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What do novice drivers need to know today? Revision of the research foundation – the GDE matrix

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The article addresses the research foundation for driver education and the Goals for Driver Education (commonly referred to as the GDE matrix). The matrix was introduced as part of the EU-funded research project GADGET and was first published internationally in 2002. Since then, it has served as a foundation for driver education in many countries, both within and beyond Europe. Over the past 25 years, the situation and context for young people have changed significantly. Research has shown that today's youth experience different upbringing conditions and social contexts, leading to thinking and behaviour patterns distinct from those of previous generations. Based on this, I argue that it is time to revise the GDE matrix in relation to recent research and our current understanding of young people. Recent studies indicate that today's youth exhibit lower levels of risk-taking behaviour, a heightened sense of responsibility, and greater awareness regarding value-based decision-making. Through a review of the GDE matrix, alongside research and insights about contemporary youth, I outline an expansion of the GDE matrix to include content that reinforces the positive and desirable attitudes, values, and life perspectives they bring with them. I have chosen to term these "growth-increasing factors." This proposed update provides a renewed foundation for driver education and constitutes a contribution to ongoing efforts in traffic safety.

Keywords: driver education, GDE matrix, emerging adulthood, growth increasing factors, traffic safety, wicked competences

1. Introduction

Many European countries today base their driver education on the GDE framework (Goals for Driver Education). The GDE framework provides a theoretical, summarized overview of knowledge derived from many years of research, outlining the core competencies a driver should possess. To operationalize this framework, a matrix—commonly referred to as the GDE matrix—was developed to summarize the main content areas of driver education. This matrix was introduced as part of the EU-funded research project GADGET and was first published internationally in 2002.

Research has shown that today's youth grow up under different conditions and within different social contexts, which influence their thinking and behavior compared to previous generations. In light of this, I argue that it is time to revise the GDE matrix in relation to recent research and our current understanding of young

people. Since its initial publication, substantial research in the fields of pedagogy and psychology has been conducted.

The context has evolved - society has changed, and research has advanced. Therefore, I believe it is appropriate to revise the GDE matrix to reflect contemporary findings and insights about driver competence as of 2024.

In line with the GDE matrix, this article takes a theoretical approach, basing its arguments on recent research and knowledge. Today, international studies show that younger people take fewer risks, are more performance-focused, value-driven, and demonstrate a higher degree of accountability. We know from earlier that the foundation of safe decision-making lies in the willingness to make safe choices. It is not merely knowledge or skills that ultimately determine our decisions; rather, it depends on the willingness to act accordingly. This underscores the importance

of fostering intrinsic motivation (Deci and Ryan, 2000; Pont, Moorman, & Nusche, 2008).

The upper levels of the GDE matrix (social environments and personal skills for living) are grounded in research on human development more broadly, including who we are, how we develop, and how we socialize. However, the matrix should now be revised to align with recent research specifically focusing on younger people in these areas.

We are living in a time of rapid transformation. As the world evolves, so too does childhood (Garr, 2023). Over the past 25 years, significant shifts in childhood and young adulthood have emerged, highlighting that young adults today differ from previous generations, as has always been the case. Comparing contemporary research on and experiences of young people with the foundations of the GDE matrix (which are based on today's older adults) provides a valuable perspective on how young people are changing and where the differences between today's youth and the research foundations of the GDE matrix are becoming apparent.

In this article, I will argue for the need for a broader and more nuanced foundation for driver education, one that includes a deeper understanding of the current realities faced by young people. Such an approach would benefit individuals, the education system, and societal safety on a larger scale. To support this argument, I will provide examples from Norwegian driver education. It is widely recognized internationally that Norway is one of the countries that has most comprehensively implemented the GDE framework in its driver education model.

2. The GDE framework

The GDE framework has been widely acknowledged within the European traffic research community as a theoretical foundation for driver education (Peräaho, Keskinen, and Hatakka, 2003). The framework presents a hierarchical approach to driver behavior, training, and education. Driving is a complex task that encompasses a spectrum—from maneuvering the vehicle to values rooted in our social context. The framework is primarily grounded in modern traffic psychology. Research in this field highlights not only the importance of

performance factors (what the driver is capable of doing) but also the significance of motivational and attitudinal factors (what the driver is willing to do) (Peräaho, Keskinen, and Hatakka, 2003). Ultimately, the driver's own actions and decisions determine how safe and effective their driving will be (Peräaho, Keskinen, and Hatakka, 2003). The hierarchical structure of the framework emphasizes that the higher levels play a decisive role in influencing the lower levels. In the end, it is the driver's own perspectives and choices that dictate their behaviour.

Norway is one of many countries that have adopted the GDE framework as the foundation for their driver education. A study conducted among Norwegian driving instructors in 2018 revealed that instructors describe their mission as shaping socially responsible drivers (Suzen, 2018). The instructors adopt an expanded concept of competence as the basis for structuring their teaching. They interpret their societal role as fostering holistic contributors to society, with the aim of developing future drivers who take social responsibility and make safe choices. Students' understanding and willingness to make responsible decisions are central to the educational process (Suzen, 2018). This reflects an expanded understanding of the purpose and goals of driver education.

The content of the upper levels of driver education is more abstract and overarching in nature. This includes topics such as critical thinking, willingness, reasoning behind choices, and personal behavioral tendencies (Suzen, 2018), which Eisner (1985) refers to as "expressive objectives." Knight and Page describe these as "wicked competences," which challenge traditional forms of assessment because "Wicked competences are achievements that cannot be neatly pre-specified, take time to develop, and resist measurement-based approaches to assessment" (Knight & Page, 2007, p. 2).

In Norwegian driver education, this content is embedded as mandatory topics throughout the program, allowing students to engage with it progressively, both individually and collaboratively with peers and instructors. For this reason, these aspects of driver competence are excluded from the theoretical and practical driving test, as they do not align with

standardized assessment systems (Norwegian Public Roads Administration, 2004).

The GDE matrix was developed within a traffic psychology framework and builds on several foundational documents from this field, dating back to the 1980s and 1990s. The comprehensive report from 2003 includes 70 academic references. These references represent some of the historical main lines within traffic psychology, including behavioral models, risk perspectives, accident risk, traffic safety, human performance, and cognitive psychology. This has traditionally served as the academic foundation for driver education (Suzen, 2018).

The matrix was revised in 2010 and currently consists of five levels and three columns:

Knowledge and skills to master	Awareness of risk-increasing factors	Self-assessment
	Social environment	
Personal	goals for life and skills for living	
	Goals and context of driving	
	Mastery of traffic situations	
	Vehicle control and manoeuvring	

Fig. 1. The GDE matrix

The columns in the GDE matrix refer to the central content of driver education across the three levels. These are: 1. Knowledge and skills the driver must master, 2. Risk-increasing factors the driver must be aware of, and 3. Self-assessment. At the higher levels, knowledge involves helping the driver understand that driving is a form of behaviour in which success or failure is closely related to motivation and chosen strategies (Peräaho, Keskinen, and Hatakka, 2003). Risk-increasing factors pertain to motives, lifestyle, and personality traits that can influence risk. The greater the presence of these factors in a person's life, the more likely it is that traffic becomes an arena where these traits are expressed (Peräaho, Keskinen, and Hatakka, 2003). Self-assessment involves raising awareness of elements that are not typically subject to scrutiny, such as habits, attitudes, behaviors, motives, and so forth (Peräaho, Keskinen, and Hatakka, 2003).

3. Emerging adulthood

Today's youth live very different lives compared to those of 30–40 years ago (Illeris, Katznelson, Nielsen, Simonsen, and Sørensen, 2009, p. 31). They are the first generation to grow up in a knowledge- and education-based society and generally have higher levels of education than previous generations. This gives them a completely different background and shapes their adolescence under new conditions. This stage of life is now characterized by the many significant decisions they must make—decisions that may also be revised and re-evaluated multiple times (Illeris et al., 2009, p. 33). These changes are rooted in cultural and societal shifts that began in the 1960s (Ziehe and Stubenrauch, 2008; Giddens, 1994). As traditional life structures (such as norms, values, roles, sexuality, and political alignment) dissolve and social classes are challenged, responsibility for life choices becomes more individualized and falls increasingly on the individual. These shifts in fundamental societal frameworks and perspectives for youth development create both opportunities and challenges (Arnett, 2015, p. 1; Illeris et al., 2009, p. 31). The responsibility for making decisions has become more personal and individualized - leading to questions such as, Who do I want to be? This freedom to explore different options is both exciting and a source of anxiety and uncertainty (Arnett, 2015). Regardless of how they handle this excitement or uncertainty, these choices relate to the topics addressed at the higher levels of the GDE matrix (levels 4 Personal and 5 Social). These levels concern who we are, what we fundamentally stand for, and the values we choose to uphold.

In recent years, we have witnessed the emergence of a new life stage for young people, lasting from the late teens through the mid-to-late twenties (Arnett, 2015, p. 2). This period is not merely an extension of adolescence, as it differs significantly—being much freer from parental control and characterized as a phase of independent exploration. The period is primarily defined by its demographic characteristics (Arnett, 2015). Longer and more widespread education, later entry into marriage and parenthood, and a prolonged transition to stable employment have created space for this new life stage over the past 25 years.

This new life stage can be understood as a phase of identity exploration, where individuals seek to clarify their sense of self and what they want out of life (Arnett, 2015; Illeris, Katznelson, Nielsen, Simonsen, and Sørensen, 2009). During these years, when they are neither bound by parental authority nor fully committed to adult roles, they enjoy a unique opportunity to experiment with different ways of living (Arnett, 2015, p. 9).

The social sciences and related fields have often referred to this group as "youth," but many researchers have advocated replacing this term with "emerging adulthood" to better reflect the period spanning from the late teens through the twenties (Arnett, 2015, p. 24). The literature referenced here primarily focuses on economically developed countries, where the foundations of the GDE matrix are central to societal structures. Consequently, the discussion pertains to young people in developed countries and the driver education systems in these contexts.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that many of the challenges faced by young people in less developed countries are of a different nature and thus require a distinct approach.

4. Driver education

Traffic accidents involving young adults aged 18–24 have shown a significant decline in Europe over the past decades. According to data from the European Commission's Road Safety Observatory, the number of road fatalities in this age group decreased by 55% between 2007 and 2016. This positive trend can be attributed to several factors, including improved driver education and increased awareness of road safety among young drivers. However, despite the progress, the number of fatalities and serious injuries on the roads remains unacceptably high.

Many countries have adopted a Vision Zero approach to their road safety efforts, aiming for zero fatalities and zero serious injuries in traffic. To continue advancing toward this vision, to further support the positive trend, and to strengthen driver education in the future, it is essential to build on the latest knowledge and research. This is particularly important to meet students where they are in their lives and to ensure

that driver education provides both relevance and a sense of mastery.

Norway's National Transport Plan (NTP) emphasizes that traffic education is part of a lifelong learning process. Quality education and attitude-shaping efforts are crucial for fostering safe traffic behavior among road users. The Ministry of Transport has therefore prioritized enhancing traffic education, driver training, and awareness campaigns (Ministry of Transport, 2009). As such, driver education is one of the most important road safety measures available.

Traditionally, research and literature on driver education have focused on the risks associated with road traffic. The GDE matrix, being based on a broad field of knowledge available at the time of its development in the 1990s, is also limited by the research reports and understanding of that period. Following the increased use of automobiles, rising accident rates were addressed through training and regulation, which were viewed as countermeasures. Consequently, traffic education was evaluated based on its ability to reduce traffic accidents, with an emphasis on risk factors that increase the likelihood of accidents and protective factors that reduce risk.

However, this traditional focus does not fully consider the fact that most young people today do not hold risk-oriented attitudes or behaviours. Instead, they are guided by entirely different, positive, and desirable value-based orientations that need to be acknowledged and strengthened. For this reason, I argue that the GDE matrix should be revised in light of this updated knowledge base.

5. Research on emerging adulthood over the past 25 years

Over the last 25 years, research on young adults has demonstrated that this group is undergoing significant changes, reflecting generational shifts in fundamental understandings of what it means to be human. Findings from this period indicate that today's youth exhibit: 1. lower risk-taking behaviour, 2. a greater sense of responsibility, and 3. increased awareness of value-based choices. Below, I will elaborate on these three categories and argue for their implications for the foundational materials in driver education and the understanding of young drivers.

5.1. Young people exhibit lower risk-taking behaviour

International research over the past 25 years reveals that today's youth are more likely to prioritize safety over risk and exhibit less risk-taking behavior. This trend is evident in reduced participation in activities perceived as dangerous, as well as lower engagement in health-related risks, such as substance use and early sexual activity (Hibell, Guttormsson, Ahlström, Balakireva, Bjarnason, Kokkevi, and Kraus, 2012). For various reasons, young people today are taking fewer risks (Twenge, 2017). One explanation may lie in the information society, where the availability of extensive information and a heightened focus on risks and dangers have influenced decision-making. Additionally, shifts in social structures play a role in this decline. Today's youth are more likely to delay traditional markers of adulthood, such as having children or getting married, opting instead to invest time in education and other activities they deem important. Regardless of the underlying causes, this shift must be taken into account in driver education. Another manifestation of this reduced risk-taking is the decline in the number of young people obtaining driver's licenses.

In recent years, fewer adolescents have engaged in traditionally adult activities, such as driving, with this decline being a relatively recent phenomenon, primarily emerging after 2000 (Twenge and Park, 2019). This trend may reflect both a more virtuous and responsible generation and a response to today's evolving social context (Ellis et al., 2012).

5.2. Young people exhibit greater sense of responsibility

Today's youth take on more responsibility than previous generations across a variety of areas—from their personal health choices to their engagement with global issues such as social justice and climate change. The Changing Childhood Project (UNICEF, 2021), based on data from 21,000 individuals across 21 countries, examines what it is like growing up today and how young people view the world. The results reveal a generational gap in terms of how young people identify with the world around them, their outlook, and values. This generational divide is more pronounced in wealthier countries. Young people

perceive the world as a better place for children than the one their parents grew up in, and they are more optimistic about the future of the world.

Today's young people show strong commitment to both global and local challenges, including climate change, social justice, and mental health. Generation Z (born approximately 1997–2012) is often described as a "responsible generation," holding both themselves and society accountable. Internationally, there has been an increase in youth engagement in movements such as Black Lives Matter, Fridays for Future, and Pride (de Moor, Uba, Wennerhag, and De Vydt, 2020). This indicates that young people are not only concerned with their own future but also with the well-being of others. Young people are nearly twice as likely as older generations to say they identify more with being part of the world rather than primarily identifying with their local community or country (UNICEF, 2021, p. 11). They show greater concern for members of the LGBTQ+ community and emphasize the importance of treating everyone equally.

Many young people demonstrate responsibility by aligning their lifestyles with sustainable ideals, such as reduced consumption, vegetarianism, and support for environmental causes. This reflects a form of "long-term risk management" in which they prioritize the planet's safety over short-term gains (The United Nations, 2022). Many are also deeply invested in social justice, inclusion, and equality, as evidenced by their activism, volunteer work, and choice to support ethically-driven businesses and organizations.

Some of the explanation for young people's sense of responsibility can be attributed to their resilience and the influence of family dynamics, particularly parent-child interactions (Masten, 2018). The relationship between parents and young people is changing, as is the way families maintain relationships. Parental roles have evolved, with a greater focus now on intergenerational agreements regarding values and on being sensitive to young people's emotional states and cognitive perceptions (Grusec and Goodnow, 1994). With stronger familial support, research shows that many young people develop robust coping strategies and are better able to stand on their own and take responsibility.

5.3. Young people have a greater awareness of value-based choices

Research indicates that today's youth are increasingly concerned with value-based belonging (Bakken, 2023) and seek communities built on shared goals and meaning, through activism, volunteer organizations, or digital platforms. In line with increased globalization and digitalization, young people today have developed a stronger awareness of values such as solidarity, equality, and sustainability. Many young people wish to live in accordance with their values, both in personal choices (e.g., reduced consumption, vegetarian diets) and in selecting employers that embrace social responsibility. With changes in societal structures that have given rise to the concept of emerging adulthood, we also see that this period of life provides young people with greater opportunities to make independent choices and shape their own lives and identities. This may partly explain the increased awareness of values and a more reflective approach to one's position and choices. This awareness is also related to how we understand young people and the roles and spaces they occupy in society. Today's youth are encouraged to express themselves; they are viewed as important carriers of meaning in society, and are primarily seen as a valuable resource (Pedersen & Ødegård, 2021).

6. Revising the GDE-matrix

Based on recent research and knowledge about young people today, I argue that the time has come to revise the GDE matrix to include content that reinforces the positive and desirable attitudes, values, and life perspectives they bring with them. I have chosen to term these "growth-increasing factors." Today's youth tend to engage in lower-risk behaviour, are more responsible, and exhibit a stronger awareness of values. It would be a disservice to these young people if driver education were still primarily based on risk-increasing factors, as this is not the predominant challenge among young people today. This column and its content must be balanced, with a greater focus on supporting and encouraging the positive factors that young people bring into driving education situations. In doing so, we would both take the students seriously and tailor the education to their lives and circumstances.

Knowledge and skills to master	Awareness of risk-increasing factors	Growth increasing factors	Self-assessment
	Social environment		
	Personal goals for life and skills for living		
	Goals and context of driving		
	Mastery of traffic situations		
	Vehicle control and manoeuvring		

Fig. 2, A revised GDE matrix, including the column for Growth-increasing factors.

The practical significance of this for driver education is that we must dare to trust the students and meet them seriously. This also means that teachers must allow for the risk of not knowing where the lesson is headed, but instead let the student's choices and personality guide the way (Biesta, 2014). Driver education should equip young people for life on the road, but the further development of their independence and responsibility can only occur if they are given the freedom to make real choices. In practice, this means implementing the higher levels of the matrix in line with today's social context and the lives of young people. This is what Biesta (2014) calls the risk of education – we owe it to the students to take the risk of meeting them where they are.

In teaching, there is always a didactic relationship between the various factors that make up a teaching situation. When the fundamental content changes, it has consequences for the roles of students and teachers, methods of work, goals, contextual factors, and assessment. This is something that each country and educational authority must consider in their ongoing work with driver education.

Today's youth are often referred to as Generation Z, Baby Boomers, or Millennials (Pedersen and Ødegård, 2021, p. 10). However, these categories likely do not accurately capture the majority of young people (Alston and Kent, 2009), as research also shows that there is considerable continuity in young people's lifestyles over time (Furlong, 2019). Adolescence is about exploring norms and boundaries, aiming for a formative phase in life that lies in the tension between continuity and change. However, this phase is influenced by the societal context in which young people grow up, where economic,

institutional, cultural, and political forces shape their daily lives (Pedersen and Ødegård, 2021). Therefore, it is of crucial importance that we are always aware of the universal dimensions of being young and that we strive to describe, explain, and understand how these manifests at any given time (Pedersen and Ødegård, 2021). This, in turn, must be the foundation for teaching and the way we facilitate learning, so that youth are included, taken seriously, and given opportunities to learn and develop on their own terms. Based on this, I believe that a revision of the GDE matrix is crucial for the future of driver education.

7. Conclusions

The emerging adulthood phase is continuously evolving, and this period of life represents a transition between continuity and change, which is experienced and differs over time. What we know about youth today is that they engage in lower-risk behaviours, exhibit greater responsibility, and have a stronger value orientation than previous generations. This knowledge base compels us to approach and facilitate driver education in new ways in order to take today's youth seriously. Therefore, in this article, I have argued that the research foundation underlying current driver education must be revised in accordance with the latest findings and our understanding of today's youth. Only in this way can we ensure that we have an updated and responsible knowledge base to build driver education upon and succeed with this crucial traffic safety measure.

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