

THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH FOR ACADEMIC COMMUNICATION IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

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Abstract – This article discusses the danger of subtractive English in higher education in Norway. If the use of a mother tongue as the medium of communication at the highest academic levels ceases, is drastically reduced and replaced through the use of a foreign tongue, we may speak of subtractive learning. If the mother tongue is being replaced by a foreign tongue in academic writing, in research and university level teaching, the mother tongue will stagnate. The vocabulary needed has not been allowed to develop at the highest academic level. The author maintains that the Norwegian language is threatened as an academic language and here discusses the following five phenomena, all contributing to this threat:

1. The increasing use of English words in Norwegian academic, bureaucratic or technological language.
2. The sale of more academic literature in English and stagnation of academic literature in Norwegian.
3. The recruitment of teaching staff who do not speak Norwegian.
4. The growth in Master degree courses taught in English.
5. The financial rewards being given to academic staff publishing in an international language (read: English) instead of in the mother tongue.

Zusammenfassung – Dieser Artikel handelt von der Gefahr des subtraktiven Englisch in der Hochschulbildung in Norwegen. Substraktives Lernen bedeutet die drastische Reduzierung und Ersetzung der Muttersprache als Kommunikationsmittel in höchsten akademischen Kreisen durch ausländische Sprachen. Wenn eine Muttersprache in akademischen Schriften, Forschung und Unterricht an Universitäten durch eine ausländische Sprache ersetzt wird, führt dies zu einer Stagnation in der Muttersprache. Die Entwicklung des notwendigen Vokabulars auf höchster akademischer Ebene wird unterbunden. Die Autorin behauptet, daß Norwegisch als akademische Sprache bedroht ist und stellt die folgenden fünf Phänomene, die zu dieser Bedrohung beitragen, zur Diskussion:

1. Die wachsende Anwendung englischer Worte in norwegischer akademischer, bürokratischer und technischer Sprache.
2. Der Verkauf vermehrter akademischer Literatur in Englisch und Stagnierung akademischer Literatur in Norwegisch.
3. Rekrutierung von nicht-norwegischsprachigem Lehrpersonal.
4. Wachsende Anzahl von in Englisch unterrichteten Magisterkursen.
5. Finanzielle Zuwendungen für akademisches Personal, das in einer internationalen Sprache (sprich: Englisch) anstelle der Muttersprache Publikationen herausgibt.

Résumé – Cette contribution analyse le danger de l'effet réducteur de l'utilisation de l'anglais dans l'enseignement supérieur en Norvège. Si l'usage de la langue maternelle comme moyen de communication aux plus hauts niveaux universitaires est fortement réduit ou abandonné et remplacé par celui d'une langue étrangère, il convient alors de parler d'apprentissage réducteur. Si une langue maternelle est supplantée par une langue étrangère dans la rédaction universitaire, dans la recherche et l'enseigne-



ment de niveau supérieur, la langue maternelle entrera dans un état de stagnation. Le vocabulaire nécessaire n'a pas l'opportunité d'évoluer au niveau académique supérieur. L'auteure soutient que la langue norvégienne est menacée en tant que langue académique et présente ici les cinq phénomènes qui contribuent à cette menace:

1. L'usage croissant de termes anglais dans la langue norvégienne universitaire, bureaucratique et technologique.
2. La vente accrue d'écrits universitaires en anglais et la stagnation de la littérature rédigée en norvégien.
3. Le recrutement de personnels enseignants ne parlant pas le norvégien.
4. La multiplication des cours au niveau de la licence dispensés en anglais.
5. Les gratifications financières décernées au personnel universitaire qui publie dans une langue internationale (c'est-à-dire l'anglais) au lieu d'utiliser sa langue maternelle.

Resumen – Este artículo discute el peligro que reviste el inglés substractivo en la educación superior de Noruega. Cuando cesa el uso de una lengua materna como medio de comunicación en los niveles académicos superiores, cuando la lengua materna se ve drásticamente reducida y reemplazada por el uso de una lengua foránea, nos encontramos ante un aprendizaje substractivo. Si la lengua materna se reemplaza por una lengua extranjera en los escritos académicos, en la investigación y en la docencia de nivel universitario, la lengua materna se estancará, puesto que el vocabulario necesario no se ha podido desarrollar hasta los niveles académicos más altos. La autora sostiene que la lengua noruega está amenazada de extinción como lengua académica, y en este sentido trata los siguientes cinco fenómenos, todos ellos coadyuvantes de esta amenaza:

1. El creciente uso de vocablos ingleses en el lenguaje noruego académico, burocrático y tecnológico.
2. La venta en aumento de literatura académica en inglés y el estancamiento de literatura académica en noruego.
3. El reclutamiento de equipos docentes que no hablan el noruego.
4. El aumento de cursos impartidos en inglés para obtener el título Master.
5. Los premios financieros que se otorgan a los equipos académicos que publican en una lengua internacional (es decir, en inglés) en lugar de su lengua materna.

Резюме – В данной статье обсуждается опасность доминирования английского языка в высшем образовании в Норвегии. Если использование родного языка как средства коммуникации на самом высоком академическом уровне прекращается, резко снижается и замещается использованием иностранного языка, то здесь мы можем говорить о неполном обучении. Если родной язык заменяется иностранным языком в академических трудах, исследованиях и преподавании на университетском уровне, тогда родной язык будет находиться в застое. Необходимый словарный запас не получил разрешения на развитие на высшем академическом уровне. Автор статьи утверждает, что норвежский как академический язык находится под угрозой, чему способствуют следующие пять феноменов:

1. Увеличивающееся использование английских слов в норвежском академическом, бюрократическом и техническом языках;

2. Продажа большего количества академической литературы на английском языке и застой академической литературы на норвежском языке;
3. Формирование преподавательских кадров, не владеющих норвежским языком;
4. Рост курсов магистерской степени, преподающихся на английском языке;
5. Финансовые вознаграждения, выдающиеся ученым, публикующимся на международном языке (следует читать: на английском языке) вместо родного языка.

Language policy in Norway

According to the latest key data on education issued by the European Union Norway is the only one of the five Nordic countries that does not have a second foreign language as a compulsory subject in the last three years of the ten years of compulsory schooling (European Communities 1997). This may stem from the fact that Norway with just 4 million inhabitants has two official written languages which both, though they are very similar, are compulsory subjects in lower as well as upper secondary school.

In his book on Norwegian and international education Alfred Oftedal Telhaug (1992) maintains that in Norway the educational system has been constructed as a consequence of Norwegian nation building. As an example he mentions the fact that already in 1869 the Norwegian Parliament decided to abolish the study of Latin as a prerequisite for studying at the University of Oslo. This decision put higher education in Norway in a special position compared to the rest of Europe at the time. An even clearer example of the use of the educational system in nation building Telhaug (1992: 193) finds in the fact that:

In a country with a population corresponding to a larger city in many countries all children in primary school have to learn to read and write two mother tongues

In the upper secondary school another foreign language besides English is also compulsory in Norwegian schools. Youngsters mainly choose between French and German though in some schools they may also choose Spanish or Russian. I have elsewhere (Brock-Utne 1997, 2000a) mentioned that when I went to secondary school one other foreign language was compulsory in the lower secondary school and two other foreign languages apart from English were compulsory in the upper secondary school. But we did not start as early with English as youngsters do now and we did not have as many lessons. I claim that the growth of English, at least in Norway, has been to the detriment of Norwegian youngsters learning other European languages.

While Norwegian, Danish and Swedish are so closely related that speakers of these languages understand each other without much problem, Finnish belongs to a totally different language group. Swedish is a compulsory subject in Finnish schools which helps strengthening a Nordic identity. There is, however, a clear tendency that the growth of English among the younger generation in Finland has been to the detriment of Swedish. Many of the Scandinavians have experienced that in Nordic meetings where older Finnish academics participate we are able to use Scandinavian languages which means that Swedes, Norwegians and Danes can use their mother tongues while the Finns use Swedish. When younger Finnish academics participate, however, they will insist on using English, claiming that their English is so much better than their Swedish. This means that the language of communication in the meeting will be English instead of Scandinavian tongues.

Apart from the fact that the growth of English in several countries means less emphasis on other European languages it may also, if the trend continues and accelerates, threaten the existence of the Nordic languages as academic languages.

I have elsewhere (Brock-Utne 1993, 1997, 2000b) shown how the building down of the state and the liberalisation of the economy in many of the African states over the last years have led to the former colonial languages being strengthened within African intellectual life. The strengthened position of English seems congruent with the success of capitalism and market-economy. It can be felt also in the Nordic countries.

In an OECD publication on higher education in Finland the Finns are praised for their increased teaching through the medium of English at universities and even in polytechnics.

Foreign-language instruction has got under way quickly at the polytechnics. Three programmes were taught entirely in English during the academic year 1993–94 (OECD 1995a: 11).

In another OECD publication from the same year we read that during the last few decades English has acquired the status of main foreign language in Sweden. This publication looks at the growth of English, even as a language of instruction, without any hesitation:

An interesting way of strengthening language training is to use foreign languages as the means of instruction in other subjects. Experiments of this kind, for natural reasons still limited to English, are going on in a number of upper secondary schools. So far, results have been positive . . . The requirement that regular courses, perhaps even full programmes, should be arranged with English or another foreign language as the language of instruction is even more relevant at the level of higher education (OECD 1995b: 144).

The main reason given in this publication for the introduction of English as the language of instruction in upper secondary and higher education has to do with the movement of people across countries. It is claimed that in order

to interest prospective ERASMUS partners to come to Sweden courses in English have to be offered. It is admitted in the publication that the dominance of English as the language of instruction may be a problem: "Although there is a certain amount of instruction in English, there is not much readiness to extend this to other languages" (OECD 1995b: 144). The assertion that there is little readiness to teach in other foreign languages than English is certainly an understatement.

Many of us who teach in Nordic universities have seen that during the span of the last generation it has become near to impossible to suggest as required or recommended readings texts in German and French to our students. When German and French professors give lectures at our university they shall have to do so in English.

Nowhere in this OECD publication does one, however, ask what the growth of English as the language of instruction will do to the Swedish language as an academic language.

It would be interesting to make a study of the growth of English in academic writing and as required readings in Norway during the last thirty years. When I took my advanced degree (hovedfag)¹ in education at the University of Oslo in 1965 except for one text-book in Swedish all of our text-books were in English, written in the United States. But all the teaching was in Norwegian and all of the students wrote their thesis in Norwegian. In the years that followed more and more of the required readings were in Norwegian or Danish. During the last years we can see a trend moving back to readings in English, some students writing their thesis in English, and some teaching in English, not only at Master level, and mainly for foreign students, but also at bachelor level mainly for Norwegian students is going on. At the Institute of Psychology at the University of Oslo all of the required readings at the bachelor level are in English.

Twelve years ago the then Vice Chancellor at the University of Bergen, the late Magne Lerheim, said that in ten years time no "hovedfag" thesis at the University of Bergen would be written in Norwegian any more. Such a development Magne Lerheim, who himself spoke "new Norwegian" (the Norwegian built on rural dialects), to my surprise did not seem to deplore. His dismal prophecy was fortunately wrong.

The danger of subtractive English in higher education

In an article on what has traditionally characterised Norwegian education Jon Lauglo (1995) holds that teachers have been taught to respect the mother tongue of their pupils. As early as in 1885, at a time when British and French school-children ran a risk of corporal punishment for using a local dialect in school, Norwegian teachers were asked to adjust *their* language to the language of their *pupils*. They were told not to correct the local dialect spoken by their pupils.

If students apart from being able to discuss professional matters in their own mother tongues in addition also learn to discuss such matters in other tongues, they are getting a valuable and additional linguistic competence. If that other language is English, we may say that students have acquired “*additive English*”. This is a desired state and in clear contrast to acquiring “*subtractive English*” – where English is learned *at the expense* – of the mother tongues, not in addition to them. Subtractive English kills other languages. If the use of a mother tongue as the medium of communication at the highest academic levels ceases, is drastically reduced and replaced through the use of a foreign tongue, we may speak of subtractive learning. If the mother tongue is being replaced by a foreign tongue in academic writing, in research and university level teaching, the mother tongue will stagnate. We may reach a situation which I have often encountered when listening to Tanzanian colleagues discussing academic matters in Kiswahili. When they reach a certain point in the conversation the number of English words increases or they often switch completely to English. The vocabulary they need has not been allowed to develop at the highest academic level.²

There is a clear tendency that we are moving in this direction in Norway at the moment. We shall here look at the following five phenomena, all contributing to this tendency:

- The increasing use of English words in Norwegian academic, bureaucratic or technological language.
- The sale of more academic literature in English and stagnation of academic literature in Norwegian.
- The recruitment of teaching staff who don’t speak Norwegian.
- The growth in Master degree courses taught in English.
- The financial rewards being given to academic staff publishing in an international language (read: English) versus in mother tongue.

The increasing use of English words in Norwegian academic, bureaucratic or technological language

There is a clear tendency that recent phenomena are introduced into Norwegian with their English names. Often no substitutes are found and the English words continue to be used, often even with their original pronunciation. Words like “pace-maker” and “food-processor” are being used in Norwegian without any attempt of Norwegianizing the words or trying to make up words built on Norwegian roots. In bureaucratic papers from our development agency we may constantly run across English words like “pipeline” in Norwegian texts. Academics are the ones who are most to blame for this development. It is for instance possible within the new computer terminology to find Norwegian words for most phenomena.

A computer scientist who was good at this was the late Bjørn Kirkerud, professor of computer science at the University of Oslo. He wrote a Norwegian

text-book which has been of great use for Norwegian students in computer science, making this difficult subject easier for them to grasp (Kirkerud 1985). I remember one day when I said to him that I had to have a new “printer” – using the English word in my otherwise Norwegian sentence – that he said: “Are you unable to speak Norwegian?”. He made me aware of the fact that we have the good Norwegian word “skriver” and there is no need to use the English “printer”. Likewise he would talk about “e-post” and “data-maskin” when most Norwegian academics speak of e-mail and PC.

There are not many Norwegian university professors who are of so much help for the development of scientific vocabulary in Norwegian as the Icelandic university lecturers are (see Holmarsdóttir's article in this issue). The development of new words is very characteristic of the Icelandic language policy. In Icelandic the word “computer” is translated into *tölva*, made-up of *tala*, plural *tölur* (number), and *völva* (fortune-teller). It seemed to the Icelanders as though the first computers had some sort of supernatural ability to calculate. E-mail is called *tölvupóstur*, made-up of *tölva* (computer) and *post* (mail). The professors in various departments at the University of Iceland contribute a lot to the development of the Icelandic language. For example, in the Department of Humanities the professors and lecturers in statistics have developed new words for various statistical terms and have produced dictionaries for use by their students. Holmarsdóttir (2001) shows in her article in this issue that it is particularly the use of the Icelandic language in higher education that helps it grow and develop.

She tells how the Icelanders have led a successful battle against Microsoft to be allowed to translate Windows into Icelandic. A similar battle is now being fought by the Norwegians to be allowed to translate Windows into the smallest of the two written Norwegian languages, namely the one known as “Nynorsk” or “Landsmål”. Currently, Microsoft is refusing to translate among other things Windows into this language arguing also here that the market is too small. According to Holmarsdóttir in this issue the Norwegian Language Council sometime in 2001 will demand that Microsoft not only translate Windows into “Nynorsk” but also the most commonly used software programs such as Excel, Access, Power Point and Word. This is necessary since 117 of the 435 municipalities in Norway have chosen “Nynorsk” as their language of administration, and thus the need for computer programs in this language is essential (Grepstad 1999). Small language groups such as the “Nynorsk” and Icelandic language communities cannot allow multinational companies such as Microsoft to dictate language policy, which have consequences for the future survival of these languages.

The sale of more academic literature in English and stagnation of academic literature in Norwegian

From 1992 until 1997 the sale in Norway of imported academic literature written in English rose from 150 million to 200 million Norwegian kroner. The great bulk of this literature was used as required and recommended reading at our universities and colleges. Statistics from Norwegian publishers show that the sale of academic literature written in Norwegian stagnated completely in the same period of time. The number of students rose from 105,000 in 1987 to 173,000 in 1997.

On Tuesday the 4th of August 1998 representatives from the Norwegian Non-fiction Writers and Translators Association, the Norwegian Association of Publishers, the Norwegian Language Council and the Text book forum for Higher Education had a meeting with the then Minister of Education Jon Lilletun and the rest of the political leadership of the Ministry of Church, Education and Research. The Minister wanted to discuss the conditions for Norwegian text-books to be used in higher education, at the universities and colleges in Norway. The Minister got a thorough description of a development which shows that the market for required texts written in Norwegian and to be used in Norwegian higher education is clearly shrinking. Academic literature written in English replaces academic literature written in Norwegian at a high pace. The amount of copying of academic literature written in English is also alarming.

At the meeting representatives from the Norwegian Non-fiction Writers and Translators Association, the Norwegian Association of Publishers, the Norwegian Language Council and the Norwegian Students' Union handed over a letter to Minister Lilletun. A couple of paragraphs from this letter are cited below:

The ever-growing dominance of academic literature written in English and being used in Norwegian universities and colleges leads to Norwegian students becoming less able to express themselves in Norwegian, both in oral and in written form.

The bulk of the students will later function in the Norwegian society and give service to Norwegian citizens. Another important point concerns the fact that the text-books written in English refer to a British or American reality which in many subjects is far from Norwegian reality. Norwegian students ought to meet life through the Norwegian language and through examples taken from Norwegian reality.

... Linguists point to the fact that reading text-books in English may lead to weak acquisition of academic knowledge. One learns best in one's mother tongue. The practice of using a foreign language to acquire knowledge results in students finding their studies unnecessarily difficult. Some students will then drop out and for those who continue, their results will not be as good as they would have been had they used their own language. It is an important part of the professional development of students that they are encouraged to develop language tools to be used in their professional fields (Andreassen 1998: 3).³

The recruitment of teaching staff who do not speak Norwegian

The latter part of the 1990ies in Norway witnessed a new practice in the recruitment of academic personnel to teach in our universities and colleges.

As part of the so-called “internationalisation” of the colleges and universities in Norway academic teaching posts are now being advertised internationally, often posted on a web-site. Everybody who considers her or himself qualified for the post may apply. The law of Norwegian universities and colleges states, however, clearly that the language of instruction in higher education in Norway is Norwegian. So is the language in which tutorials are conducted, exams written and meetings held. Yet when posts are advertised externally, it is often not mentioned that a working knowledge of Norwegian is a prerequisite for applying for the job.

Last year I was the Head of an evaluation committee with the job of evaluating 17 applicants who had applied for a tenured professorship in development education at one of our Teacher Colleges. Nine of the applicants did not command any Scandinavian language. This prerequisite had not been mentioned for the applicants. Neither had a provision been made that a qualified applicant could for instance be given two or three years in which to learn Norwegian well enough to be able to teach in the language before tenure would be given. There are already examples from one Norwegian university where a British professor still after several years in Norway could not use Norwegian for teaching, tutorials and exam purposes. We were asked whether we in our Master course, which is conducted in English, could use him for exam purposes. This we could not do since he does not command our field of study. It is not possible to function adequately as a professor in a Norwegian university without knowing Norwegian since all communication is in Norwegian. Not knowing the language means either not being able to participate in important meetings or forcing everybody in the meeting to speak a foreign tongue - in this case English.

The fact that applicants who do not command Norwegian apply for jobs at our universities and colleges also means that all the members of the evaluation committees shall have to write the evaluation of the applicants in English even if all committee members are Norwegian. In a recent evaluation committee of which I was a member this fact caused considerable discussion. One of the committee members held that if a person applied for a post at a Norwegian university s/he should expect to get the evaluation from the evaluation committee in Norwegian since that is the language of administration at our universities.

The growth in Master degree courses taught in English

Another recent development in Norway, and even more so in some other Nordic countries, is the growth in Master degree courses taught in English. I

am at the moment the professional leader of such a course myself.⁴ Most of these courses, like the one I teach, recruit primarily foreign students, mostly from developing countries and eastern Europe but also from other Nordic countries (through NORDPLUS) and western Europe (through ERASMUS). Some few internationally oriented Norwegian students (we have limited the number of Norwegian students to 25% of the student body in the Master courses) also participate in the Master degree courses.

It seems to make sense to teach these courses through a medium of wider communication than Norwegian. The students we recruit from developing countries are supposed to return to their countries of origin.⁵ They are not likely to have much use for a thorough knowledge of academic Norwegian. After all there are only four Million Norwegians and even though Swedes and Danes understand Norwegian we still do not number more than twenty Million totally in the Scandinavian countries. Before we had master courses taught in English foreign students either had to learn Norwegian well enough to be able to study in the language or not choose Norway as a country in which to study. The last option was often chosen and plenty of Norwegian development aid has gone to scholarships to students in developing countries who have studied in Britain, Canada or the US. Professionally Norway may have as much or more to offer in many fields than some of the institutions of higher education in the English speaking world that have recruited students from developing countries.

From a development aid perspective, however, it may make even more sense to help in the building up of master degree programs in developing countries than bringing the most able students from a developing country to take her or his degree in the North. Various types of sandwich programs where part of the training is done in the South, part in the North are being tried out in Norway, especially through the NUFU⁶ co-operation.

We may also look at the master courses mostly recruiting foreign students as a way of paying back some of the services given by universities in other countries where Norwegian students study. To study for a semester or two at another university in the world, primarily one in a country with another language and culture than one's own, is normally an enriching experience for any student.

As long as these master courses taught in English are courses primarily offered to foreign students I see them as enriching for our universities. It is when teaching to a group of students who all command Norwegian is being done through the medium of English that an alarm clock should sound.⁷

Financial rewards for publishing in English

An example of the prestige given to academic writing within an international (read 95% English) language compared to publishing in a Nordic mother tongue is taken from my own university, from the department of philosophy.

This is the bonus each of the academics gets from the Institute on top of his/her salary when they participate in academic publishing and refereeing.

Bonuses paid by the Institute of Philosophy at the University of Oslo in 1997.

Types of publications:	For publications for an international audience, written in an international language	For publications for a Nordic audience written in Norwegian
Book – authored	15,000 NOK	7,000 NOK
Book – edited (covers also editing of issues of professional journals)	5,000 NOK	2,000 NOK
Doctoral thesis	15,000 NOK	7,000 NOK
Article in a professional refereed journal	7,000 NOK	1,000 NOK
Book review in a professional refereed journal	1,000 NOK	200 NOK
Referee work in a professional journal – per article refereed	500 NOK	200 NOK

Apart from the fact that this example shows that the philosophy of American academic life described as “publish or perish” has also hit the Nordic academia, where until 1992⁸ all professors had the same salaries, it also shows the priority given to English at the expense of Norwegian.

The example shows us that if this trend continues, the Norwegian language may be threatened as an academic language. This again is a danger for democracy. I agree with the Tanzanian publisher Walter Bgoya who in his article in this issue of IRE claims that: “There is no language that is incapable of developing to meet the needs of its people, if the people decide to make that language meet those needs”. It is, however, equally true that a language will not any more be capable of meeting the needs of people if it is not being constantly developed and used at the highest levels of study and research.

Notes

1. A Norwegian degree somewhere between a Master and a PhD degree. It will now be shortened to correspond more to an international master degree.
2. In my most recent book (Brock-Utne 2000b) I give examples of how scientific terminology in a language like Kiswahili will develop once the decision has been made that a subject will be taught in Kiswahili.
3. My translation from Norwegian.
4. Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education, started in the fall of 1998.
5. Many of our students come to us under the so-called “Quota Programme”. This

means that they participate in a loan scheme on the same conditions as Norwegian students who live on loans from the Student Bank. If the students from developing countries return to their home countries after their term of study in Norway is up, the loan is made into a scholarship and deleted. If they, however, stay on in Norway they have to pay the loan back just like Norwegian students have to.

6. NUFU is the name of a body co-ordinating the co-operation between universities in Norway and in developing countries. Through this co-operation one tries to build up research capacity in developing countries as well as Master and Ph.d. programs.
7. Since I in the summer of 1992 came back to the University of Oslo after four years of teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam I have, until the fall of 1992, each term taught a course called: "Education in Africa" (see Brock-Utne and Miettinen 1998). This course has been taught in English since mostly some of the participants from Africa did not know Norwegian well enough for us to use that language as the medium of instruction. But one semester all of the Africans who attended the course knew Norwegian well enough for us to conduct the course in Norwegian. This was a great advantage for us in developing a vocabulary for discussing development issues and education in Africa in Norwegian.
8. In 1991 Norwegian state institutions were given the possibility of introducing "performance salary" as a part of local salary negotiations. Certain sums of money are allocated as "stimulation salary" given to tutors of students who take master and PhD degrees. The tutors are in several institutes given more salary for getting a female candidate through the thesis work than a male candidate. This does not hold through for graduate tutoring at the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo – here the stimulation salary is the same whether one gets a male or female student through their thesis work. For the time being the stimulation salary is about 10,000 NOK [ab. 1100 US\$] per candidate. Of this half is taken into a general research money pot and half is given to the tutor for her or his personal research budget. Ivar Bleiklie (1996: 45) mentions that: "Published articles and books are rewarded in a similar manner according to whether they are published nationally, for a Nordic public or internationally." He does not, however, mention that the bonus is quite different depending on whether you publish nationally or internationally. Neither does he question this practice.

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