Mechanisms of Persisting Inequality – Case Studies of Norwegian Daycare Facilities for Children

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Abstract: In this paper, we analyse mechanisms of exclusion in Norwegian daycare facilities for children ("Skolefritidsordning – SFOs), which provide after-school care. Such mechanisms are analysed and discussed as unanticipated consequences of reform policy initiatives or simply as accepted trade-offs left to the SFO staff's discretion. The data are taken from a re-analysis of a national evaluation of Norwegian SFOs. The results show several examples of new exclusion mechanisms occurring as old inequalities are addressed through social policy reforms. Examples from case studies are used to highlight and discuss the staff's reactions and actions when faced with dilemmas of meeting demands from the system while taking care of demands from the children.

Keywords: unanticipated consequences, reform policy initiatives, inequality, inclusion, exclusion

Introduction

Inequality in education is a persistent problem and remains a relevant topic for research. This also holds true for extended education provisions, as they are instrumental in fighting social and educational inequalities in many countries (Bae & Stecher, 2019). However, recent research (e. g. Entrich, 2021) points out that the relation between inequality and different forms of extended education is not straightforward, and empirical and theoretical clarifications are needed in order to shed light on the relation. In this article, we re-analyse a large qualitative dataset gathered as part of the results of a national evaluation of Norwegian daycare facilities for children (Skolefritidsordning – SFOs) (Wendelborg et al., 2018). Informed by the sociological concept of unintended consequences (Merton, 1936), we aim to identify how different mechanisms of exclusion work despite an inclusive mandate. The policies themselves, intended to result in more equality, create new divisions and demarcations instead, contributing to the subtle processes of exclusion of linguistically, culturally and socioeconomically diverse (LCSD) students in schools (Paniagua, 2017). For children, these subtle exclusions potentially mark them as visitors to the community of children in an SFO, not its members (Antia, Stinson, & Gaustad, 2002), leaving much work to the SFO staff to deal with the consequences. The main research questions addressed in this article are as follows:

1. Are there visible exclusion mechanisms in Norwegian SFOs?
2. Are there unintended consequences of the policy initiatives taken to deal with the exclusion mechanisms?
3. If so, how do the SFO staff deal with the unintended mechanisms of exclusion resulting from the policy initiatives?

https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v10i2.03

As we see it, Norwegian SFOs constitute an interesting case for addressing questions of inequality. The Norwegian education sector has long been given the responsibility for a large variety of tasks, of which promoting social equality and providing equal opportunity are two of the most important tasks, as stated in the Education Act (1998), as well as in government white papers and research for decades. However, Norwegian SFOs have been paid less attention although they are formally organised under the responsibility of school leaders and the municipality. Studying mechanisms of inequality in Norwegian SFOs not only adds to the empirical, international body of literature on inequality in extended education but also sheds light on extremely relevant policy issues when further developing the national educational system in Norway.

Norwegian Daycare Facilities for Children and the Inclusive Mandate

Norwegian SFOs were first established in the 1950s but were developed in their modern form in the late 1980s. An SFO provides school children in grades 1 to 4 with a place to stay before and after regular school hours, as the parents leave for work or other activities. In 1997, the starting age for compulsory school was lowered from seven to six years, creating an increased demand for providing care for the youngest school children. This was evident in the participation rates, which increased from about 50% of the first graders in 1999 to 82% in 2019–2020 and from 50% to 76% for the second graders (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2021b). For third and fourth grades, the increase was smaller, from 40% to 59% and from 25% to 31%, respectively. The growth highlights an SFO as now more or less part and parcel of the start of school for most children in Norway.

The law (the Education Act) obliges all municipalities to provide daycare facilities for children from first to fourth grade, but the curriculum content, organisational setup and staffing are left to the municipalities' discretion. Until the fall of 2021, there have been no national curriculum guidelines, and different municipalities have chosen different ideological directions for the content, on a continuum ranging from emphasising school preparation and support to emphasising children's autonomous decision making and play, by simply providing the children with a place to stay between the end of the school day and their parents' work day (Wendelborg et al., 2018). Furthermore, the cost of using the daycare facilities varies from 4250 NOK (slightly more than 400 euro) per month, 20 hours per week in one municipality, to nothing at all in another, with an average cost of 2263 NOK per month (230 euro).

There are neither national competence demands nor established educational programmes to qualify the staff for employment in Norwegian SFOs, although a degree in a vocational programme in Child Care and Youth Work (upper secondary school) is regarded as the preferred qualification in many municipalities. However, this group of vocational programme graduates only comprises one-third of the SFO staff. In 2018 a little less than 30% held different bachelor's degrees and national equivalents, but they did not necessarily have a pedagogical/educational background (Wendelborg et al., 2018).

Moreover, inclusion is listed as a fundamental principle of the Norwegian government's work to improve the educational system, together with early intervention and well-adapted provision (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019). The national framework plan for an SFO states:

> [An] SFO shall be aware that activities may lead to some children or groups being excluded due to, for example, finances, the need for special adaptations and linguistic or cultural differences. [An] SFO shall assess how the overall provision can be adapted to be as inclusive as possible. (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2021a, p. 14)

There are also high hopes for SFOs' potential contributions that will help overcome social differences. The framework plan states, "By giving children the opportunity to actively participate in play, cultural and leisure activities together with other children, [an] SFO can help to even out social differences" (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2021a, p. 20). The variations among municipalities represent a challenge to the principle of equal services and opportunities in the Norwegian welfare state model.

The variations in curriculum content, placement fees and service quality are differently addressed in various municipalities, and diverse local policy initiatives have been taken to address inequalities. These solutions can possibly bring new problems in terms of side effects that were either unanticipated or perhaps perceived as reasonable trade-offs between costs and benefits.

In the following sections, we first position our research in the broader literature on inequality in extended education before we turn to the data and methods used in our project. Our analyses highlight the mechanisms of inequality in Norwegian SFOs, the measures taken to remedy the inequality and the unintended consequences of the policy initiatives, as experienced by the staff. Finally, we discuss our findings' implications in light of our theoretical perspective and the presented research.

Previous Research on Inclusion, Exclusion and Extended Education

Research on extended education and social inequality focuses on different perspectives. Bae and Stecher (2019) discuss research on extended education as a whole and distinguish among an outcome perspective (questions about the effectiveness of learning opportunities outside regular classes), a participation perspective (questions regarding who are using these opportunities) and a professionalism perspective (focusing on who are working in the field and what training they have received). Furthermore, they distinguish between research focusing on the perspective of each participant (individual perspective) and on how to design the activities and programmes effectively (institutional perspective). Research on social inequality in extended education can be found, highlighting all these different areas. However, Bae and Stecher (2019) argue for the need to closely examine the societal function of extended education, pointing specifically to how extended education and social inequality are linked to each other.

In surveying the research on inequality in extended education, a multifaceted picture emerges, with large national variations due to structural idiosyncrasies, as well as a general trend of social inequality being mirrored or reproduced through extended education programmes. Fischer, Theis, and Zücher (2014) have studied the role of all-day schools in reducing educational inequality in Germany. Based on a nationwide survey, they argue that all-day schools may contribute to narrowing the gaps between children belonging to higher socioeconomic classes and those belonging to lower ones in terms of school performance and in terms of providing their parents with support in school-related topics. The authors also find

that participation in extracurricular activities increases among children with lower socioeconomic status when all-day schools are introduced. The study highlights the potential for increasing social equality through extended education efforts. However, such changes require policy decisions and implementation in the educational institutions.

However, a study conducted in the German-speaking part of Switzerland finds that the odds of utilising extended education offerings in all-day schools vary. Students with an immigrant background are more likely to benefit from extended education, and such probability also increases with higher socioeconomic status (Schupbach, von Allmen, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2017).

In their study of the learning environments in extended education in Sweden, Boström and Augustsson (2016) argue that there is a research gap in the staff's perceptions on how they can enforce policy document guidelines and that they are often left to interpret and implement such guidelines, without specific legal directives.[1] The authors also point to variations in the physical learning environments in Swedish extended education, again leading to inequality in learning opportunities for school children.

Based on Korean data, Bae, Cho, and Byun (2019) describe how different subgroups use different forms of extended education provisions. The authors argue that this differential use of extended education may be linked to social stratification and thus questions of inclusion and exclusion. Simply stated, those with better economic opportunities also gain access to potentially better programmes.

In a study carried out in Russia (Kosaretsky & Ivanov, 2019), the focus is also on access, and it is pointed out that access to and participation in extracurricular activities are related to the geographical–territorial context, the urban–rural dimension, as well as the families' socioeconomic status and cultural capital. It is further highlighted that despite state-policy efforts to increase participation across different socioeconomic backgrounds, there is still some ground to cover in terms of social differentiation and the risk of exclusion – a point directly relevant to the research presented in this article.

On a similar note, Matsuoka (2018) points out that in the egalitarian Japanese school system, the interaction between the expectations of families with high socioeconomic status and the neighbourhood effects leads to differentiation in participation in out-of-school programmes (shadow education). The author further notes that in egalitarian educational systems, mechanisms of exclusion and differentiation are harder to identify, and calls for policy interventions regarding unequal learning opportunities, especially related to neighbourhood differences. However, since inequality in extended education seems to be a persistent global phenomenon, occurring in all contextual and regional settings, more in-depth empirical analyses of the mechanisms of exclusion, as well as research that can theoretically shed light on the relation between extended education and inequality, have been called for (Entrich, 2021).

1 The idea of "implementation" of policy in education is in itself also problematic and often contested (see, e. g., Priestley et al., 2021).

Unintended and Intended Mechanisms of Exclusion

As stated in the introduction, in this article, we focus on the consequences of Norwegian education policies intended to promote social inclusion and equality, as well as why inequality and exclusion still seem to be persisting problems.

The term *unintended consequences* is often used in descriptions of the effects of policy (de Zwart, 2015), and it has been pointed out that "government regulation that is amply justified in principle may go terribly wrong in practice" (Sunstein, 1994, p. 1390). To map out what unintended consequences can entail, we turn to the sociological concept of unanticipated consequences of social action (Merton, 1936). Merton describes five factors leading to unanticipated consequences, and although his research focuses on the individual consequences of actions, the factors also have some relevance for studies on public policies.

The first factor is inadequate knowledge, which is linked to not only the large amount of knowledge needed to make decisions with high precision but also to a more technical point about how to approach the concept of causality in social sciences.

Second, we often make wrong predictions of actions, and these errors are often based on the assumption that actions in the past that have led to desired outcomes will continue to do so in the future. Merton (1936) refers to this as "fixed in the mechanism of habit" (p. 901). Third, he points to the fact that immediate interests often override long-term interests, which he describes as "the imperious immediacy of interest" (p. 901). Fourth, Merton argues that our basic values may require or give way to specific kinds of actions even though the long-term results may be different from what we want. Our values may leave us blind to alternatives, as we make no considerations of further consequences. Finally, Merton points out that in social sciences, the knowledge or fear of the consequences might have an impact on the action taken to such an extent that the consequences would not occur at all.

Merton's (1936) ideas and concepts have been developed further by many scholars. Especially the sociologist Raymond Boudon (1982) builds explicitly on Merton's ideas but focuses more on large-scale economic effects, as well as how "infinitesimal individual influences generate a social effect" (p. 1) and how individual responses to public policies result in unintended consequences. Boudon devotes most of the discussion to perverse effects, meaning that negative outcomes occur despite the positive intentions behind the initial action. Merton's unanticipated consequences comprise a subgroup of perverse effects, in Boudon's terminology. However, a distinction between perverse effects and unintended consequences is that perverse effects are not necessarily unforeseen. They are just different from the actors' main intentions. Boudon points out that the effects that the actors did not explicitly intend "may be positive, negative, or positive and negative at the same time, for some or for all, and that, besides this, the actors (all or some of them) may or may not attain their objectives" (p. 8).

The difference between Boudon's (1982) use and understanding of unintended consequences and his teacher Merton's (1936) use is interesting, as it lends weight to speculations about whether or not outcomes are really unanticipated or whether they can be described as perverse but expected consequences or even trade-offs between desired outcomes and available resources. In education policy (and this probably holds true for all policies), it has been argued that there is often a necessary trade-off between costs and effects of measures and actions taken (e. g., Gustafsson, 2003), which may lead to policy options that are not necessarily the most effective or even bring perverse effects. Relating back to the international research literature's focus on why inequality in extended education programmes still exists,

we argue that a close examination of how policy is dealt with on the ground level is necessary to promote a more profound understanding of the mechanisms of inequality.

When professionals in SFOs work within the structural frames of local and national policies, the available resources and the demands that they face in their day-to-day tasks, they bring with them their knowledge, experiences, values and attitudes and try to make the best of the situations that they encounter (Freidson, 2001; Lipsky, 2010). However, these actions may also produce unintended consequences and even perverse effects, despite their good intentions.

Methods

In this article, we elaborate on and re-analyse the findings obtained from the national evaluation of the Norwegian SFOs, carried out in collaboration between NTNU Social Research in Trondheim, Norway, and the University of Stockholm, Sweden, in 2017–2018 (Wendelborg et al., 2018).

More specifically, we draw on data from ten case studies about SFOs. At each institution, the researchers participated in the children's daily activities for a full day. In total, the researchers conducted 50 staff interviews, each with 2–6 participants, as well as individual interviews with leaders and 4–5 parents at each institution. The researchers also held informal interviews with the staff and some parents, and of course, with the children, providing context and understanding. All interviews and case visits (except one) were done by two collaborating researchers, who also shared and validated each other's note afterwards. The interviews were recorded. In their observations or informal talks, the researchers had to rely on their notes and case profiles that were written immediately afterwards and validated between them.

The theme for this article, exclusion mechanisms, was discovered through inductive data analysis (e.g., Creswell, 2007). The researchers wrote extensive case profiles for the evaluation and discussed the data together. By working on the case profiles, they discovered how unintended exclusion mechanisms emerged as a relevant topic from the data. The topic was mentioned but not elaborated in the evaluation (Wendelborg et al., 2018).

For this paper, the researchers reviewed the exclusion mechanisms to explore them further. Food, cost and access formed relevant categories. Validity standards in qualitative research have been debated by many scholars, and as pointed out by Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle (2001), the issue creates "the necessity to incorporate rigor and subjectivity as well as creativity in the scientific process" (p. 522). This is the case for this analysis as well. It is important to state that the categories serve as examples, but there could very well be (and certainly are) other mechanisms functioning. Our presentation is based on the cases that illustrate our main findings on these categories emerging from the data. The selected quotations were transcribed and cited verbatim, translated from Norwegian to English for this article.

In the following sections, we focus on describing the inequalities and the consequences of trying to remedy the inequalities. We then discuss the implications with relevance to the theoretical framework and the research literature presented earlier.

Unanticipated Exclusion Mechanisms in Norwegian SFOs

Meals in SFOs

One unintended exclusion process is related to food and meals. In the particular case presented in the following sections, the consequences of the policy under implementation are clearly foreseen. Nevertheless, the policy is still implemented, hoping for the best outcomes, and trust in the staff's competence and compassion seems to be the solution when perverse effects are encountered.

The SFOs are not required to provide meals for the children, but most do, although these meals vary greatly, ranging from instant soups in disposable cups to full meals prepared by hired chefs. The costs are paid for the parents but should only cover direct costs.

In one of the municipalities that we visited, ensuring inclusion and alleviating child poverty have long been action items on the local government's agenda, and the SFO has been provided free of charge for all families whose incomes are less than 46,000 euro per year.[2] For those earning higher incomes than this amount, a full-time placement for each child costs about 300 euro per month. According to one project leader responsible for implementing the municipal policy changes, the SFO was now regarded as a central element in realising the goals of inclusion and decreasing inequalities, the idea being that those children who were not placed in the SFO were the ones who would benefit the most from it. "If we use the money now, we will save money in the long run" was a statement repeated by many of the interviewees throughout the municipality.

One element of this new policy was providing food in the SFO. Previously, two schools in the same municipality had tried serving free warm meals twice a week and free sandwiches on the other three school days, with positive feedback from the children and their parents. These two schools had also tried offering free placements for all children, which of course meant that all participation was free for all. However, when extending the food policy to all schools, it was considered too expensive, and it was decided that everyone who wanted food would be required to pay 15 euro per month. The food was restricted to sandwiches. Those who did not pay would not receive any food.

The case of the differentiated food arrangement showed how the staff practised discretionary decision making. The project coordinator pointed out that such a differentiated arrangement would require a lot of organising, and which children received food and which ones were not given food would be obvious. The outcome could very well be more visible exclusion compared with the previous situation and be counterproductive to the overall goal of social inclusion. The project leader argued on this point in the following way:

> The decided policy is that all wanting food should pay for it. I can, of course, have my own opinion about this. The dilemma is that we do not want parents choosing that their children do not participate in the SFO… so ideally, everyone should choose to pay for food. But if in the fall [when the arrangements are implemented], we find that some children do not bring any food, and this is repeated every day, I have told the staff that we should follow our hearts and make sure the children are fed. And then we must address the parents and encourage them to pay for the food. And if they cannot afford it or won't pay, we must address the politicians and try to change the system. But for now, we stick to our guidelines. (Project leader in the SFO)

2 The median income for a Norwegian household in 2017 was 51,000 euro per year, according to Statistics Norway (2022).

Even though the rules are seemingly clear that all who want food should pay for it, the staff deviates from this, following their hearts. Interestingly, this is still perceived as "sticking to the guidelines" – suggesting the discretionary space as somewhat larger than "just" the guidelines, extended by the staff's competence. When interviewing the staff, they also acknowledged the upcoming dilemma.

> We're talking about 15 euro a month. But some parents do not have 15 euro extra at the end of the month. There are a number of factors combined here. It will be very interesting to see how this plays out. Because the children [in the two schools receiving food for free] are really enjoying it, and they want to continue. (SFO staff member)

The arrangement and the preceding quotes highlight the dilemma faced by the staff when new policies are introduced. In this particular case, potential negative effects are foreseen, but the policy is still implemented, with high hopes for the competence and especially the warm hearts of the staff. However, as shown in the next example, related to access and participation, a warm heart does not guarantee that commitment to the children's best interest will be the outcome.

Cost and Access

The most visible exclusion mechanism in the Norwegian SFOs is the cost, that is, the price paid for placement. As indicated in the introduction, the price varies greatly among municipalities (Figure 1). This means that adjacent municipalities may have highly different costs. For instance, the municipality of Sunndal, located in Central Norway, charges 95 euro per month for 20 hours per week, while the adjacent municipality of Oppdal charges almost 250 euro per month. Whether this variation is regarded as problematic surely depends on political and ideological viewpoints and is also related to the curriculum content and plans for the daycare facilities. However, it seems obvious that high costs create hindrances to participation. To remedy this, municipalities have developed different moderation strategies.

In some larger cities (which also function as municipalities), free places have been allocated to specific schools and school districts. These are characterised by a large number of low-income families, which is also closely correlated to a high percentage of minorities. However, school districts are somewhat arbitrary and often divide neighbourhoods, quarters and even streets, implying that children with similar or the same socio-demographic characteristics belong to different schools. In Figure 2, the district borders separating Lilleby, Lade and Strindheim in Trondheim (Norway's third most populous municipality/city) are shown on the left, and a close-up of a section of the border between Lilleby and Strindheim is shown on the right. Lilleby has free part-time places for all students from first to fourth grade, while Strindheim charges about 190 euro per month for a part-time place (<12 hours a week). Per year, this equals a difference of 2090 euro (payment for 11 months) within the same municipality, and it also depends on the side of the street where a child lives. Thus, the aim to remedy the socio-demographic inequality mechanisms with pinpointed policy measures creates new socio-demographic divisions within neighbourhoods.

Another unanticipated consequence of the policy of providing free part-time places for specific schools is that divisions are created within schools. However, the free part is typically limited to less than 10–12 hours per week. The staff report that some parents do not pick up their children at the end of the regular school day (typically up to 20 hours per week). This

Figure 1. Monthly Cost of SFO Placement for 20 Hours a Week (in euro) in All Norwegian Municipalities. (Taken from the national information on primary and secondary schools (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2021b).

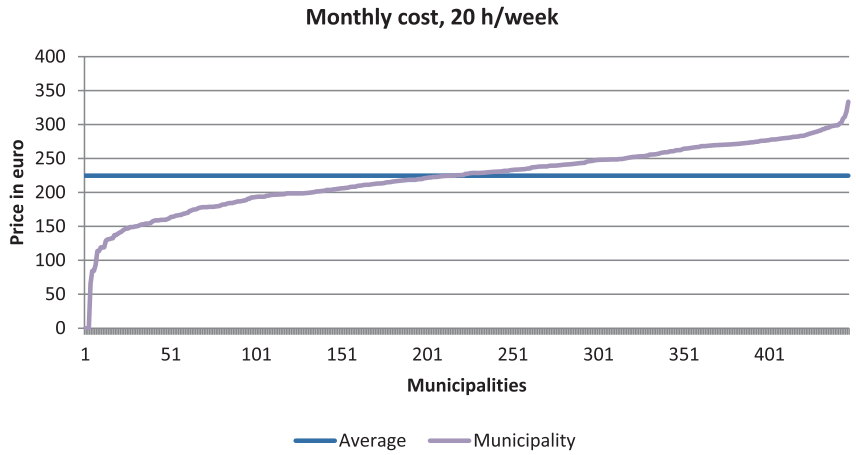

Figure 2. School District Borders Separating Lilleby, Lade and Strindheim in Trondheim, Norway (left); Close-Up of Borders between Lilleby and Strindheim School Districts (right).

creates a challenging dilemma for the staff. Should they send the children outside, knowing that they will linger in the school yard until the end of the day, or should they defy the system and allow the children to participate in the activities, without their parents having paid for participation? It could be argued that the SFO staff are put in a situation where they need to choose between loyalty to the system and caring for the children.

One SFO leader in one of the municipalities describes the situation in this way:

> We notice at half past three, when their free hours at SFO come to an end, some children are not picked up. Then the parents try to find solutions, saying, "Just send him out; let him wait outside," but then, the staff are competent, and one says, "When I left at four o'clock, the child was still sitting there, waiting." Then, after a while, we call their parents, since we are concerned about how well the children are taken care of. (SFO leader)

A number of interesting issues surface from this quote: (1) The problem is acknowledged. It is problematic that some children are not picked up, and the staff have to find a solution to this. (2) The staff are described as competent, even though (3) they are seemingly more loyal to the system and send the children outside. (4) They handle the problem by addressing the parents,

not the system. The consequences of the implemented policy, which is originally designed to increase social equality, creates new, visible and tangible social divisions between the children.

Mechanisms of Exclusion

The case studies highlight examples of exclusion mechanisms occurring after policy initiatives have been implemented. The first case, where access to food is prioritised, shows that policies tend to rely on the warm hearts and competence of the staff carrying out the policy in the institutions. In other words, to make the policies inclusive in practice, the policy initiatives rely on the staff's discretion.

The second case, focusing on access, clearly shows that the staff follow the clear rule of sending the excluded children outside. The discretionary acts intended to rely on warm hearts and competence are overruled by the external factors in the decision-making process.

Both the policy reforms and the responses to the policies can be analysed with reference to Merton's (1936) list of the five factors leading to unanticipated consequences. To recapitulate, the five factors are inadequate knowledge, wrong predictions of actions, being fixed in the mechanism of habit, immediate interests that often override long-term interests, values that may leave people blind to alternatives, and knowledge or fear of the consequences that may have an impact on the action taken to such an extent that the consequences do not occur at all. The last point seems to be a central element when planning reforms. The example concerning food, where knowledge of potential consequences is left to the "warm hearts" of the staff to handle, illustrates that this is at least an element that is more or less taken for granted.

However, it could also be argued that reforms based on inadequate knowledge and wrong predictions of actions are not rare. The policy reforms are often chosen because they fall into a pattern of how problems are normally solved (*fixed in the mechanism of habit)*, and immediate interests often override long-term interests. One reason for this may be that values leave those who develop policies blind to other alternatives. For instance, this could correspond to political/ideological demarcations, where targeted versus universal policies are valued differently in different political parties. As such, policy reforms are formed in a distinct political landscape. In Norway, as SFOs are left to the control of municipalities, this opens a multitude of idiosyncratic solutions in different municipalities.

Although we lack direct data on the SFO staff's considerations and judgements when dealing with challenging situations, it seems likely that they sometimes choose the easy way out by adhering to the demands of the policy reforms (sending children outside) rather than choosing a line of inclusion by addressing the system instead. One way to explain this could be that they prioritise immediate interests over long-term interests – it is easier to comply with the rules and quickly solve the situation than start a longer process of opposition. However, it may also be that their actions are formed by inadequate knowledge – they are not tuned in to the consequences in terms of social exclusion resulting from their actions. In this light, professionalisation through a systematic pursuit of epistemic and ethical reflections and competence will enable the staff in general to make better judgements in difficult situations.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed and shown how social inequality in SFOs may occur as consequences of social policies that were originally intended to reduce social inequality. Relating back to the international research literature, it has pointed out that inequality in extended education is a persistent phenomenon, despite policy efforts aiming to reduce inequality. Entrich (2021) emphasises the need for new explanations concerning the relation between extended education and inequality. We would argue that a viable way forward to clarify this matter is to conduct detailed studies of the mechanisms playing out in daily life in different forms and types of extended education. Much of the research on inequality in extended education is focused on different forms of shadow education from an outcome and participation perspective (Bae & Stecher, 2019) The overall mechanism in play is in most cases restricted to the question of access and focused on outcomes. However, our findings highlight the need for research focusing on the *nexus* of professionalism, participation and outcomes, as well as the need to study this in various forms of extended education provisions.

Inequality in education, including extended education, is not static but created and maintained through individual social actions within organisational–political boundaries, with all their intended and unintended social consequences. Hopefully, this paper contributes to a more informed understanding of how social inequality is maintained but may be remedied. In this study, we have illustrated examples of exclusion mechanisms, but as mentioned in the Methods section, there could very well be other mechanisms in operation. We also need more knowledge on the number of policies to which these mechanisms apply, and how many are affected. More extensive research is needed on other possible exclusion mechanisms, as well as their extent on a national scale.

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