

## THE NORWEGIAN CIVIL SOCIETY

*Lillian Hjorth, Director Human Rights Academy/Menneskerettighetsakademiet (NO)*

Norway is said to have one of the most vibrant civil societies in the world. This article, aiming to shed light on this phenomenon, will present historical perspectives and facts about today's civil society, including a discussion on the role of social and political trust. It will also focus on civic education, including human rights education and education for democratic citizenship. Over the last 25 years this type of education has gained more attention and today “*democracy and citizenship*” is one of three core elements and a trans-disciplinary subject in the school system.<sup>1</sup> Can this type of education reinforce Norwegian democracy?

### Historical background

Collective voluntarism has long historical roots in Norway and is closely connected to geography and demography. In the peasant society during the Middle Ages, the term “dugnad” was used when there was a need for more manpower than a family, farm or local community could provide on their own. People lived on small farms far away from each other and came together to solve more demanding tasks. The concept of reciprocity was key here, and the traditional “dugnad” strengthened communities. It was expected that people would help each other. Since the society was free of a nobility class, people could make decisions without having to ask anyone for permission.<sup>2</sup>

In and around 1840 there was an upsurge of people organizing themselves into associations of different kinds. According to the Norwegian professor and historian Jan Erik Myhre, this is referred to as *the spirit of associations*, or the eagerness to form associations.<sup>3</sup> At that time formal obstacles to forming associations were removed from the law. It was no longer illegal to organize public meetings and new types of religious gatherings were allowed. Privileges for some groups with respect to trade and merchandising were also taken away. All this gave more freedom to the individual.<sup>4</sup> The general improvement in writing and reading skills also contributed to the growing civil society, as did the 1814 Constitution's emphasis on freedom of the press. Newly founded newspapers and other written media expanded the public sphere, uniting people in different regions over common causes.<sup>5</sup> According to Myhre, all this can explain why the ten national associations in 1850 had grown to 154 by 1900 and why many local initiatives blossomed into nationwide movements. The associations varied from being political organizations, which eventually developed into political parties, organizations centered on professions, later becoming trade unions/employers' organizations, and economic organizations, for example later becoming saving banks and producer cooperatives. Cultural and educational associations aiming to contribute to society's greater good, as well as

---

<sup>1</sup> The other two are: *Sustainable Development* and *Health and Life Skills*.

<sup>2</sup> Ministry of Culture (NO: Kulturdepartementet) (2018-2019). 2.3.

<sup>3</sup> Myhre (2023) (NO: Norgeshistorie.no, Jan Eivind Myhre, *Organisasjonssamfunnet vokser frem*). Downloaded 5. June 2023 from <https://www.norgeshistorie.no/industrialisering-og-demokrati/1511-Organisasjonssamfunnet-vokser-fram.html>

<sup>4</sup> Ministry of Culture (NO: Kulturdepartementet) (2018-2019). 2.4.

<sup>5</sup> Myhre (2023)

missionary and philanthropic associations aimed at combatting poverty, lack of housing and other social and health issues were also established. Associations solely dedicated to social activities were also founded. Many of the associations, Myhre writes, functioned as pressure groups aiming to influence the Norwegian state, which at that time had limited reach and could not fulfill all the people's expectations and ambitions. The associations constituted an important link between the authorities and the general population as they managed to express the economic and political interests of the people at a time with limited public involvement.<sup>9</sup> The big philanthropic people's movements became a vanguard for what later would develop into the public health and social services supplied by the Norwegian welfare state. Long before the state's provision of care for vulnerable groups, the organizations and religious communities had established ways, including institutions, for providing care to these groups.<sup>10</sup>

The early associations also became important schools of democracy. They were usually built on democratic principles, with elections and equality for all members. Women were actively involved, also in leading positions.<sup>11</sup> Being a member of or affiliated with associations implied that people actively availed themselves of their freedom of expression, movement, association, and other human rights. Participants became active citizens who used their democratic rights, which in turn strengthened their democratic attitudes.

As the economic situation in Norway improved during the decades after World War II, the authorities, through regulation and distribution of resources, bit by bit took over the civil society's welfare role. Public benefit systems developed which ensured financial security for people in different life situations (pregnancy, birth, parenting, illness, disability, unemployment, old age, and so on). The fact that the state took over tasks from the organizations did not mean that volunteerism disappeared. Indeed, the number of associations kept increasing. From 1960 and on, many new associations were established, especially associations for children and youth, as well as cultural and recreational activities, including sports. The modern welfare state and a vibrant civil society seemed to be a good match.

### **The Contemporary Civil Society and Social and Political Trust**

Today over 100 000 civil-society organizations are registered in Norway. As much as 80 percent of the population are members of one or more organizations.<sup>12</sup> In a country with 5.5 million people this is a very high number compared to most other countries. The civic sector is large, dynamic, and innovative, and has a recognized role and strong political influence. The organizations evaluate and criticize the work of the government, involve and educate the greater society, and develop democratic attitudes. They provide a wide range of services, represent different interest groups, and specialize in advocacy, awareness raising, and reaching out to citizens.

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Culture (NO: Kulturdepartementet (2018-2019).

<sup>11</sup> Myhre (2023)

<sup>12</sup> Statistics Norway's satellite accounts for non-profit institutions 2020. (NO: SSBs satellitt-regnskap for frivillige og ideelle organisasjoner 2020).

One factor that can shed light on the high level of civil-society engagement is the high level of political and social trust. Together with the other Nordic countries Norway has for a long time been rated among the countries in Europe and in the world with the highest level of *political trust*. Political trust implies that people have trust in their government or democracy, and/or more specific institutions, such as the civil service, parliament, or individual politicians.<sup>14</sup> The level of political trust has been high in Norway for an extended period of time. In the fifty-year history of election surveys there are no signs of a systematic decrease in political trust.<sup>15</sup> The Nordic countries are also in a special position internationally when it comes to *social trust*. Social trust implies that people expect others to abide by social norms - even strangers with whom they have no family ties.<sup>16</sup> Social trust, often referred to as a generalized trust in the society, is important because it strengthens the community's capacity to solve collective problems and challenges. Research shows that people who trust others participate more in politics and in society at large. They are also more tolerant towards minorities, believe more in their possibilities to decide over their own life, and are better able to cooperate with others.<sup>17</sup> A high level of social trust leads to a low level of conflict and enhances economic growth.<sup>18</sup> The civil society's ability to create social trust between people is called *social capital*.<sup>19</sup> Many studies conclude that social capital and economic-performance measures are positively correlated.<sup>20</sup>

What can explain the high level of social trust in Norway? A relatively high degree of *economic equality* appears to be one important reason. Research shows that in countries with large gaps between rich and poor, people tend to trust each other less than in countries with more economic equality. Inequality appears to feed forces that lead to distance between people and this consequently leads to less social trust. In societies with a high level of inequality groups settle in separate areas and develop their own "small pockets of trust", including the feeling that they do not have much in common with "the others".<sup>21</sup> This results in less generalized social trust which in turn results in less "social capital".<sup>22</sup> The social life that usually existed between the state and the family disappear and the strata from which the many civil-society organizations often recruit their members, is shrinking. This is often called "the missing middle".<sup>23</sup> More economic equality seems to create a better foundation where organizations can flourish.

---

<sup>14</sup> Norris, Pippa. 2017. The Conceptual Framework of Political Support. In *Handbook of Political Trust*, edited by Sonja Zmerli and Tom W.G. van der Meer, 19-32. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing

<sup>15</sup> Haugsgjerd, Bergh and Aardal (2019).

<sup>16</sup> Vallier 2019. p.10

<sup>17</sup> Norwegian Agency for Public and Financial Management (2023).

<sup>18</sup> Andreasson, Ulf (2017), quoted in White paper 10 (NOR: Stortingsmelding 10) (2018-2019).

<sup>19</sup> Social Capital (NO: *Sosial kapital*. Store norske leksikon 26/05/2023) Downloaded [https://snl.no/sosial\\_kapital](https://snl.no/sosial_kapital).

<sup>20</sup> Vallier (2019 s. 9).

<sup>21</sup> Eia and Ihle (2022 p. 201).

<sup>22</sup> When we trust others over an extended period of time and are trusted in turn, we can establish social networks we can rely on in taking the risks needed to build social institutions. Social capital only accumulates within a system of social trust (Vallier 2019, p. 8).

<sup>23</sup> Eia and Ihle, (2022 p. 201).

Even though the economic gap has grown in Norway in recent years, as in many other countries, the country still scores high on equality.<sup>24</sup> One reason can be the tax system, which requires that people with the highest incomes pay relatively more taxes than people with less income. When public benefits are relatively evenly distributed throughout the population, the state can be said to have a significantly redistributive effect.<sup>25</sup> The extensive welfare state is thus one of the most important reasons why economic inequality is far less prevalent in Norway than in many other countries.<sup>26</sup> The political scientist Robert Putnam writes: “Apparently it is the large welfare states in Scandinavia that have the highest social capital”.<sup>27</sup>

Having *a vibrant civil society* with people willing to volunteer is highlighted as a factor upholding a high level of social trust. According to the Norwegian Ministry of Culture (2017) it is not coincidental that Norway, which is characterized by a very high degree of social trust, is also one of the countries in the world with the highest degree of voluntary participation.

“Volunteering is a catalyst for trust between people because it is a meeting place, a space for exchange of ideas and a space for activity. Volunteering brings us together around what we have in common, not what separates us. At the same time, volunteering is an arena for dialogue and disagreements. Volunteering is a decisive contributor to the democratic system that empowers citizens as political beings.”<sup>31</sup>

The Norwegian researcher Dag Wollebæk has found that strong and visible voluntary organizations preserve and strengthen social capital in a society because they show the public that it pays to cooperate and trust others. In an international context, Norwegian organizations are remarkably strong, and their clear societal presence explains why social capital is higher here than in almost every other country. In contrast to previous assumptions on research on social capital, Wollebæk finds, however, that it is the belief in the organizations as useful and important and not how active people are in the association life, that explains why some have higher social capital than others.<sup>33</sup>

Another factor that explains why some societies score higher on social trust than others is linked to the *rule of law and the quality of the public authorities* and the services they provide. Corruption and other elements of bad governance leads to a decline in people’s trust in the authorities, but also, it seems, among themselves. The political scientist Kevin Vallier writes:

---

<sup>24</sup> Gini Index 2023 <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/wealth-inequality-by-country>

<sup>25</sup> According to Kevin Vallier, *(T)here is a strong case to be made that, in fact, most of the robust correlation between social trust and economic equality is explained by the fact that societies with a high level of social trust are more supportive of redistributive policies, which reduces economic inequality. When we trust each other’s, we are less likely to be suspicious that those who receive economic transfers will misuse them or have secured those benefits unfairly.* (Vallier 2017 p. 6)

<sup>26</sup> *Velferdsstat*, downloaded 25/03/2023: <https://snl.no/velferdsstat>. Se også Vallier 2017 s. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Putnam, Robert (2000) in *Bowling alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster. Quoted in Eia and Ihle, (2022, p. 202).

<sup>31</sup> Ministry of Culture (NO: Kulturdepartementet (2018-2019)). (The author’s translation)

<sup>33</sup> University of Bergen (2023). *Summary of the main findings in Dag Wollebæk’s PhD thesis* (Bergen University. Downloaded 26/05/2023). <https://www.uib.no/sampol/41339/disputas-dag-wollebaek>

“The evidence clearly shows a close connection between higher levels of social trust, lower levels of corruption in the legal system, and other indicators of reliable adherence to the rule of law.<sup>34</sup> (...) A functional legal system that is not easily corrupted, bribed, and so on appears to lead people to trust others in their society”.<sup>35</sup>

According to the Corruption Perceptions Index 2022, Norway is one of the four least corrupt countries in the world.<sup>36</sup> A crucial mechanism for controlling the authorities, revealing corruption and crimes, and informing the population, is having free and independent media. Norway also scores high on this point. For the seventh year in a row, Norway has topped the Reporters Without Borders’s index which measures the environment for journalists worldwide.<sup>37</sup>

### **New trends**

There have been major changes in the way voluntary work is organized in Norway in recent decades. The traditional member-based, democratically organized people’s movements that have a national scope are not as dominant as they once were. Important reasons, according to Wollebæk, are modernization processes that have influenced society, including individualization, de-ideologizing, and changed gender roles.<sup>38</sup> The civil sector today is less about ideologically based social change or a battle of interests by members with collective identities that they carry with them in all social arenas. It is more oriented towards promoting common goods such as opportunities for physical and cultural development, self-organization, and social participation.<sup>39</sup> The organizational landscape has become more decentralized, more diverse, and varied. Many rights-based organizations have been established, as have organizations for people with disabilities and marginalized groups as well as “green” organizations addressing environmental issues and climate change. Even if the more specialized organizations need more paid employees, the number of volunteers has grown.<sup>40</sup> 63 per cent of the population participates in volunteer work.<sup>41</sup>

Some of the changes are consequences of social media and new interactive tools that have changed the way people communicate and cooperate. When Norway experienced the largest increase in asylum seekers ever during the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015, aid groups were immediately established on Facebook. *Refugees Welcome to Norway*<sup>43</sup> and *The Drop in the Ocean*<sup>44</sup> are two initiatives that mobilized thousands of people in a short period of time. These organizations still exist. Social entrepreneurs that have social aims but use market forces and most often do not use volunteers, are also parts of the civil society today. Other trends are

---

<sup>34</sup> Vallier quotes: You, Jong-sung. 2017. *Trust and Corruption*. In the Oxford Handbook of Social and Political Trust, edited by Eric Uslaner, 1-31. New York University Press.

<sup>35</sup> Vallier (2019 s.7)

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021>

<sup>37</sup> *Reporters Without Borders. Index 2023*. Downloaded 28/05/2023. <https://rsf.org/en/index>

<sup>38</sup> Enjolras & Strømsnes, 2018; Wollebæk & Selle, 2002, in Arnesen, Daniel & Sivesind, Karl Henrik (2020).

<sup>39</sup> Arnesen, Daniel & Sivesind, Karl Henrik (2020 p. 85)

<sup>40</sup> Arnesen, Daniel; Sivesind, Karl Henrik & Gulbrandsen, Trygve Jens (2016).

<sup>41</sup> Arnesen, Daniel & Sivesind, Karl Henrik (2020 p. 85)

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/refugeeswelcomenorway>

<sup>44</sup> <https://www.drapenihavet.no/en/a-drop-in-the-ocean/>

lobbyism and organizations cooperating together in networks to solve common challenges. There has been an increase in such “umbrella” organizations from 30 in the late 1970s to more than 300 today. In addition to cooperating on specific issues, the organizations collaborate on garnering stronger political influence, as well as developing new tools and finding new sources of income.<sup>46</sup>

One concern regarding the contemporary civil society in Norway is that the immigrant population participates to a lesser extent than the population in general. Explanations can be language barriers, their short time in Norway, socio-economic factors, and issues connected to trust.<sup>48</sup> Research shows that immigrants have less social trust than the general population. Reasons can be unemployment, poverty, and discrimination, factors that negatively impact social trust.<sup>49</sup> How to increase the level of civil-society participation among immigrant groups is a highly debated topic.

Another concern, according to Wollebæk, is related to the tendency where *local* associations focus more on their members’ interests and less on general societal purposes. They do not challenge established values to the same degree as they did before. Also, the fact that many of them are no longer members of national networks makes them vulnerable and influences their societal role. If local associations turn more inwards and become less visible societal actors, this may undermine their ability to maintain the society’s social capital.<sup>50</sup>

### **State support**

The state has a long tradition of supporting the civil society in Norway. Several state-driven initiatives have further strengthened the civil sector in recent decades. In the 1980s Norway’s first public document on the civil society and volunteering resulted in the establishment of 91 *volunteer centers* around Norway. The aim of this three-year pilot project was to stimulate voluntary efforts in the local communities. The centers were to function as open meeting places for the greater public, while also serving as a link between the municipalities and the civil sector. The pilot project developed into a permanent mechanism and today there are 515 voluntary centers in 323 municipalities all around the country.<sup>51</sup> Another initiative is the *Centre for Research on Civil Society and Voluntary Sector* which the Ministry of Education and Research established in 2008. Its objective is to conduct independent and socially relevant research on voluntary engagement and voluntary organizations in Norway. In 2019 the Norwegian Parliament discussed the White Paper “Volunteering – strong, independent, diverse” in relation to principles and aims for the interaction between the government and the voluntary sector.<sup>53</sup> One conclusion that gained support across the political parties was that volunteering and civil society are important parts of society.

---

<sup>46</sup> Arnesen, Daniel (2018). White paper (NO: Stortingsmelding) 5.7.2

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.frivillighetnorge.no/rapport/årsrapporter/statusrapport-for-frivilligheten-og-frivillighet-norges-årsrapport-2020/innvandreres-deltakelse/>

<sup>49</sup> 22 % of immigrants have little trust in others, while the number is 6% in the general population. Research shows, however, that immigrants have higher *political trust* than the general population (41% vs. 26%).

<sup>50</sup> Dag Wollebæk, University of Bergen (2009).

<sup>51</sup> The centers are financed in part by governmental support.

<sup>53</sup> The author’s translation (NO: *Frivilligheita – sterk, sjølstendig, mangfaldig*).

Close to nine billion Norwegian kroner were granted to civil society organizations in 2017.<sup>56</sup> Thirteen out of fifteen ministries have funds and support schemes which the civil-society organizations can apply for. With the extensive use of earmarked funds and grants that are linked to special areas and challenges, both the central and local authorities actively use the organizations to address issues. If the authorities' support is in line with the organizations' idealistic principles, the link between the parties can be perceived as uncomplicated, positive, and even harmonious. One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether the support can weaken the organizations' independence. Can the ties be too tight and the influence too strong so that they infringe on or even diminish the organization's important role as freethinkers and critical voices? These questions should be addressed regularly both to the authorities and the organizations.

### **Education for Democracy, Citizenship and Human Rights**

The educational sphere has a profound influence on the society and the values and skills the young generation develop at school, will have a major impact on the future. One of the traditional aspirations and goals of the Norwegian education system has been to foster democratic citizens. This is stated in the Education Act, as well as in the curriculum competence aims for several school subjects. However, the two Norwegian educational researchers Janicke Heldal Stray and Emil Sætra have pointed out several challenges in achieving this goal. According to them, both academics and practitioners have faced challenges regarding how to implement the democratic practices in the classroom teaching”.<sup>57</sup>

“Studies on how teachers implement democracy and citizenship in their teaching suggest that they are uncertain about how to interpret this mandate. (...) teachers experience having neither the time nor the training to anchor their teaching in the prospect of learning democracy.”<sup>58</sup>

The findings from above-mentioned studies support what Stray earlier have concluded that democratic education “is an implicit, not explicit, vision for Norwegian schooling.”<sup>60</sup> Civil-society organizations, especially human rights organizations, have also addressed this problem, arguing that teachers must learn how to teach their pupils so they can become democratic citizens who respect human rights. Conferences have been organized and often NGOs have been in the forefront when it comes to developing innovative democratic participatory teaching methods. The Human Rights Academy (HRA) and other NGOs have organized workshops for teachers, as well as implemented educational projects targeting vulnerable groups in out-of-school settings. The aim has been to empower and develop the participants' democratic skills.

---

<sup>56</sup> Ministry of Culture and Equality (NO: Kulturdepartementet (2018-2019)).

<sup>57</sup> Stray and Sætra (2017 s.1)

<sup>58</sup> Ibid (s. 3. The studies they refer to are: Stokkeland, [2016](#); Sætra, [2015](#).)

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

The growing cultural diversity in Norway has stimulated the discussion on the need for better education in democracy, citizenship, and human rights. Challenges relating to radicalization, extremism, and terror have also been important in this regard. In 2010 several incidents involving anti-Semitism and racism in schools captured the media's attention. When surveys confirmed that pupils with certain ethnic minority backgrounds were victims of discrimination, the Ministry of Education and Research established a working group to address the problem. The group's report "It can happen again"<sup>61</sup> recommended that schools must work more with attitudes and values in their classrooms. In the aftermath of the terrorist attack in Oslo and on the island of Utøya on 22 July 2011, where racism was an underlying motivation for the terrorist and where 77 innocent people were killed and many more wounded, the demand for a more systematic education against racism and discrimination, and for human rights and democratic citizenship became acute. This demand was fueled by a more unstable international situation, including democratic systems in several European countries being under pressure. Also, the fact that many young people increasingly fall outside education and work, has been raised as a topic in the discussion.<sup>64</sup>

To address these challenges "democracy and citizenship" was included as one of three core elements and a trans-disciplinary subject in the revised curriculum in Norwegian schools in 2020.<sup>65</sup> The aim is to create active citizens and contribute to further development of the democracy. Pupils will learn about democratic participation, duties and rights, critical thinking and diversity. They will also study contemporary threats to democracy as the undermining of freedom of speech, conspiracy theories, fake news, radicalization, extremism, and terror. Stray and other researchers underline the importance of the learning processes themselves. It is not sufficient for the pupils to acquire theoretical knowledge about democracy, they need to learn how to participate in democratic processes. Democracy must be practiced at school.<sup>66</sup> At its best, education in democracy and citizenship will develop the school so that it becomes an arena that connects the individual pupil to the society at large and its political and civil life. The school's function as a "mediating" institution is particularly important considering its mandate to contribute to the equal society. The school must empower all pupils, especially those who are vulnerable and/or in a weaker position.<sup>67</sup>

### **The Way Forward**

The contemporary civil society in Norway is strong and has solid historical roots. Today's organizations play an irreplaceable role in this democracy by connecting citizens and the political system. They address important societal challenges, provide an arena for voluntary participation, and serve as a channel for influencing political decisions. Not least, the civil

---

<sup>61</sup> NO: *Det kan skje igjen*. Ministry of Education (2011).

<sup>64</sup> The proportion of young people who receive health-related benefits is large in Norway compared to other countries (OECD, 2018). This ratio has increased over time. In 2017, 5.2 percent of 18-29-year-olds received work assessment allowance (AAP) or disability benefit, compared to 4 percent in 2008. (SSB

<sup>65</sup> National Digital Learning Arena (NDL) <https://ndla.no/nb/subject:d1fe9d0a-a54d-49db-a4c2-fd5463a7c9e7/topic:077a5e01-6bb8-4c0b-b1d4-94b683d91803/topic:18b71ec1-281d-449d-b191-f35353c6daf9/25/03/2023>

<sup>66</sup> Stray (2018).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.



society is instrumental in preserving the high level of political and social trust that characterizes the society.

In part as an answer to more cultural diversity, as well as serious challenges arising from discrimination and terrorism in recent years, democracy-and-citizenship education has come to play a more important role in the school system. The aim is to furnish new generations with values and attitudes that give them the resilience and readiness to act in circumstances where our democracy and human rights is at stake. Recent events have again shown that Norway is no longer the “innocent haven” it was perceived to be some years ago. On 28 June 2022, eleven years after the terrorist attack in Oslo and on Utøya, the capital was again struck by terrorism. During a warm Saturday night, a terrorist attacked innocent people enjoying their evening. The motivation for the attack, which left two dead, wounded many more and created profound fear, especially among sexual minorities, was the city’s Pride Parade, which was to be held the next day. The fact that Norway the last decades has been so severely struck by terrorism proves that we must constantly work, both in the school system and in the society at large, to combat hate crime, xenophobia, homophobia, antisemitism, Islamism, and authoritarian tendencies.

In addition to the importance of educating the younger generations about democracy and citizenship, and work to uphold a strong civil society, we should be aware of the negative effect deepening inequality can have on our society’s political and social trust. Equality seems to provide more fertile environments for including people in organizations and voluntarism, which in turn leads to more trust. Poverty, on the other hand, may lead to less trust and to alienation, and in the worst case radicalization and extremism. Bearing this in mind, it is essential to ensure that all people and especially the young can have the opportunity to be included in all societal arenas.

We live in challenging times with international conflict and war raging around us. Democratic values are under pressure. If we want to preserve, develop, and protect our democracies, the only solution is to ensure that we have committed democratic citizens who know their history and are aware of what can be at stake. Only by using the democratic tools that exist today – including the right to freedom of expression, the right to peaceful assembly, to education, information, and other human rights – can we keep our democracies alive. A thriving democracy is what is needed in times when people or groups are trying to undermine it.

## **Sources**

Arnesen, Daniel & Sivesind, Karl Henrik (2020). *Organisasjonslandskap i endring 2009–2019. Fra ideologisk samfunnsendring til individuell utfoldelse?* Institutt for samfunnsforskning.

Eia, H., Ihle. O-M. (2020). *Mysteriet Norge*. Strawberry publishing.

Norgeshistorie.no, Jan Eivind Myhre. *Organisasjonssamfunnet vokser frem*. <https://www.norgeshistorie.no/industrialisering-og-demokrati/1511-Organisasjonssamfunnet-vokser-fram.html> Downloaded June 5, 2023

Norwegian Agency for Public and Financial Management (2023). *Trust*. Downloaded 7.06.2023 <https://dfo.no/undersokelser/innbyggerundersokelsen-2021/tillit>

Stortingsmelding 10 (2018-2019). *Frivilligheita – sterk, sjølstendig, mangfaldig*. Kulturdepartementet.

Stray, Janicke Heldal, Sætra, Emil (2017). *Teaching for democracy: transformative learning theory mediating policy and practice*. Faculty of Religion and Education, MF Norwegian School of Theology, Oslo.

Stray, Janicke Heldal (2018). *Skole for demokrati? En diskusjon av betingelser for skolens demokratidannende funksjon*. *Utbildning og demokrati* 2018, vol 27, no. 1 (p. 99-113).

Vallier, Kevin (2019). *Social and Political Trust. Concepts, Causes, and Consequences*. Niskanen Center. [https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old\\_uploads/2019/05/Vallier-Social-and-Political-Trust-Niskanen](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/05/Vallier-Social-and-Political-Trust-Niskanen).

Statistisk Sentralbyrå (2019) (ENG: Statistics Norway). *Flere unge uføre – færre arbeider samtidig*. <https://www.ssb.no/sosiale-forhold-og-kriminalitet/artikler-og-publikasjoner/flere-unge-ufore-faerre-arbeider-samtidig> (2019) Downloaded 7 June 2023