils in upper secondary schools and from 1981 as students at universities/colleges. <sup>6</sup> Covers pupils at folk high schools, but not special schools. Covers apprentices from 1989.

Source: 4.1-4.10: Kindergarten statistics. 4.11-4.24: Education statistics.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
15.0	16.2	17.0	18.7	19.6	20.7	21.7	22.7	21.8	22.6	...
19.0	20.0	21.2	23.2	24.6	26.4	28.5	30.8	30.2	32.1	...
8.8	9.2	9.9	10.8	11.4	11.7	11.9	12.0	12.0	12.4	...
8.4	8.8	9.3	10.4	10.9	11.3	12.1	12.7	13.1	14.0	...
..	59.4	61.6	64.1	63.9	66.2	70.6	78.3	81.1	78.7	...
..	60.5	63.4	64.6	62.4	65.2	68.0	76.6	80.8	79.3	...
..	12.0	13.2	13.1	12.7	13.0	13.8	17.5	19.6	18.2	...
..	11.8	12.6	12.8	13.3	13.3	14.6	18.4	21.7	21.1	...
..	10.2	11.6	12.6	12.7	11.6	10.6	11.6	13.7	13.5	...
..	7.7	8.9	9.1	9.4	9.3	9.0	9.9	11.5	11.8	...
482 964	473 078	467 501	463 948	466 991	470 936	477 236	487 398	558 247	569 044	...
240 417	251 386	257 305	257 956	254 692	244 938	235 501	235 496	233 818	230 115	...
123 653	132 760	142 882	155 643	165 942	169 306	176 745	181 741	180 741	184 063	...
9.3	9.3	9.1	8.8	8.8	8.6	8.5	8.8	9.2	9.0	...
13.5	14.0	13.9	13.0	13.3	13.5	13.4	13.7	13.2	13.3	...



	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>5. Employment</b>									
5.1. Percentage of persons in the labour force <sup>1</sup>									
Men 16-24 years .....	64.5	64.9	66.8	65.7	64.2	64.1	67.0	68.7	69.9
Women 16-24 years ...	54.5	53.6	53.1	55.9	53.3	56.4	61.5	63.1	64.0
Men 25-66 years .....	90.1	90.0	90.1	89.3	89.6	89.6	89.1	89.1	88.6
Women 25-66 years ...	62.2	64.3	64.8	65.8	67.1	68.5	71.0	72.6	72.7
5.2. Percentage of married/cohabiting women in labour force with children under 7 years, by age of youngest child <sup>2</sup>									
0-2 years .....	46	49	49	53	55	58	65	66	68
3-6 years .....	57	59	60	62	64	69	73	76	74
5.3. Percentage of employed persons in local government									
Men .....	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.5	9.8	9.9	9.6	9.6	9.7
Women .....	28.4	29.3	29.6	30.1	30.3	30.2	29.8	30.5	31.6
5.4. Percentage of employed persons in central government									
Men .....	7.9	8.2	8.4	8.4	8.1	7.9	7.7	7.6	7.7
Women .....	5.3	5.6	5.7	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.6	5.6
5.5. Percentage of employed persons employed part-time <sup>3</sup>									
Men .....	9.8	10.7	11.1	11.6	11.5	10.6	10.4	11.2	..
Women .....	52.5	54.1	54.3	54.8	53.6	52.6	52.1	50.7	..
5.6. Actual working hours per week <sup>4</sup> . Hours .....									
Men .....	41.1	41.0	41.1	40.8	41.0	41.5	41.9	41.0	41.6
Women .....	29.2	28.6	28.7	28.5	28.9	29.3	29.3	29.3	30.1
5.7. Percentage of employed persons with second job <sup>5</sup> .....									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5.8. Underemployed as percentage of part-time employees									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5.9. Unemployed (LFS) as percentage of the labour force <sup>6</sup>									
Men 16-74 years .....	1.3	1.5	2.3	3.2	3.1	2.2	1.5	1.7	3.0
Women 16-74 years ...	2.3	2.7	3.0	3.8	3.2	3.1	2.5	2.5	3.4
Men 16-24 years .....	4.3	5.3	6.7	8.2	6.9	5.8	3.9	4.2	7.7
Women 16-24 years ...	6.1	6.2	8.1	9.6	7.9	7.4	6.8	6.7	8.6

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
65.1	64.2	59.6	59.2	58.5	58.0	58.1	61.8	64.8	66.3	66.7
59.2	56.9	55.6	54.1	52.9	53.0	53.5	57.0	58.3	61.2	61.1
88.2	87.0	86.4	86.2	85.7	85.7	86.6	87.2	87.9	88.1	87.3
72.0	72.6	72.8	73.0	73.3	73.6	74.7	76.0	77.2	77.6	77.7
68	69	70	71	72	71	72	74	75	75	...
75	74	75	76	76	77	80	79	83	84	...
20.1	20.9	21.9	22.7	23.5	23.7	23.7	23.9	23.8	...	...
10.0	10.6	10.9	11.3	11.7	11.9	11.7	11.4	11.2	...	...
32.9	33.8	35.3	36.3	37.4	37.7	37.8	38.5	38.5	...	...
7.1	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.6	7.3	7.1	7.1	6.9	...	...
8.0	8.4	8.5	8.6	8.6	8.1	7.9	7.8	7.5	...	...
5.8	6.0	6.1	6.3	6.4	6.4	6.2	6.3	6.2	...	...
26.4	26.6	26.7	26.9	27.1	26.5	26.6	26.5	26.1	25.9	26.3
8.4	8.8	9.2	9.8	9.8	9.5	9.4	10.2	9.7	9.7	10.4
48.9	48.2	47.6	47.1	47.6	46.5	46.7	45.8	45.4	44.8	44.7
36.4	36.0	35.7	35.6	35.6	35.7	35.6	35.3	35.3	35.4	35.4
41.2	40.6	40.3	40.0	40.0	40.0	39.8	39.5	39.3	39.5	39.3
30.2	30.1	30.0	30.0	30.2	30.3	30.3	30.0	30.2	30.4	30.6
6.6	6.5	6.7	6.5	6.3	6.2	6.5	7.5	7.6	7.7	7.7
6.7	6.5	6.7	6.3	6.2	6.1	6.4	7.2	7.4	7.3	7.2
6.6	6.4	6.7	6.7	6.5	6.3	6.8	7.9	7.8	8.1	8.2
11.1	12.7	13.7	15.4	15.2	15.7	15.8	15.3	14.2	13.3	11.6
14.2	15.8	18.2	20.3	20.3	19.5	18.4	17.9	16.5	14.5	12.6
10.4	12.0	12.7	14.2	14.0	14.7	15.2	14.6	13.8	12.9	11.3
5.1	5.6	5.9	6.5	6.6	6.0	5.2	4.8	3.9	3.2	3.4
4.7	4.8	5.0	5.1	5.2	4.7	4.6	4.9	4.2	3.3	3.0
11.8	12.7	13.3	14.7	14.4	13.5	11.9	12.1	10.2	9.1	9.6
11.0	10.7	12.4	12.8	12.9	11.9	11.7	12.8	11.5	9.4	9.4

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>5. Employment (cont.)</b>									
5.10. Percentage of long-term unemployed (LFS) <sup>7</sup> .....	11	16	16	21	29	24	18	15	16
Men .....	12	13	16	21	32	26	17	17	16
Women .....	11	19	17	21	24	23	18	14	17
5.11. Percentage of employees 16-66 years who work days									
Men .....	82	..	..	80	..	..	..	74	..
Women .....	79	..	..	74	..	..	..	71	..
5.12. Percentage of employees 16-66 years who work shifts or rotating schedules									
Men .....	12	..	..	11	..	..	..	13	..
Women .....	11	..	..	12	..	..	..	13	..
5.13. Percentage of employees 16-66 years who have to lift 20 kilos at least 5 times daily									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..
5.14. Percentage of employees 16-66 years exposed to loud noise									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
5.15. Percentage of employees 16-66 years who had occupational accidents in last 12 months									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5.16. Percentage of employees 16-66 years who can plan their own work to high degree									
Men .....	44	..	..	47	..	..	..	46	..
Women .....	38	..	..	38	..	..	..	37	..
5.17. Percentage of employees 16-66 years who feel they have a lot to do <sup>8</sup>									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

<sup>1</sup> The difference between men's and women's labour force percentages in the age group 16-24 years is mainly attributed to counting compulsory national service as employment. Breaks in the time series between 1985 and 1986 (increase of 15 000 in the labour force), between 1987 and 1988 (increase of 10 000) and between 1995 and 1996 (increase of about 10 000). <sup>2</sup> Break in times series, see note 1. <sup>3</sup> The figures before and after 1988 are not completely comparable (changed method of calculation led to a reduction in the part-time share of about 2 percentage points from 1989). <sup>4</sup> Break in the time series between 1987 and 1988 due to changes in questionnaire. <sup>5</sup> Break in time series between 1995 and 1996 due to changes in survey organization. <sup>6</sup> Break in the time series between 1995 and 1996 due to changes in definitions and survey organization (0.5 per cent increase in unemployment). <sup>7</sup> Break in the time series between 1995 and 1996 due to change in questionnaire and survey organization. <sup>8</sup> Percentage who say that they have so much to do during working hours that they did not have time to talk or think about anything else but work.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
30	40	40	41	44	44	44	31	26	20	16
31	39	38	40	44	44	45	34	27	21	17
28	42	42	43	44	45	42	28	23	20	16
..	..	75	..	..	..	73	72	68	..	..
..	..	69	..	..	..	72	65	67	..	..
11	..	12	..	13	..	14	14	14	..	..
15	..	15	..	16	..	15	18	16	..	..
22	..	23	..	20	..	19	22	26	..	..
13	..	12	..	12	..	7	10	15	..	..
..	..	7	..	..	..	8	10	14	..	..
..	..	2	..	..	..	3	5	6	..	..
4	..	..	..	4	..	..	4	..	..	..
3	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..
51	..	48	..	52	..	52	57	57	..	..
42	..	38	..	45	..	40	45	50	..	..
29	..	..	..	33	..	..	43	..	..	..
35	..	..	..	42	..	..	44	..	..	..

Source: 5.1, 5.2, 5.5-5.10: Labour force surveys (LFS). 5.3-5.4: National account statistics. 5.11, 5.14: Surveys of level of living. 5.12, 5.13, 5.16: Surveys of level of living, Working Environment Surveys 1989 and 1993. 5.15, 5.17: Working Environment Surveys 1989 and 1993, Survey of Living Conditions 1996.

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>6. Income and consumption</b>									
6.1. After tax income per unit of consumption. Index 1986=100 <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	104	104
6.2. Salary as per cent of total income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	78	77	76
6.3. Property income as per cent of total income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	6	6
6.4. Transfers as per cent of total income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	17	17
6.5. Assessed taxes as per cent of total income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	25	25
6.6. Property expenses as per cent of total income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	13	14
6.7. Percentage of two-person households 25-54 years with at least two economically active persons <sup>2</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	68.3	69.6	69.9
6.8. Percentage of households with salary as main source of income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	69.3	69.1	68.8
6.9. Percentage of households with pension as main source of income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	27.6	27.7	27.9
6.10. After tax income per consumption unit as a percentage of average income for all households <sup>3</sup>									
Singles under 45 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	88	93	93
Singles 45-64 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	93	93	96
Singles 65 years and over .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	63	63	63
Couples w/o children, 16-45 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	127	134	138
Couples w/o children, 45-64 years	..	..	..	..	..	..	129	125	129
Couples w/o children, 65 years and over .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	88	87	86
Couples w/children, youngest child 0-6 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	98	100
Couples w/children, youngest child 7-17 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	121	116	118
Couples w/children, youngest child 18 years and over .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	131	131	126
Singles w/children 0-17 years ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	74	80	76

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
100	101	104	104	105	103	105	109	112	...	...
74	75	73	72	72	72	73	72	73	...	...
6	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	6	...	...
20	19	22	23	23	22	22	22	21	...	...
25	24	24	23	23	24	24	25	25	...	...
14	13	14	12	10	7	7	6	5	...	...
69.0	70.9	72.2	71.7	73.1	72.9	73.7	74.3	74.6	...	...
64.8	65.4	63.7	61.3	61.8	61.8	63.1	64.0	64.4	...	...
30.1	30.5	29.5	30.6	31.0	30.2	29.2	28.8	28.6	...	...
86	88	91	87	85	81	81	82	78	...	...
91	92	89	92	91	91	93	90	92	...	...
65	67	67	65	64	63	64	66	66	...	...
139	125	129	131	126	124	126	129	130	...	...
145	136	136	139	141	144	141	141	145	...	...
94	90	92	94	92	99	98	96	93	...	...
104	105	106	107	104	110	107	110	111	...	...
122	119	121	122	125	126	125	124	123	...	...
121	133	129	132	134	136	132	134	134	...	...
74	76	73	77	74	75	76	77	77	...	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>6. Income and consumption (cont.)</b>									
6.11. After tax income per consumption unit as a percentage of total equivalence income for all persons <sup>3</sup>									
Decile with lowest income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.1	4.1	4.2
Decile with highest income .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	18.6	18.9	18.7
6.12. Percentage of persons with after tax income per consumption unit under half of median income <sup>4</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.1	6.2	5.9
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	8.2	7.8	7.4
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.0	4.6	4.4
6.13. Salary per normal man-year in 1997 prices. 1 000 NOK .....	211.2	207.9	208.1	209.4	211.9	215.7	219.5	219.4	217.8
6.14. Real capital <sup>5</sup> in constant prices. Index 1986=100 .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	103	102
6.15. Gross financial capital <sup>6</sup> in constant prices. Index 1986=100 .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	101	104
6.16. Gross property <sup>7</sup> in constant prices. Index 1986=100 .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	102	103
6.17. Liabilities in constant prices. Index 1986=100 .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	107	107
6.18. Net property in constant prices. Index 1986=100 .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	87	87
6.19. Gross financial capital for the households with the lowest and highest gross financial capital as a percentage of total gross financial capital for all households									
The 50 per cent with lowest gross financial capital .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	5.9	6.5	6.3
The 10 per cent with highest gross financial capital .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	50.7	48.9	51.0
6.20. Percentage of households with liabilities larger than two times income	..	..	..	..	..	..	12.0	12.6	12.9
6.21. Real capital as a percentage of gross property .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	52	53	51
6.22. Gross financial capital as a percentage of gross property .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	48	47	49
6.23. Liabilities as a percentage of gross property .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	77	80	80

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
3.9	4.0	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.7	...	...
19.5	19.0	19.0	19.6	20.3	20.8	20.6	21.7	22.1	...	...
6.5	6.2	6.4	6.7	6.8	7.6	6.6	6.9	6.5	...	...
7.9	7.8	8.1	8.2	8.7	9.4	8.4	8.3	7.7	...	...
5.0	4.5	4.7	5.2	5.0	5.7	4.8	5.4	5.2	...	...
217.4	218.8	222.5	225.6	228.2	231.9	233.8	241.0	245.9	...	...
97	98	98	101	102	98	109	106	106	...	...
104	103	97	95	104	103	108	111	117	...	...
101	100	98	98	103	101	108	109	112	...	...
102	103	101	99	98	93	99	101	104	...	...
95	90	88	97	120	125	139	134	135	...	...
6.3	5.5	4.4	4.4	4.7	4.0	4.2	3.9	4.0	...	...
51.2	53.4	56.0	55.3	57.2	60.0	59.8	61.6	62.4	...	...
13.9	14.9	14.3	15.7	13.9	13.9	14.4	15.1	15.1	...	...
50	51	52	54	52	51	52	51	50	...	...
50	49	48	46	48	49	48	49	50	...	...
78	79	79	77	73	71	70	71	72	...	...



	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>6. Income and consumption (cont.)</b>									
6.24. Net property as a percentage of gross property .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	20	20
6.25. Women's percentage of total salaries <sup>8</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	32	32
Percentage of total consumption expenditure spent on:									
6.26. Food .....	19.8	20.1	20.5	19.6	18.7	17.3	15.6	15.0	15.2
6.27. Rent, fuel and power .....	18.3	17.7	17.8	19.2	19.8	20.7	21.4	22.7	25.6
6.28. Transport .....	18.7	19.6	19.9	21.4	21.5	21.9	24.0	23.3	20.9
6.29. Percentage of households that own a car .....	61.6	65.2	65.7	69.5	69.5	71.5	70.1	72.9	73.7
6.30. Percentage of households that own a holiday home .....	21.8	22.7	23.6	21.4	20.9	20.5	19.6	21.3	22.6

<sup>1</sup> The square root of the number of persons in the household was used as the consumption weight. See box 6.3. <sup>2</sup> Couples with and without children, where the main earner is 25-54 years. <sup>3</sup> The square root of the number of persons in the household was used as the consumption weight. See box 6.3. <sup>4</sup> The square root of the number of persons in the household was used as the consumption weight. See box 6.3. Students are excluded. <sup>5</sup> Real capital is valued at tax value as in the tax return, and covers real properties and forests, other production capital and consumer capital. <sup>6</sup> Gross financial capital is valued at tax value as in the tax return, and covers bank deposits and other securities. <sup>7</sup> Gross property is the sum of real capital and gross financial capital. <sup>8</sup> Applies to persons under 65 years.

Source: 6.13: National accounts statistics. 6.1-6.12, 6.14-6.25: Income Distribution Survey. 6.26-6.30: Surveys of consumer expenditure.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
22	21	21	23	27	29	30	29	28	...	...
33	33	35	35	35	36	35	36	36	...	...
15.0	15.3	14.9	14.0	14.0	14.2	13.6	13.0	12.6	12.3	...
26.4	26.4	25.9	26.3	25.2	24.6	22.1	22.0	21.5	20.5	...
19.6	18.8	19.4	19.3	19.6	21.0	22.2	21.8	24.6	25.6	...
73.6	73.9	73.8	76.1	75.1	76.1	73.1	73.3	76.5	77.6	...
22.9	22.6	21.9	20.0	20.8	22.7	21.9	21.5	22.4	20.1	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>7. Social security</b>									
7.1. Average old-age pension.									
1998 prices ..	..	..	..	..	65 389	68 683	70 432	65 966	69 493
Women ..	..	..	..	..	62 291	63 807	64 882	60 197	62 834
Men ..	..	..	..	..	72 477	75 765	78 559	74 389	79 250
7.2. Average old-age pension as percentage of average salary <sup>1</sup> .....	..	..	..	..	30.2	31.2	31.4	29.4	31.2
7.3. Minimum pension for singles. 1998 prices .....	60 652	61 112	61 475	62 006	62 407	63 411	64 676	63 412	63 422
7.4. Minimum pension as share of average salary <sup>1</sup> . Per cent .....	28.1	28.7	28.9	29.0	28.8	28.8	28.8	28.3	28.5
7.5. Percentage of minimum pension- pensioners among old-age pensioners	74.1	72.6	69.9	67.8	64.9	62.3	59.6	56.8	53.8
Women ..	..	..	..	..	82.0	79.8	77.5	75.1	72.2
Men ..	..	..	..	..	40.3	36.9	33.6	30.2	26.9
7.6. Average gross income of old-age pensioners. 1997 prices ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	103 396	..	..
Women ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82 247	..	..
Men ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	134 976	..	..
7.7. Percentage of disability pensioners of population 16-66 years	6.1	6.1	6.2	6.4	6.9	7.0	7.1	7.6	7.9
Women ..	7.3	6.5	6.7	6.9	7.4	7.5	7.7	8.3	8.7
Men ..	6.8	5.8	5.8	6.0	6.4	6.5	6.6	6.9	7.0
7.8. Number of surviving spouses 16-66 years with survivors' pension ...	42 856	42 393	41 830	41 143	41 098	41 175	40 802	39 719	38 341
Women ..	42 072	41 600	40 984	40 170	40 134	40 061	39 631	38 617	37 206
Men ..	784	793	846	973	964	1 114	1 171	1 102	1 135
7.9. Number of single parents with transitional benefit <sup>2</sup> .....	..	24 791	25 623	26 182	26 129	26 547	25 862	25 483	28 346
Women ..	..	24 542	25 369	25 917	25 850	26 276	25 605	25 248	28 063
Men ..	..	249	254	265	279	271	257	235	283
7.10. Percentage of recipients of transitional benefit with reduced benefit because of expected employment income .....	..	26	36	24	24	24	23	22	16
Women ..	..	28	36	25	25	25	24	23	16
Men ..	..	42	39	29	27	27	20	22	20
7.11. Completely unemployed with unemployment compensation as a percentage of all completely unemployed .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	76
7.12. Percentage of women giving birth with maternity benefit .....	55	57	58	60	64	64	..	68	70

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
71 590	73 134	75 669	77 156	78 396	80 242	82 242	85 924	87 832	95 496	...
64 152	65 092	67 505	68 448	69 094	70 364	72 149	75 071	76 474	84 443	...
82 482	84 909	87 610	89 905	92 016	94 678	97 014	101 788	104 335	111 507	...
32.2	32.7	33.3	33.4	33.6	33.8	34.4	34.9	35.0	36.5	...
63 621	63 821	64 800	65 501	65 572	66 038	66 643	68 463	69 833	77 360	...
28.6	28.5	28.5	28.4	28.1	27.9	27.9	27.8	28.0	30.0	...
51.4	48.9	48.2	45.7	43.4	41.7	41.2	39.1	37.3	41.1	...
69.5	67.0	66.6	64.0	61.5	59.1	58.7	56.3	54.1	59.1	...
24.9	22.3	21.4	18.9	17.0	16.3	15.6	14.1	12.9	15.0	...
..	113 011	..	..	119 448	..	..	..	128 042	...	...
..	90 049	..	..	95 687	..	..	..	101 350	...	...
..	147 216	..	..	154 428	..	..	..	167 139	...	...
8.2	8.4	8.6	8.4	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.4	8.6	9.1	...
9.2	9.5	9.7	9.5	9.4	9.4	9.5	9.6	9.9	10.5	...
7.3	7.4	7.5	7.4	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.3	7.7	...
35 828	35 718	34 881	34 149	33 629	32 638	31 877	30 895	29 956	29 288	...
34 731	34 234	33 296	32 569	31 939	30 940	30 023	29 087	28 045	27 052	...
1 097	1 484	1 585	1 580	1 690	1 698	1 854	1 808	1 910	2 236	...
31 122	37 185	41 703	44 333	45 996	46 255	46 340	45 529	44 986	44 663	...
30 779	36 641	41 025	43 578	45 174	45 428	45 432	44 590	43 991	43 554	...
343	544	678	755	822	827	908	939	995	1 109	...
16	26	29	30	32	34	36	42	44	51	...
16	26	29	30	32	34	35	42	44	50	...
20	39	41	43	42	46	47	51	53	66	...
75	73	71	72	71	67	63	61	58	53	...
71	73	72	72	72	73	73	73	73	74	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>7. Social security (cont.)</b>									
7.13. Number of men paid parental benefit <sup>3</sup> .....	57	58	62	100	112	..	..	..	208
7.14. Number of recipients of social assistance <sup>4</sup> .....	60 100	65 800	77 100	93 900	100 700	106 400	103 100	116 200	134 100
7.15. Percentage of recipients of social assistance who are employed <sup>5</sup>	27.3	26.5	23.3	22.7	23.0	23.8	23.2	24.6	24.8
7.16. Percentage of social assistance recipients receiving social assistance for six or more months per year <sup>6</sup> .....	18.0	18.7	19.5	21.4	26.2	28.3	34.4	36.5	37.6
7.17. Social assistance recipients 20-24 years as a percentage of the population of the same age <sup>7</sup> .....	3.6	4.0	4.9	6.0	6.5	6.8	6.4	7.0	7.9

<sup>1</sup> Average salary per normal man-labour year. <sup>2</sup> Figures for single parents are somewhat different than the Historical Statistics until 1986 because persons who also have other pensions are included in the figures here. The figures for 1985 apply to 3. quarter. The statistics are otherwise end-year figures. <sup>3</sup> The father's quota of the parental benefit scheme was introduced on 1 April 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Before 1986: Social assistance cases. Persons who received social assistance in several municipalities were counted several times. There would have been 7 900 more recipients of social assistance (social assistance cases) in 1986 using the old method of counting.

<sup>5</sup> Break in time series in 1986 (see note 5). The change led to about half a percentage point increase in the percentage of social assistance recipients who were employed in 1986. Some of the decline in the percentage of clients who were employed from 1991 to 1992 is because of the restructuring of the statistics in 1992. <sup>6</sup> Break in the time series in 1986 (see note 5). The change led to an increase of about 3 percentage points in 1986 in the percentage of clients who received social assistance for six or more months.

<sup>7</sup> Break in the time series in 1986 (see note 5). The change led to a reduction of about half a percentage point in the percentage of social assistance recipients 20-24 years in 1986.

Source: 7.1, 7.3, 7.5, 7.7-7.10 and 7.13: National Insurance Administration. 7.2 and 7.4: National Insurance Administration, National accounts statistics. 7.6: Income distribution surveys. 7.11: Directorate of Labour. 7.12: National Insurance Administration, population statistics. 7.14-7.17: Social assistance statistics.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
382	617	820	973	1 567	13 911	24 791	27 922	29 603	30 719	...
150 900	155 200	161 400	161 200	165 900	166 500	160 400	153 800	146 600	132 500	...
22.1	19.2	17.2	14.5	13.2	12.8	12.6	12.8	13.6	14.7	...
39.9	39.6	38.4	38.4	39.1	39.2	40.7	41.1	39.9	38.1	...
9.3	9.5	10.1	10.3	10.9	10.8	10.2	9.7	8.6	7.6	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>8. Housing</b>									
8.1. Percentage of households living in small houses <sup>1</sup> .....	74	73	76	76	76	77	81	79	82
8.2. Percentage of owner-occupied households <sup>2</sup> .....	74	74	75	75	77	77	77	80	78
8.3. Percentage of tenant-occupied households .....	19	20	19	19	18	17	13	12	12
8.4. Percentage living in crowded dwellings, 16-79 years <sup>3</sup> .....	16	..	..	13	..	..	..	9	..
8.5. Percentage living in spacious dwellings, 16-79 years <sup>3</sup> .....	26	..	..	29	..	..	..	34	..
8.6. Living space in m <sup>2</sup> per person <sup>4</sup> ..	36	37	37	37	39	39	42	43	44
8.7. Percentage of persons 16 years and over without bathroom .....	10	6	7	5	4	4	2	2	2
8.8. Percentage of persons 16-79 years with at least two bathrooms .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
8.9. Percentage of persons 16-79 years with cold or damp home .....	9	..	..	9	..	..	..	9	..
8.10. Percentage of households with high housing expenses <sup>5</sup> .....	28	27	29	32	34	37	40	42	48
8.11. Percentage of households with residence period of less or equal to 5 years .....	32	33	32	35	36	38	36	31	36
8.12. Price index for existing homes. Freehold and housing coop .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8.13. Number of completed homes ..	38 092	34 672	38 465	32 513	30 866	26 114	25 784	28 381	30 406
8.14. Square metre area of completed homes <sup>6</sup> .....	..	..	..	158	164	180	184	188	175
8.15. Percentage of persons 16-79 years exposed to road traffic noise .....	14	..	..	13	..	..	..	12	..
8.16. Percentage with more than 2 km to grocery store <sup>7</sup> .....	16	..	..	16	..	..	..	16	..

<sup>1</sup> Small houses include farm, detached, linked, row, terraced, and semi-detached houses. <sup>2</sup> Homeowners include owners of housing coop or joint-stock company-owned dwellings. <sup>3</sup> Crowded and spacious living conditions are defined in chapter 8, box 8.1. <sup>4</sup> Living space per person is calculated on the basis of total net housing area, i.e. interior space, not including closets, basement storage or other storage rooms. <sup>5</sup> A household has high housing expenses when it spends more than 25 per cent of its total consumer expenditure on rent, fuel and power. <sup>6</sup> Area of completed houses is the sum of the area within exterior walls on all floors. <sup>7</sup> Applies to 16-79 years in 1980, 1983, 1987 and 1991 and 18-79 years in 1995.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
81	81	80	77	78	85	79	79	82	77	...
78	79	80	77	73	76	76	73	73	76	...
13	12	13	16	20	17	15	20	19	19	...
..	..	8	..	..	..	8	..	7	..	..
..	..	36	..	..	..	40	..	42	..	..
44	46	47	48	49	49	49	50	51	51	...
1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	2	...
..	..	24	..	..	..	30	..	33	..	..
..	..	7	..	..	..	5	..	9	..	..
49	53	54	53	51	50	47	42	43	39	...
37	37	41	37	36	36	34	42	41	43	...
..	..	100	95	96	108	117	126	137	150	...
27 979	27 120	21 689	17 789	15 897	17 836	19 214	17 905	18 659	20 659	...
157	138	131	131	134	138	144	149	149	152	...
..	..	13	..	..	..	13	..	16	..	..
..	..	20	..	..	..	19	..	26	..	..

Source: 8.1-8.3, 8.6, 8.7, 8.10 and 8.11: Surveys of consumer expenditure. 8.4, 8.5, 8.9 and 8.15: Surveys of level of living. 8.8: Surveys of level of living and Survey of Housing Conditions 1988. 8.12: Price index for existing homes. 8.13: Construction statistics. 8.14: Building statistics. 8.16: Surveys of level of living and Survey of Housing Conditions 1995.



	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>9. Social participation</b>									
9.1. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who live alone .....	12	..	..	13	..	..	..	13	..
Men .....	9	..	..	11	..	..	..	12	..
Women .....	14	..	..	15	..	..	..	15	..
9.2. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who do not visit with neighbours .....	24	..	..	24	..	..	..	24	..
Men .....	25	..	..	25	..	..	..	25	..
Women .....	24	..	..	23	..	..	..	23	..
9.3. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who have no or are seldom in contact with immediate family .....	13	..	..	12	..	..	..	12	..
Men .....	12	..	..	12	..	..	..	11	..
Women .....	13	..	..	13	..	..	..	13	..
9.4. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who have no or are seldom in contact with good friends <sup>1</sup> .....	14	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..
Men .....	16	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	13	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..
9.5. Percentages of person 16-79 years who do not have an intimate friend ..	27	..	..	25	..	..	..	20	..
Men .....	31	..	..	30	..	..	..	25	..
Women .....	23	..	..	21	..	..	..	15	..
9.6. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who are not married, cohabiting or have an intimate friend <sup>2</sup> .....	8	..	..	8	..	..	..	6	..
Men .....	7	..	..	9	..	..	..	7	..
Women .....	8	..	..	7	..	..	..	5	..
9.7. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who are not active in any organization or club .....	48	..	..	49	..	..	..	47	..
Men .....	42	..	..	46	..	..	..	44	..
Women .....	53	..	..	51	..	..	..	50	..
9.8. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who are active in sports clubs .....	15	..	..	15	..	..	..	17	..
Men .....	21	..	..	21	..	..	..	22	..
Women .....	10	..	..	10	..	..	..	12	..
9.9. Percentage of persons 16-79 years who are active in a political party .....	6	..	..	7	..	..	..	4	..
Men .....	7	..	..	8	..	..	..	4	..
Women .....	4	..	..	5	..	..	..	3	..

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
..	..	16	..	..	..	17	..	..	19	..
..	..	15	..	..	..	15	..	..	19	..
..	..	17	..	..	..	18	..	..	20	..
..	..	25	..	..	..	27	..	24	..	..
..	..	26	..	..	..	28	..	24	..	..
..	..	25	..	..	..	27	..	25	..	..
..	..	12	..	..	..	12	..	..	14	..
..	..	11	..	..	..	12	..	..	16	..
..	..	13	..	..	..	12	..	..	13	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	8	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	8	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	7	..
..	..	18	..	..	..	18	..	..	16	..
..	..	24	..	..	..	22	..	..	21	..
..	..	11	..	..	..	13	..	..	10	..
..	..	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	4	..
..	..	6	..	..	..	6	..	..	5	..
..	..	4	..	..	..	5	..	..	3	..
..	..	47	..	..	..	47	..	45	..	..
..	..	44	..	..	..	43	..	45	..	..
..	..	50	..	..	..	52	..	46	..	..
..	..	18	..	..	..	18	..	18	..	..
..	..	22	..	..	..	22	..	20	..	..
..	..	13	..	..	..	13	..	15	..	..
..	..	4	..	..	..	3	..	3	..	..
..	..	5	..	..	..	4	..	3	..	..
..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	3	..	..

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>9. Social participation (cont.)</b>									
9.10. Percentage of employed persons who are active in trade union or professional organization .....									
	19	..	..	21	..	..	..	19	..
Men .....	24	..	..	25	..	..	..	22	..
Women .....	12	..	..	15	..	..	..	15	..
9.11. Participation in general election .. 82.0 .. .. 84.0 .. ..									
9.12. Participation in local government elections .. .. .. 72.1 .. .. 69.4 ..									
9.13. Percentage of employees subjected to harassment or unpleasant teasing at work .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9.14. Percentage of employees subjected to violence or threats of violence at work <sup>3</sup> .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

<sup>1</sup> "Don't know" is excluded from the estimates. <sup>2</sup> Singles who have answered "don't know" to the question of whether they have an intimate friend are included. <sup>3</sup> A couple of times or more per month.

Source: 9.1-9.10: Surveys of level of living. 9.11-9.12: Election statistics. 9.13-9.14: Working Environment Surveys 1989 and 1993, Survey of Living Conditions 1996.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
..	..	18	..	..	..	18	..	18	..	..
..	..	20	..	..	..	22	..	18	..	..
..	..	14	..	..	..	13	..	18	..	..
83.2	..	..	..	75.8	..	..	..	78.3	..	..
..	..	66.0	..	..	..	62.8	..	..	..	60.4
3	..	..	..	3	..	..	2	..	..	..
3	..	..	..	3	..	..	2	..	..	..
3	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..
4	..	..	..	5	..	..	5	..	..	..
3	..	..	..	3	..	..	5	..	..	..
6	..	..	..	6	..	..	6	..	..	..

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>10. Leisure time and cultural participation</b>									
10.1. Number of fiction titles published .....	1 274	1 141	1 193	1 102	903	1 223	903	1 813	1 152
10.2. Number of books borrowed per capita from public library .....	4.0	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.2
10.3. Percentage of book readers on an average day. 9-79 years									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10.4. Net circulation of daily newspapers per 1 000 population <sup>1</sup> .....	429	441	443	448	455	463	484	494	497
10.5. Percentage of newspaper readers on an average day. 9-79 years									
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10.6. Percentage who can receive satellite-transmitted TV broadcasts. 9-79 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	20	22
10.7. Number of minutes of television watching on an average day. 9-79 years <sup>2</sup>	135	..	..	144	..	121	142	..	153
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	156
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	150
10.8. Percentage who have access to VCR. 9-79 years .....	..	..	..	11	..	18	..	37	44
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41
10.9. Percentage who have access to PC at home. 9-79 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	13	..
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10.10. Number of cinema visits per capita .....	4.3	4.0	3.7	3.8	3.1	3.1	2.7	3.0	2.8
10.11. Percentage going to cinema in last 12 months. 9-79 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10.12. Number of theatre/opera visits per 1 000 population .....	270	304	288	280	259	277	271	280	300
10.13. Percentage attending classical music concerts in last 12 months. 9-79 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
1 565	1 503	1 584	1 622	1 794	1 861	1 840	1 747	1 729	1 757	...
4.7	4.8	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.1	5.2	...
..	..	19	19	..	12	14	15	14	13	...
..	..	28	24	..	24	24	23	21	23	...
557	510	494	510	509	510	498	507	506	503	...
..	..	84	84	..	85	84	82	84	81	...
..	..	87	86	..	86	85	84	85	84	...
..	..	82	81	..	85	83	80	83	79	...
26	..	40	45	..	50	55	55	58	59	...
148	..	114	108	..	113	124	117	119	119	...
149	..	116	115	..	121	128	120	122	126	...
146	..	113	101	..	105	121	114	117	113	...
48	..	51	57	..	64	65	69	70	73	...
51	..	54	62	..	68	67	71	72	74	...
46	..	49	51	..	61	62	67	69	72	...
..	..	..	..	..	33	39	43	50	57	...
..	..	..	..	..	36	42	44	52	59	...
..	..	..	..	..	30	36	41	47	54	...
3.0	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	...
..	..	58	52	..	61	58	62	60	68	...
..	..	56	51	..	62	56	61	59	67	...
..	..	61	53	..	61	61	63	61	70	...
308	311	319	337	347	277	295	253	293	...	...
..	..	27	..	..	34	..	..	37	..	..
..	..	23	..	..	29	..	..	33	..	..
..	..	31	..	..	39	..	..	40	..	..

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>10. Leisure and cultural participation (cont.)</b>									
10.14. Percentage who have made use of cultural offerings in the last 12 months. 9-79 years <sup>3</sup> . ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10.15. Percentage with own cultural activities in last two years. 9-79 years <sup>4</sup>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10.16. Members of Norwegian Confederation of Sports in 1 000 .....	1 392	1 457	1 479	1 561	1 605	1 624	1 633	1 645	1 614
Men .....	922	936	950	996	1 012	1 027	1 034	1 037	1 008
Women .....	470	521	528	565	593	597	599	608	606
19.17. Number of days on holiday trip in last 12 months. 16-79 years .....	..	..	16.0	..	..	..	17.2	..	..
Men .....	..	..	15.0	..	..	..	16.5	..	..
Women .....	..	..	18.0	..	..	..	17.9	..	..
10.18. Percentage who have not been on holiday in last 12 months.									
16-79 years .....	..	..	26	..	..	..	23	..	..
Men .....	..	..	29	..	..	..	24	..	..
Women .....	..	..	23	..	..	..	22	..	..
10.19. Percentage who have stayed overnight on holiday trip outside Nordic countries. 16-79 years .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Men .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Women .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

<sup>1</sup> Includes Sunday editions. Aftenposten's evening edition has been counted as a separate newspaper since 1989. <sup>2</sup> Figures for February to 1989, subsequently annual average. <sup>3</sup> Cinema, theatre/musical/revue, public library, concert, museum, art exhibit, ballet/dance performance or opera/opera. <sup>4</sup> Involved in/performed in public with an amateur theatre group in last two years, member of art association, engaged in/exhibited visual arts/handicrafts in last two years, member of/have performed in public with choir/orchestra in last two years or play an instrument regularly.

Source: 10.1-10.2, 10.4, 10.10 and 10.16: Cultural statistics. 10.3, 10.5-10.9: Media use surveys. 10.10-10.15: Cultural consumption surveys. 10.17-10.19: Holiday surveys.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
..	..	89	..	..	91	..	..	90	..	..
..	..	88	..	..	90	..	..	90	..	..
..	..	90	..	..	91	..	..	89	..	..
..	..	34	..	..	35	..	..	32	..	..
..	..	30	..	..	29	..	..	27	..	..
..	..	39	..	..	40	..	..	36	..	..
1 583	1 632	1 710	1 702	1 716	1 721	1 727	1 746	1 740	...	...
985	998	1 047	1 045	1 057	1 066	1 074	1 079	1 076	...	...
598	634	663	657	659	655	653	667	664	...	...
..	..	..	13.9	14.5	13.7	..	..	14.0	14.2	...
..	..	..	13.6	13.7	12.4	..	..	13.2	13.9	...
..	..	..	14.1	15.3	14.8	..	..	14.7	14.7	...
..	..	..	27	27	28	..	..	26	28	...
..	..	..	27	29	30	..	..	28	29	...
..	..	..	27	25	25	..	..	24	28	...
..	..	..	34	32	34	..	..	42	45	...
..	..	..	32	33	31	..	..	39	44	...
..	..	..	35	31	37	..	..	45	45	...



	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>11. Crime</b>									
11.1. Percentage of the population who have been a victim of violence or threats of violence .....	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	5	..
Men .....	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	6	..
Women .....	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	5	..
11.2. Percentage of the population who fear becoming a victim of violence or threats of violence .....	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	8	..
Men .....	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	3	..
Women .....	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	14	..
11.3. Total number of reported offences .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Of which									
Crimes .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Misdemeanours .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11.4. Reported crimes per 1 000 population									
Total .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Economic offences .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other offences for profit .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Offences of violence .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sexual offences .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Offences in connection with narcotics .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Damage to property .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other offences .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11.5. Total number of investigated crimes .....	121 565	131 317	148 276	159 598	151 622	164 067	164 890	198 877	220 338
11.6. Investigated crimes. Per 1 000 population									
Total .....	29.7	32.0	36.0	38.6	36.6	39.4	39.5	47.4	52.2
Economic offences .....	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7
Other offences for profit .....	25.1	26.7	30.2	32.0	30.2	32.7	32.4	39.1	45.5
Offences of violence .....	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.4
Sexual offences .....	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Offences in connection with narcotics .....	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.	1.1	1.1	1.5
Damage to property .....	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.8	3.6	3.9
Other offences .....	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.9

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
..	..	5	..	..	..	5	..	6	..	..
..	..	6	..	..	..	7	..	5	..	..
..	..	5	..	..	..	4	..	6	..	..
..	..	10	..	..	..	9	..	11	..	..
..	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	5	..	..
..	..	18	..	..	..	16	..	17	..	..
..	..	351 723	357 611	346 187	351 634	400 579	411 898	431 608	446 672	...
..	..	252 362	254 099	244 659	249 615	285 900	292 249	307 949	318 275	...
..	..	99 361	103 512	101 528	102 019	114 679	119 649	123 659	128 397	...
..	..	59.4	59.3	56.9	57.7	65.7	66.8	69.7	72.0	...
..	..	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.3	1.4	1.5	...
..	..	45.8	45.6	42.8	43.1	46.6	46.6	48.3	49.2	...
..	..	3.4	3.6	3.8	4.0	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.7	...
..	..	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.8	0.7	...
..	..	3.1	2.9	3.3	3.4	5.4	6.3	7.9	8.8	...
..	..	3.7	3.3	3.6	3.7	5.4	5.1	4.9	4.8	...
..	..	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	...
237 319	235 256	223 122	234 904	248 203	225 214	269 282	275 421	272 653	292 258	...
56.1	55.4	52.2	54.6	57.4	51.8	61.6	62.4	62.1	65.7	...
0.9	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4	...
45.1	44.6	41.2	42.3	44.7	39.1	46.2	45.3	44.0	46.3	...
2.7	2.8	2.8	3.2	3.5	3.7	3.8	3.9	4.1	4.2	...
0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.6	...
1.9	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.7	3.6	4.7	5.5	6.8	...
4.0	3.6	3.4	3.7	3.6	3.4	4.9	5.2	4.7	4.6	...
1.1	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.6	...

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<b>11. Crime (cont.)</b>									
11.7. Clear-up rate for crimes									
Total .....	22	23	21	21	23	23	21	18	20
Economic offences .....	66	64	59	53	56	55	53	45	36
Other offences for profit	18	18	17	17	19	19	16	13	15
Offences of violence .....	57	56	54	54	55	55	52	49	51
Sexual offences .....	43	44	40	46	42	44	40	42	39
Offences in connection with narcotics .....	84	83	83	83	82	81	79	78	79
Damage to property .....	21	21	18	19	18	20	17	15	18
Other offences .....	56	54	56	54	55	54	47	45	47
11.8. Charged with crimes. Per 1 000 inhabitants 5 years and over									
Men .....	6.7	7.0	7.1	7.7	7.1	6.9	6.4	6.6	7.9
Women .....	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.9
11.9. Sanctions in crime cases									
Sanctions per 1 000 inhabitants over the age of criminal responsibility <sup>1</sup>	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.5	3.4	3.5
Percentage of unconditional imprisonments. ....	37	36	36	39	38	36	38	40	40
Average term of imprisonment <sup>2</sup> . Days .....	153	162	179	188	205	195	190	205	202
11.10. Prison inmates (annual average), total .....	1 797	1 800	1 888	2 033	2 045	2 104	2 002	2 023	2 113
Of which women. Per cent	3.1	3.3	3.5	3.7	4.0	4.0	3.8	4.1	3.9

<sup>1</sup> The age of criminal responsibility was raised from 14 to 15 in 1990. <sup>2</sup>Covers unconditional portion of combined sentence.  
Source: 11.1 and 11.2: Surveys of level of living. 11.3-11.10: Crime statistics.

1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
23	23	23	24	24	26	23	26	28	28	...
40	46	44	51	50	52	64	62	61	57	...
17	17	16	17	16	17	14	16	16	15	...
53	55	55	55	54	58	56	56	59	57	...
42	44	41	44	43	45	49	36	59	42	...
80	82	82	81	84	84	85	87	86	87	...
20	23	23	25	26	28	20	22	21	22	...
51	53	53	55	54	58	61	66	63	68	...
9.4	10.4	10.1	11.0	11.3	11.3	10.9	11.1	11.5	11.9	...
1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.0	...
4.5	4.7	4.67	5.0	5.0	5.1	5.0	5.1	4.9	...	...
37	37	36	34	34	34	34	34	35	...	...
207	201	209	217	205	218	196	171	188	...	...
2 208	2 379	2 548	2 477	2 650	2 538	2 478	2 475	2 536	2 466	...
4.0	4.1	4.9	5.2	4.9	4.3	4.8	5.1	5.0	4.7	...

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