

Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard

**Survey Report on
Learning Outcome of Amateur Culture**

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Survey Report on Learning Outcome of Amateur Culture

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Preface

This report is part of the Grundtvig Multilateral development project entitled “LOAC – Learning Outcome of Amateur Culture”, which a group of European organisations of amateur art and voluntary culture has completed in the period 2009 - 2011. The partnership circle consisted of National Associations of Cultural Councils in Denmark; Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities; Kunstfactor, Sectorinstituut Amateurkunstin Holland; and Interfolk, Institute for Civil Society from Denmark.

The overall aim of the project has been to substantiate a humanistic learning perspective on amateur art and voluntary culture. The aim of this report is to present the conceptual framework and the methods, which have been developed and used in the project to assess and describe the learning outcome in amateur culture.

The guiding principle for the survey has been that the amateur culture is part of a currently paradigm dispute on the key understandings of its core services. The area of amateur culture takes part in a general paradigm conflict between a humanistic and instrumental discourse, which includes the basic understandings of man, society and culture, and at the same time targets the conceptions of the civil society, which the amateur culture is part of, and the conceptions of the lifelong learning and the cultural activities, which the amateur culture represents.

The novelty or innovative contribution of the developed conceptual framework is in our point of view, that it maintains a reference to the essential ideals of the modern European enlightenment and Bildung tradition, and at the same time seeks to integrate and combine the conceptual gains from current social, pedagogical and cultural theories. In short, the new conceptual framework seeks to combine the critical social theory of communicative action with a liberal civil society theory, and a Bildung-oriented learning theory as well as a freedom-oriented aesthetic theory. With this theoretical framework, voluntary culture and amateur art can be determined as a societal area that represents core values of free humanity and aesthetic learning processes with a high potential for personal and democratic formation.

We hope the applied conceptual framework and methodology for learning validation in general can help to advance a humanistic agenda for lifelong learning, and in particular contribute to internal self-clarification for the voluntary cultural associations about their core services and to external profiling of the area's societal importance to political decision-makers, opinion-formers and other groups of multipliers.

Finally, we wish to thank the EU Commission and its Executive Agency for Education, Audiovisual and Culture for the support that has made this transnational development work possible, and not least we must thank the project leaders and other active in the partnership circle for their tremendous work. It has been very fulfilling and rewarding cross-border collaboration for all of us. We hope other active with an interest in the conditions of amateur art and voluntary culture in the European civil society can enjoy and benefit from the effort.

Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard,
August 2011

I. Aims and methods

1. Presentation of the project

LOAC – Learning Outcome of Amateur Culture is a Grundtvig Multilateral Development project, taken place from October 2009 to November 2011. The project has been funded by the European Commission in Brussels as part of the Lifelong Learning Programme.

1.1 The project consortium

The partnership circle of the project consists of the National Associations of Cultural Councils in Denmark; the Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities; Kunstfactor, Sector Institute for Amateur Art from Holland; and Interfolk, Institute for Civil Society from Denmark.

National Associations of Cultural Councils in Denmark - see www.kulturellesamraad.dk

The National association of the local cultural councils are the umbrella organizations for local associations within the area of culture and leisure-time activities. Local Cultural Councils exist in approximately 90 of Denmark's 98 municipalities. The main purpose of the national association of cultural councils is to inspire and develop the cultural area, and to influence, initiate, debate, exemplify etcetera in order to create the best possible conditions for all cultural learning activities. NACC is on a national basis working closely with the rest of the cultural voluntary associations.

Role in the project: Applicant organisation and project administrator.

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Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities - see www.jskd.si

JSKD is a national institution covering all branches of amateur culture and art: vocal and instrumental music, theatre and puppet, folklore, film and video, literature, fine arts, dance. JSKD main tasks are: Organization and offering of cultural events; Preparation of seminars, workshops, lectures, summer camps; Counselling, supporting, informing; Publication of periodicals and other publications; Joint financing of cultural programs.

JSKD headquarters in Ljubljana and fifty-nine branch offices all over Slovenia with about 100 employees (organizers, experts, and technicians) stimulate the development of Slovenian amateur art. JSKD organizes international, national and regional programmes of education, presentations and reviews of non-professional culture and art. JSKD is a member of European umbrella networks ECuCo and Amateo and international organisations of music, theatre, puppet theatre and folklore such as Europa Cantat, IFCM, CISM, AITA/IATA, CIOFF etc.

Role in the project: Project Member

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Kunstfactor, Sectorinstituut Amateurkunst - see www.kunstfactor.nl

Kunstfactor is the national Dutch institute for the development and promotion of amateur arts. As such the centre has expertise in the fields of voluntary arts development, management and education as well as in that of arts education per se. Kunstfactor is responsible for various training and learning curricula, used inside and outside of educational centres, as well as for training modules for volunteers who are active in the field of the amateur arts. Kunstfactor is constantly looking for ways in which cultural and artistic competences can be acquired and acknowledged. It is one of

the founders and partners of the Standards and Accreditation Centre for Amateur Arts and Arts Education in the Netherlands.

Role in the project: Project Member

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Interfolk, Institute for Civil Society - see www.interfolk.dk

Interfolk is an Institute for liberal education and voluntary associations. The objectives are to promote popular enlightenment and active citizenship in the context of liberal adult education, voluntary associations and cultural activities in the civic society. The activities may include research, surveys and development projects, seminars and debate, and other cultural activities in Danish, Nordic, European and broader international contexts.

Role in the project: Project coordinator

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1.2 Outline of the project concept

The idea has been to promote a humanistic learning perspective on amateur art and voluntary culture with the overall aim to make the learning quality and outcome more attractive and transparent for the actual and potential participants.

Background and need

The concept of learning and lifelong learning has in the last decade become a main concept in pedagogy and education in general and in liberal adult education and amateur culture in particular. Learning takes place both in formal learning from primary school to university and in the non-formal learning in the liberal adult education as well as informal learning in amateur art and voluntary cultural activities. However, the European main stream agenda for lifelong learning is dominated by a rather instrumental view on learning, which is blind for important learning qualities and goals in the liberal adult education and voluntary associations, especially of the unique qualities in the area of amateur art and voluntary culture.

It is the purpose of this Grundtvig multilateral Project to promote a humanistic learning methodology with the ability to incorporate the expressive and aesthetic qualities of the learning processes and to assess the learning dimension of personal formation.

The objectives

The first objective has been to complete a survey of learning qualities and outcome in voluntary cultural activities, including results of questionnaires and interviews with leaders, teachers and participants in the associations of the partnership circle.

The methodology of the survey has been formed by a humanistic learning theory, and the overall objective is to achieve new knowledge and reflexion of learning goals and learning valuation, which may qualify the methodology and praxis of validation of learning qualities and outcome. This methodology should furthermore form the guidelines for the online questionnaires in the two types of validation tools, and the guidelines for the Compendium on Best Practice of learning activities.

The second objective was to develop two types of interrelated online tools for learning validation, one type for the learners' valuation of the personal learning outcome, and another for the learning providers' valuation of the organisational learning. The two types of tools can validate the same learning process from two different angles. The learners (students, participants, and other active) can validate their personal learning profile and outcome; the learning providers (leaders, teachers, facilitators, board members and other staff) can compare their learning objectives and priorities with the learners' actual outcome. This interrelated double tool will consist of a series of Danish, Dutch, Slovenian and English editions.

This documentation can be of personal value for the learners, and it can improve the work of the learning providers with monitoring, quality assurance and management of the learning activities in their organisation. These tools will validate the activities as learning activities and thereby bring new focus on amateur culture as an important area of learning. The validation data from the use of the two tools will be saved at a common database, and it means that the data can be used for research on several levels, from the classroom to the whole organisation, and from a group of local associations or a group of thematic associations, to a national and most important to a transnational European level. This network of national associations that uses the common transnational database can easily and by relative small costs be expanded with new umbrella associations from other European countries after the conclusion of the project.

The third objective was to publish three English project publications. The first is the Survey Report of validation of learning qualities and outcome in voluntary cultural amateur activities including results of questionnaires and interviews in the partnerships associations.

The second publication is the Anthology of Best Practise with focus on 1) the main aims of active citizenship, cultural cohesion, personal fulfilment and employ-ability, 2) a broader view on learning as composed of the three interrelated dimensions: competence, knowledge and personal formation, 3) social inclusion of people of all ages, including those with special needs and disadvantaged groups, 4) improving possibilities of transnational European activities as part of the ordinary activities of the cultural associations.

The third publication is the Compendium of European week courses regarding learning dimensions of amateur culture and validation of the learning outcome.

The fourth objective has been to complete two pilot week courses, respectively a Grundtvig in-service training course and a Grundtvig workshop in the spring 2011. An integrated part of the courses will be exchange of experiences regarding innovative products and best practise in different learning areas, including an introduction to the methodology and practical use of the personal and organisational valuation tool. The courses are first targeting teachers, tutors, facilitators and other pedagogical staff by offering a Grundtvig in-service training course, and secondly targeting board members, leaders and other active members by offering a Grundtvig workshop. The aim is after the conclusion of the project to initiate a transnational course programme for active in Europe's amateur art and voluntary cultural associations as part of the Grundtvig in-service training programme and the Grundtvig Workshop programme.

The fifth objective is to prepare and complete a comprehensive dissemination, exploitation and sustainable follow up of the results of project.

2. Problem and approach

2.1 Problem formulation

A survey of the significance and *raison d'être* of amateur culture activities and derived there from the learning aims and outcome of these activities is faced with two very different point of views: On one side from those active in amateur art and voluntary cultural associations, and on the other side from the political and administrative representatives of the state, municipalities and the market.

The cultural active will emphasise that they here can do something they want to do, something they rejoice in and become revived and enlightened by. As amateurs they have a special freedom to act from desire and urge and get engaged in activities that have their own meaning, and where it is an end in itself to create a free and common space for human development and personal fulfilment.¹

The political and administrative representatives will in contrast typically appreciate the amateur culture, when it provides useful means to solve system problems. Amateur culture becomes here an instrument for something else, a mean for a variety of other objectives. Representatives of the professional art may appreciate the amateur culture, if it helps with providing a food chain for the professional art or promoting an engaged and interested audience. Representatives of social policy may see some value in amateur culture, if it can contribute to social inclusion and empowerment of social vulnerable groups. Representatives of health care may find art and culture worthy of support, if its activities can promote preventive health care. Representative for industrial and trade policy may find voluntary culture worthy of investment, if it can promote creative workers for the knowledge economy, or provide cultural events that will brand the local area and thereby attract new workers and businesses.

The reasons of the cultural active are based on a humanistic discourse that emphasizes the value of human development as an end in itself; while the reasons of the political and administrative representatives are based on an instrumental discourse that focus on amateur culture as a mean to solve problems outside the area of voluntary culture. In short we can say that the reasons of the cultural active focus on the core services of the voluntary cultural associations, while politicians, administrators and businessmen focus on the peripheral services.

2.2 Lead questions

The overarching problem is hereby a mismatch between two very different understandings of the voluntary cultural activities and the learning that takes place here, indicating an overall contrast between a humanist and an instrumental understanding, and derivative contradictions in the understanding of the civil society, the learning and cultural activity, which the voluntary cultural associations are taking part in. The lead questions are thus, how one can determine the overall discrepancy between the humanistic and instrumental discourse, and how one can determine the derivative conflicting discourses regarding volunteer culture?

These are the lead questions, which this report must present theoretical and empirical answers on with the aim in general to produce a comprehensive conceptual frame of the meaning and *raison d'être* of the voluntary cultural activities, and in particularly to clarify the guidelines

¹ Cf. Bente Schindel (ed.): *Kunstens rum*. Kulturelle Samråd i Danmark, 2006.

for a learning methodology that can document and value the learning outcome in amateur art and voluntary cultural activities.

2.3 Outline of the Report

The first main section of the report outlines in chapter 1 the background and objectives of the Grundtvig Multilateral Development project, and it presents in chapter 2 the problem formulation and lead questions.

The second main section outlines the theoretical framework. Chapter 3 presents the meta-theoretical approach, which is used in the subsequent surveys. This framework of understanding has reference to Critical Theory, and especially Habermasian discourses, but it is also supplemented by pedagogical theories with reference to Neo-humanistic and Grundtvigian Bildung-theory.

Chapter 4 outlines the crucial socio-economic changes in recent decades that have paved the way for the instrumental paradigm shift in the perception of civil society, learning and culture. These underlying international changes are determined by the triumphal progress of neoliberalism and the derivative progress of New Public Management.

Chapter 5 presents the paradigm dispute about lifelong learning with the goal to promote a humanistic pedagogical discourse. The agenda of lifelong learning has been overlaid by a vocational competence thinking, which focuses on employability and economic competitiveness and human beings as employee or employer (as bourgeois). Alternatively, we wish to promote the humanistic and democratic views of the classical liberal adult education that focuses on man as a fellow human being and active citizen (as *l'homme* and *citoyen*).

Chapter 6 presents the paradigm dispute about art and culture with the goal to promote a humanistic and democratic learning view on art and culture, including the area of amateur art and voluntary cultural activities. The agenda of art and culture has also been overlaid by an instrumental discourse, where the former basic principle of arm-length is endangered. Alternatively, we wish to promote the classical Nordic (and to a large extent European) cultural model from the second half of the 20th century and supplement it with an aesthetical oriented learning theory.

Chapter 7 presents the paradigm dispute about civil society with the goal to promote the core values of civil rights and liberties and a free civic learning capacity with reference to the classical European traditions of Enlightenment and Bildung. The importance of civil society should not be reduced to its possible contributions to democratic participation, social inclusion and cultural cohesion; because civil society also constitutes a privileged area of personal fulfilment with reference to personal formation and free aesthetical experiences. Civil society provides a social sphere in which free human activity can be developed as an end in itself; and this opportunity is an essential characteristic of an autonome life and a free society.

The third main section outlines the learning methodology that is applied in the empirical surveys and developed for the web-based tools of learning valuation. Chapter 8 presents the basic learning concepts, and chapter 9 presents the applied learning terminology.

The fourth main section unfolds the empirical data of the survey that focuses on the aims of the cultural activities with particular reference to the EU's main aims for lifelong learning as well as the learning outcome in amateur art and voluntary cultural activities with reference to a humanistic learning theory.

Chapter 10 presents the methodology of the questionnaires. Chapter 11 presents the results of the questionnaire for the members of the project consortium. Chapter 12 and 13 presents the re-

sults of the questionnaires for respectively the learning providers and learners, and chapter 14 outlines the relations between the learning providers and learners valuation of the learning aims and outcomes.

Chapter 15 and 16 presents the empirical data of the interviews with the learning providers and learners from the organisations of the partnership circle. The interviews emphasises in accordance with the results of the questionnaires that the representatives from the amateur culture give priority to humanistic learning aims and rejects instrumental views and values, while they at the same are familiar with the perspective of a learning theory that includes personal formation as well as knowledge and skills and transversal competences.

The final fifth main section unfolds in chapter 17 the results of the theoretical and empirical surveys, and brings perspectives on the results.

2.4 Line of sights

The guiding principle for answering the problem formulation is that we are confronted with a paradigm dispute about the key discourses contained in the provision of amateur art and voluntary cultural activities. In general we have a paradigm dispute between a humanistic and an instrumental discourse, which includes the basic understandings of man, society and culture. At the same time, this paradigm dispute also appears within the sub discourses of civil society, lifelong learning and artistic activity.

The line of sights for this survey is that the theoretical analysis and empirical evidence together can support a conceptual framework with the ability to combine on the critical theory's focus on the communicative rationality of the life world with a civil society theory that points out its contribution to a free and independent learning capacity, and a learning theory that incorporates the Bildung dimension, as well as a modern aesthetic theory with a humanistic reference. This combined conceptual framework can provide a provision of amateur culture as an area of societal activity that represents basic values of free human fulfilment and an aesthetical learning with a high level of personal and democratic formation.

Furthermore, this conceptual framework can generally put new light on the core services within amateur culture and offer new ways to profile the area in a wider context of cultural policy and educational policy; and it may in particular provide a basis for the development of a conceptual learning framework for documentation and valuation of the learning outcomes, which manages to incorporate the perspectives of a Bildung theory.

During the project, it has become ever clearer to us that there is a strong need of a research strategy in the field of amateur culture, which can combine aesthetic theory, learning theory and civil society theory in a context of critical theory, and at the same time have the ability to incorporate the aims of lifelong learning, which the Council and Parliament have adopted as supranational legislation for all Member States.² The survey of this project has therefore also the aim to contribute to a research strategy that can combine these different theoretical elements and goals.

² The European Parliament and the Council: Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning, 2006/962/EC.

II. Theory

'Enlightenment is man's release from his self -incurred tutelage. Tutelage is man's inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another. (...) Sapere aude! 'Have courage to use your own reason!' - that is the motto of enlightenment.'

Immanuel Kant:
An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment? (1784)

3. Critical Theory

The methodological approach of this survey is inspired by the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, especially of the younger generation, where Jürgen Habermas is the key spokesperson. The Frankfurt School has despite major differences shared the common view that the normative basis of the theory, its foundation of critique must build on the core ideals of modern society, which has reference to human rights and democracy. Ideals that points back to the modern European period of enlightenment and neohumanism, where Reason and Bildung should create the basis for freedom and democracy; and these ideals still represent significant norms in the self understanding of the present European societies.

The Critical Theory is unlike many other scientific theories conscious of its participatory status as an actor in a contradictory social practice. Scientific action does not take place in a social vacuum, but is self a part of the societal practise. The idea of a value-free science ends up being ideology, as a hidden or repressed basis for exercising power. Habermas criticised from the outset the belief in a "value free" science, because scientific research cannot be neutral in the social, cultural and educational conflicts, but must be seen as a partner in these conflicts; not by representing particular interests, but by representing the general interest or the public good, which must form the discursive frame and overall reflection horizon for the theoretical critique.

The critical method is immanent, building on given historical and social values and understandings. As a method it is characterized by theoretical analysis and empirical studies that demonstrate the contradictions between the humanistic and democratic ideals and the actual societal realities, and it must assign political and cultural changes that to a higher degree can meet these essential ideals. The theory's critical perspective is thus twofold by criticizing social realities as well as current ideas and sciences, which do not demonstrate and uncover this discrepancy between reality and ideals.

3.1 Fundamental concepts

About the Frankfurt School

Frankfurt School has passed through three main phases. The first phase was from the founding of the Institute for Social Research in 1923 in Frankfurt am Main to its closure in 1933, when the Nazis came to power, and the affiliated groups of German philosophers, sociologists, psychologists and other intellectuals were forced into exile, first in Geneva and Paris, then in New York. Spokespersons from this first generation were Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Ernest Bloch, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm and others. They were in various ways inspired by German philosophy and cultural critique as well as neo-marxistic theories of alienation and reification in capitalist societies and the focus of Freudian psychoanalysis on authoritarian and oppressive conditions in the interpersonal sphere.

The first phase was characterized by an optimistic belief that the theoretical activity could contribute to a more humane and democratic society. The theory's task was to uncover the factors that prevented or derailed the possibility of this development. The task was to highlight the basic values of human autonomy and democracy and to provide social changes in accordance with the modern revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity.¹

¹ The slogan "Liberté, égalité, fraternité" was the watchword of the French Revolution in 1789; and the colours of the French Tricolore can be interpreted as representing the values of the slogan: Blue/Liberty, White/Equality, and Red/Fraternity.

However, in the second phase during the exile and experiences of Second World War, the atrocities of Nazism, Fascism and Stalinism and the horrors of the Hiroshima bomb and in particular of the Holocaust, this first generation of the Frankfurt School was marked by deep disillusionment and pessimism on behalf of mankind. Especially the technical rationality, which was deployed in the extermination of millions of innocent citizens, was crucial for this switch. The hope of a liberating transformation of society disappeared from the theory.

This new philosophical pessimism was most clearly expressed in Adorno and Horkheimer joint work *Dialectic of Enlightenment* from 1944.² Here the causes of barbarism and irrationality is no longer explained by specific historical circumstances, but by a kind of historical Fall of Man, which occurred when reason and science were released, and man lost his anchorage in nature. In this secular version of the Christian myth of the Fall, the release of Reason necessarily leads to a reification of the whole society and an instrumentalisation of all human relationships. In the technologically advanced societies where capitalism and Soviet communism converged into a single closed system, there was no longer any way out. The natural or original humanity was irrevocably lost. Only art in its refined modernist versions had some openings for the lost humanity, but without the ability to reconcile the lost or to change anything. Although the normative criticism based on this second phase still refers to Humanism and Enlightenment, it is a humanity which has now become homeless in history and with no power to ensure social change. A milder version of this theoretical pessimism appeared in Marcuse's critique in *One-Dimensional Man* from 1964,³ where the system cannot be reformed, but only overthrown.

The third phase of the Frankfurt School is represented by new spokesmen as Jürgen Habermas, Oskar Negt, Alfred Schmidt, Albrecht Wellmer and Axel Honneth. This second generation rejected the negative philosophy of history and has represented a more moderate and optimistic development of the initial understandings of the critical theory. For these spokesmen there are realistic opportunities to promote the basic ideals of Enlightenment and Humanism in the late modern societies. History became open again.

Knowledge and Human Interests

Habermas has been the main figure in this second generation.⁴ He experienced in his youth the defeat of Nazism and the Nuremberg Trials after the Second World War, and he participated actively in the reconstruction of a democratic West Germany. He took over in 1965, after Max Horkheimer the chair of philosophy and sociology in Frankfurt. Habermas was initially critical of the uninvolved and "value free" science. He denied that a value-free description of society is possible. Knowledge and interests are inextricably linked, descriptions and norms interact and scientific neutrality is not possible. If one still tries to maintain a value-free science, as the then dominant scientific method, positivism claimed, then science ends up being ideology, as a hidden or repressed basis for exercising power. This applies to natural sciences and especially to human and social sciences. Instead of rejecting that science is led by interests, Habermas argues that there is always interests at stake in the field of research, and these interests must change depending on

² Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer: *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Translated by John Cumming. New York: Herder and Herder (Dialektik der Aufklärung, 1944).

³ Herbert Marcuse: *One-Dimensional Man. Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, Boston: Beacon, 1964.

⁴ Among the extensive secondary literature on Habermas' works, the following can be recommended: Thomas McCarthy: *The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas*. MIT Press, 1981; John B. Thompson and David Held (ed.): *Habermas. Critical Debates*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1982; Andersen, Jørn Erslev (ed.): *Det moderne – en bog om Jürgen Habermas*. Modtryk, 1983; Richard J. Bernstein (ed.): *Habermas and Modernity*. Polity Press, 1985; Rick Roderick: *Habermas and the Foundations of Critical Theory*. Macmillan, 1986; David Ingram: *Habermas and the Dialectic of Reason*. Yale University Press, 1987; Alex Honneth, Thomas McCarthy, Claus Offe and Albrecht Wellmer (ed.): *Philosophical Interventions in the unfinished Project of Enlightenment*. MIT Press, Cambridge, 1992; Alex Honneth, Thomas McCarthy, Claus Offe and Albrecht Wellmer (ed.): *Cultural-Political Interventions in the unfinished Project of Modernity*. MIT Press, Cambridge, 1997;

which subject area, the research is targeting. The (natural-) sciences must as part of the human relation to nature necessarily act result-oriented and be led by a technical-instrumental approach. Here, science may be explanatory and controlling.

However, in relation to culture the (human-) sciences must as part of the intersubjective domain not be led by a technical-instrumental interests to control and explain, but by a communicative interest to understand the common culture and to uncover oppressive human conditions. Here, reason must be led by an interest of understanding and liberation. In relation to society, where the technical relation to natural resources and the intersubjective conditions interact, the (social-) sciences must be led by an interest of explaining and controlling as well as understanding and liberation. The goal should be to find a balance between these interests, so the technical-instrumental rationality does not win dominance over the communicative rationality.

Habermas does not criticize the natural science for its explanatory method and technical interest. We cannot in a hermeneutic sense understand nature, because it has no consciousness and intentionality, we can communicate with. Nature holds no hidden meanings, it is pure functionality. Habermas rejects completely the philosophical utopias of the young Marx and the older Frankfurt School, where man and nature originally lived in unity, and where it was the development of science, which divided and alienated them from each other, and that they once again can be reconciled. For him, the natural science is not a criminal that has prevented the possible resurrection of the fallen nature and the return of man to nature. He sees such a utopia of human emancipation as an expression of a twisted philosophy of history with roots in German idealism and pantheistic romanticism.

In his inaugural lecture in Frankfurt in 1965, he rejected these longings of reconciliation; because man is as a conscious and cultural being something else than nature. The idealistic utopia of reconciliation between nature and culture, between myth and enlightenment, which occupied the old Frankfurt School, is replaced by the less pretentious vision of human autonomy, and here reconciliation is only applicable for the human world. His vision "contains no requirement that nature should open its eyes - that we in the reconciled mode may talk to animals, plants and stones." This vision, he sees as pure obscurantism. We can during a walk by a quiet forest lake be carried away by a deep sentiment, but it is not because there is a voice in the lake that speaks to us. We may during a thunder an autumn evening be gripped by a sublime feeling, but the reason is not that we hear Thor's fury as he rides across the sky with his goats. We may be amazed by the mystery of the evolution, but it is not because we experience the design and spirit of God. We think, we are talking with nature or have a divine experience of the hidden meanings of nature, but it is ourselves we are talking to, and the narratives of culture we experience.

The methods of the natural science are valid for the domain of nature. The problem arises only, when these methods are transferred to the domain of culture and society. Here we need to understand and liberate, because here we meet an intersubjective human domain that contains human artefacts with intentionality as well as cultural processes and relations with communicative significance. The emancipatory interest is also necessary to promote human autonomy and freedom, because humans can as beings with consciousness be emancipated, but a stone or a river cannot be liberated, they can only be moved and controlled or protected in, for us, sustainable ways.

Communicative Action

Habermas turned in his early writings⁵ against the Marxist-inspired views of the early Frankfurt School, which considered the rationality that exists in the work and the relations to nature as be-

⁵ Habermas, Jürgen: *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. MIT Press, Cambridge, 1989 (*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*. 1961); *Knowledge & Human Interest*. Polity Press, 1987 (*Erkenntnis und Interesse*. 1965); *Technik und Wissenschaft als "Ideologie"*. Suhrkamp, 1968; *Theory and Practice*. Polity Press, 1988 (*Theorie und Praxis*. 1971).

ing over-arching and supreme. History cannot be understood only by the instrumental rationality of work, but must also be understood by the communicative rationality that unfolds in human interaction through language. The communicative rationality is a trans-historical reality in line with the work-related instrumental rationality.

Habermas focuses therefore on language philosophy, and in his main work: *The Theory of Communicative Action*⁶ from 1981, he unfolds detailed provisions of the intersubjective rationality. The fact that humans can be an I and have a personal identity, and that there exist interpersonal relationships and culture in a broader sense, cannot, as asserted in the Marxist tradition, primarily be justified by the relation to nature through work, but by the reality of language and interpersonal relationships. In the relation to nature rules the technical instrumental rationality, but in human interaction rules the communicative rationality, and the rules of language provide binding norms and a liberating or emancipatory core; because language incorporates a telos of mutual understanding and recognition of reasonable arguments. One can violate the language rules, but not completely without a breakdown of the language and the mutual communication. Language has a deliberative dimension with its own normativity to interact reasonably with others, to seek insight and make oneself understood and to seek understanding by others.

With the theory of communicative action Habermas established a basis to reject the positivistic homage to "natural science" as the only valid scientific practise as well as the accusations of the older Frankfurt School against "science" for having taken all the power. Not least, he established a solid basis for rejecting the new postmodernistic equating of all forms of knowledge and interests. During the '80s Habermas initiated an extensive debate⁷ and criticism of the new postmodern and social constructivist narratives about the dead of the big narratives and the breakdown of universal values and transhuman rationality. According to the postmodernists, neither understandings nor norms can be anything but local and relative; there is no longer a valid central-perspective on society and culture, but only changing perspectives with equal validity. In this postmodern condition concepts like humanism and enlightenment have become at best meaningless and hopeless, and at worst an expression of Master thinking and oppression. The postmodernists' cognitive and normative relativism imply that all viewpoints can be equally valid, and a social and cultural criticism can no longer refer to a durable rationality or universal norms.

Although it was not the intention of the postmodernists, they undermined the foundation of the social and human sciences' possible critique of the instrumental rationality of the system world. Their theoretical anti-humanism opened the door for a outright confirmation of the new systemic management theories, and the neoliberal discourses were set free to provide new narratives of the new era of the knowledge society, where reason and human resources now unproblematic could serve the systemic needs. Up against this postmodern relativism, which paved the way for the technical instrumental rationality, Habermas maintains that the essence of modernity is not replaced by something entirely different, but is still an unfinished project. The theoretical foundation of the critique could and should unchanged have reference to the classical modern norms of secularisation, enlightenment and Bildung with the aim to ensure human autonomy and democratic sovereignty.

⁶ Habermas, Jürgen: *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Volume 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society, Polity Press 1984; *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Volume 2: The Critique of Functionalist Reason. Polity Press, 1987 (Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns, Band 1: Handlungsrationallität und Gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung. 1981; Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns, Band 2: Zur Kritik der funktionalistischen Vernunft. 1981)

⁷ Habermas' critique was initiated with the essay: "Die Moderne – ein unvollendetes Projekt", which was part of his acceptance speech when he received the Adorno Prize in Frankfurt in 1980. Translated to English by Nicholas Walker with the title: "Modernity: An Unfinished Project", in Maurizio D'Entrevies and Seyla Benhabib (ed.): *Habermas and the unfinished Project of Modernity*. Polity Press, 1996. Habermas pursued the critique in *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. Polity Press, 1990 (Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne. 1985); and he refined the critique especially against Ricard Rorty in "Questions and Counterquestions", in Richard J. Bernstein (ed.): *Habermas and Modernity*. Polity Press, 1985.

3.2 Theories of Modernity

System and Life World

The development of modern societies is based on a differentiation of the societal areas and functions as well as the life spheres of the citizens. This increased differentiation requires at the same time that the forms of reason also become more differentiated. The modern philosopher that had the clearest understanding of this new segregation of the human forms of reason was Kant, who in the three critiques⁸ determined the tripartite division of reason in science, morality and aesthetics.

Habermas has in continuation of Kant determined this differentiation of reason from the new concepts of system and lifeworld, he developed in *The Theory of Communicative Action* from 1981. The social practise in modern society is according to this theory permeated by the conflict between system and lifeworld and the subsequent conflict between technical-instrumental rationality and communicative rationality. Habermas considers in line with the older Frankfurt School that the instrumental rationality has been released in modern society through enhanced mastery of nature, economic calculation, and bureaucratic management, but he emphasise at the same time that the communicative rationality also has been released. The instrumental rationality grounded in the mastery of nature by work is not pervasive and untouchable.⁹ Modernity cannot be reduced to one over-arching totalizing principle, but must be characterized by a plurality of interrelated forms of rationality.

Habermas develops a conceptual framework for modern societies, where the basic categories are "system and life world". The system consists of the market and the state, where the steering media is money and bureaucracy with the constant demands of increased returns and efficiency. Here the instrumental rationality seeks to develop effective means to redeem pre-established goals about ensuring the physical, economic and legal basis for economic prosperity and social welfare. In the system world we primarily act as employees, consumers and clients.

The lifeworld is the common horizon of understanding in society, and it is the mainstay of our mutual communication and personal identity. Here, the communicative and expressive rationality interprets and creates meaning and develops purposes in life. The lifeworld refers to a strong civil society and a free public debate with a "free" leisure time, and without these conditions the personal standing and the democratic conversation breaks down. In the lifeworld we primarily act as fellow human beings and citizens.

For Habermas, it is an important point that modern societies cannot be maintained without both worlds simultaneously are present. The different forms of rationality in the system and the lifeworld are all necessary to ensure a modern civilization. This does not mean that he refrains from critique of the instrumental reason, but he denies that its mastery is complete, all-pervasive and irrevocable. In contrast, instrumental rationality is relative and lead only to crises, when it is spreading to areas of the lifeworld, where it does not belong. Pathologies occur, when the system colonizes the lifeworld, when instrumental rationality spreads into the main areas of communicative rationality. The reproduction of society as a whole is founded on the three main functions of a

⁸ The three critiques of Immanuel Kant included: *Critique of Pure Reason*, Penguin Classics, 2007 (*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, 1787); *Critique of Practical Reason*, Cambridge University Press, 1997 (*Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, 1788); and *Critique of Judgement*. Oxford University Press, 2007 (*Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 1790).

⁹ This pessimism marked the old Frankfurt School, and it was clearest expressed in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* from 1944 by Adorno and Horkheimer. The conceptual frame had reference to the German sociologist Max Weber, who labelled the societal consequence of the increased instrumental rationality as "the iron cage of rationality" in his main work: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Routledge Classics, 2005 (*Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, 1904).

free lifeworld - to ensure cultural meaning, social solidarity and personal identity – and these functions cannot be provided by the system's commercial or administrative rationality.

The new and unique position of Habermas in the critical theory is that he, in continuation of Kant and Hegel,¹⁰ does not consider the modern differentiation of societal sectors, life spheres and forms of rationality as a problem, but contrary as a historical progress that has created new possibilities for a productive working life, a responsible democratic life and a rich personal life. The critical perspective or the concrete utopia is no longer a future recovery or unification of the separated domains, but instead a maintenance of their borders and balances. The dream of abolishing the differentiation is for Habermas backward and reactionary and indicates a lack of insight into the civilizational gains of modernity. The different types of rationalities of the system and lifeworld are all necessary to ensure a modern civilization.

Life World and Civil Society

An important prerequisite for a rich life world is a civil society with a strong liberal adult education and a comprehensive sector of free voluntary associations in which people can develop their communicative reason and form themselves as humans and citizens. Because a well-functioning society has not only a need for updated employees but also for active citizens and enlightened fellow human beings. A society without a rich life world is not just a poor community in a spiritual and human sense; it is a one-dimensional society, where the lifeblood of society - a vibrant culture, a free public and participatory democracy with free and enlightened citizens – is drying out.

Lifeworld is a broader category than civil society, and there may be methodological difficulties in translating the concept of "life world" to the concept of "civil society", since the two terms refer to different categorical levels, especially because the concept of lifeworld includes a phenomenological dimension. It does not only refer to specific institutions in civil society but also to the reservoir of traditions and assumptions, which are embedded in language and culture and provide a reference for individuals' everyday lives. This dimension of the lifeworld as a linguistic-cultural meaning horizon cannot be delineated by a particular institution in civil society, but represents rather an underlying reservoir of meanings and norms for individuals and institutions in all parts of society.

Furthermore, the lifeworld contains certain institutional areas, which generally can be determined by the modern lifeworlds differentiation in the three structural components: culture, society and personality. These three main structures are matched by three main functions of respectively cultural reproduction, social integration and personal socialisation. When actors mutual understand and reach agreement about their situation, they share a cultural tradition; when they coordinate their actions through intersubjective accepted norms, they act as members of a solidary social group; and when they as individuals grow up with cultural traditions, take part in life-long learning and participate in social life, they internalize values and understandings and develop a personal identity.

The constant reproduction of the lifeworld thus entails communicative processes and thereby also certain institutions in civil society, which is responsible for maintaining and renewing traditions, solidarity and identity. The reproduction of these processes and institutions of civil society is in a constant interaction with the linguistic-cultural meaning horizon of the lifeworld, and the institutions as well as the underlying meaning horizon will be still more modernised. These reciprocal processes can all be interpreted as forms of communication, and together they create a modern lifeworld, which is marked by post-traditional communication and new reflexive forms of

¹⁰ Hegel thematizes this in *Philosophy of Right*. Translated with notes by T. M. Knox. Oxford University Press, 1967 (Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse, 1821).

public debate and personal formation.¹¹ The modern civil society is developed by such linguistically mediated processes, where actors form new relationships, reinterpret norms and coordinate their actions through a constant reassessment of their common values and understandings.

Fundamental Rights and Civil Society

Modern societies have, or ought to have an effective system world as well as a rich life world. The two worlds cannot live without each other, but there is a tendency of the instrumental reason rooted in the system of the market and state to colonize the communicative reason in the life-world. Therefore it is vital according to Habermas that the three main functions of the life world - cultural reproduction, social integration and personal socialization - with roots in civil society are ensured legally against this tendency to colonization. It is the legal foundation of a framework of fundamental rights,¹² which can maintain a free civil society and its communicative rationality.

These fundamental rights, with roots in a free civil society, can be divided into three sets of rights. The first set ensures the personal socialization by maintaining the integrity of the individual and the protection of privacy, the second set ensures cultural reproduction by guaranteeing freedom of thought, freedom of expression and freedom of the press, and the third set ensures social integration by protecting freedom of assembly and freedom of association. There are also two sets of additional rights that mediate between civil society and the two subsystems, partly in relation to the market by securing property rights, civil contracts and labour law, and partly in relation to the state by ensuring democratic rights and welfare rights.

Seen from the theory of communicative action the fundamental rights in civil society must have priority over the political, social and economic rights deployed in the mediation between the lifeworld and the system; because individual rights is the precondition of a free communication, and freedom of expression and assembly are preconditions of a free intersubjective communication. In the modern chain of rights, the personal and civil rights come before the political and social rights, but conversely one can say that the chain is not stronger than its weakest link. If some of the rights are weakened, the others will also be weakened. When some of the main features of the communicative reason in the lifeworld decompose, other main features will decompose too, and the instrumental tendencies of the system will be promoted across a broad front.

Scientifically speaking, it is also the degree of legal protection and the catalogue of rights, which constitute the methodological basis¹³ for an empirical and normative distinction between different types of civil society. The more the catalogue of rights has been entrenched in civil society, both legally and socially, the stronger stands the ideals of liberty and reason. If, for example we will assess the development degree of key institutions of civil society such as voluntary associations and liberal adult education, we need to focus on legal rights of free establishment without prior governmental approval as well as the financial and practical support by public authorities. Is there funding mechanisms to facilitate voluntary associations and liberal adult education? One issue is a formal legal right to engage in liberal adult education, another issue is a statutory public

¹¹ Habermas analysed the ethical and legal implications of this post-traditional communication in the modern lifeworld in: *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*. Polity Press, Cambridge 1990 (Moralbewusstsein und kommunikativen Handeln. 1983); He analysed the philosophical implications in: *Postmetaphysical Thinking. Philosophical Essays*. The MIT Press, Cambridge 1992 (Nachmetaphysisches Denken: Philosophische Aufsätze. 1988)

¹² Habermas presents the consequences of the Communication Theory for the modern rights theory in: *Justification and Application*. MIT Press, paperback edition, 1994. (Erläuterungen zur diskursetik, 1991), which leads to his full developed model of deliberative democracy in: *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Polity Press, 1996 (Fakticität und Geltung, 1992).

¹³ Cohen and Arato operationalize Habermas' categories of civil society for empirically classifications of different types of modern civil societies. Cf. Cohen, Jean & Arato, Andrew: *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge, MA: First MIT Press paperback edition, 1994; and Cohen, Jean & Arato, Andrew: "Politics and the Reconstruction of the Concept of Civil Society", in: Axel Honneth (ed.): *Cultural-Political Interventions in the Unfinished Project of Enlightenment*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992.

financial support for such activities. Moreover, one can examine whether a possible support is given with respect to the arm's length principle, where the state or municipalities do not try to control the form and content of the activities of the voluntary sector and liberal adult education. The methodical measuring point is here, in which degree the public authorities protect and support independent learning activities and free communication forums in the civil society.

Discourse ethic and deliberative democracy

The theory of communicative action also creates a basis for a distinction between the pre-modern and the modern lifeworld. With the differentiation of the different rationality forms and the securing of the fundamental rights, the traditional pre-modern lifeworld has been undermined and eventually torn apart by secularization, rationalization and disenchantment.¹⁴

The pre-modern civil society could ensure the normative cohesion by building on tradition-held conventions that no one questioned, while the modern and post-conventional civil society needs to clarify the common norms through a rational dialogue. This modern discursive approach freed the social integration from a "natural" tradition of substantial norms (*Sittlichkeit*), which monological without debate and criticism sets out common values. Thereby the modern lifeworld has been opened to the institutionalization of plurality, criticism and continuing learning even in the normative areas. The modern individual is no longer extras of tradition, but free actors in its further development. Now people in freedom must determine the meaning and aims of their own lives and the common life of society and gain authority over their own history. This is the core of a humanistic idea of freedom.

It is with reference to the communication theory of the modern lifeworld that Habermas can exert his discourse ethics and deliberative democracy model. For a modern post-traditional society cannot be integrated on a single conception of the good life, on a common morality, but rather on norms established procedurally through a free dialogue marked by plurality and openness. But even though discourse ethics is not based on a particular moral or a particular value tradition, it is not without precondition normatively speaking; because it is based on two basic rights that ensure the individual autonomy and the free dialogue between individuals: Personal autonomy and freedom of communication are the meta-norms of the discourse ethics, and they offer a "substantial" ethical principle of reflexive autonomy, i.e. an ability to engage in dialogue, to apply to a reciprocal morality, to justify universalist values and to reach consensus with regard to general norms.

Discourse ethics thus represents a deontological ethics. It can and will not maintain substantial rules of the good life, i.e. a particular way of life or a particular moral content, but it will claim specific conditions for our personal clarification and common dialogue about the good life. What matters is not the specific choice of norms or the societal benefits of these choices (as utilitarians might think), but a protection of the personal autonomy and the free intersubjective communication. The most important is, as the main spokesman of the deontological ethics, Immanuel Kant emphasised, that man is seen an end in itself, and not as a means for a given system-related utility or value tradition.¹⁵

Discourse ethics is the mainstay of the deliberative democracy model, where a legitimate exercise of political power requires a preceding open and informed public discussion (deliberation) between citizens, so the best argument can win and thus bring consensual legitimacy to the succeeding legislation. Here is the dialogue in the centre, both the dialogue between citizens and the

¹⁴ Marshall Berman has elucidated these modern tendencies in: *All that is Solid melt into Air. The experience of modernity*. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1982.

¹⁵ Cf. Immanuel Kant: *The Metaphysics of Moral*. Hackett Publishing Compagny, Indianapolis, 1999. (Metaphysik der Sitten, 1797)

dialogue between citizens and their political representatives. An open, efficient and free public debate based on a strong civil society and not the state or the market, is a democratic necessity to ensure the communicative rationality of the lifeworld the ability to can gain influence on the political decision making. The deliberative model is closely related to the "classic" Danish model of "dialogue democracy" as it was unfolded in the post-war period. In a Danish context, the deliberative conception of democracy had a prominent proponent by Hal Koch, who identified democracy as a way of life.¹⁶

3.3 Enlightenment and Bildung

The Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School share despite many differences the common perception that the normative foundation of the theory, its basis of criticism must build on the core ideals of modern society, which has reference to human rights and democracy. Ideals that points back to the classic modern enlightenment period, where Enlightenment and Bildung should create the basis for freedom and democracy. In this section, we shall briefly present the inner coherence of these ideals.

Humanism and enlightenment

The European humanistic tradition of enlightenment represents the conceptual basis for human rights and sovereignty of the people, and it had a constitutive influence on the legal constitutions of the modern societies in Europe and later worldwide. The humanistic enlightenment marked the Declaration of Independence of the new colonies of United States in 1776 and the French Revolution's ideals of "liberty, equality and fraternity" in 1789. A search for modern values and ideals with universal aspirations for the 21st century will find its roots here.

The modern Enlightenment indicates a transition into the modern era in which man requires sovereignty of his own history in a situation, where the guidelines no longer are self-evident given from above. Immanuel Kant formulated the new secular liberal program of enlightenment in 1784. Man should leave his "self-imposed immaturity" and have "the courage to make use of his own reason." Man now had the opportunity to be freed from the old regime's authorities and take responsibility for his own fate by using his own reason. The Enlightenment claimed, we as free individuals should transcend our self-imposed immaturity, and it indicated that an anthropocentric conception of man had gradually replaced the pre-modern deocentric conception, in which man got his determination from a God-given order or a hierarchical tradition. Hereby political theory as well as pedagogical theory was secularized. Now people in freedom should impose meaning to their own lives and the common societal life and gain sovereignty over their own history. This was and is the core of a humanistic world-view.

It is furthermore man's historic emergence as a free and autonome individual that bears the demand for democracy forward. Democracy means government by the people, and the key principle is the sovereignty of the people; but behind the political democratic rights of the people stands the civil rights of the individual. It is the individual's legal protection against an autocratic state, the citizen's rights of belief and thought, their freedom of speech and assembly, which created the modern civil space that could generate the demand of political rights for a group of individuals. A developed civil society with active citizenship, liberal adult education, voluntary asso-

¹⁶ The Danish theologian and Folk High School representative, Hal Koch was a marked spokesman of a deliberative democracy model. Cf. Hal Koch: *Dagen og Vejen*. Westermann, 1942; Koch: "Ungdomsopdragelse i Nordisk demokrati", i: Hal Koch og Alf Ross: *Nordisk Demokrati*. Westermann, København, Halvorsen & Larsen, Natur och Kultur, Stockholm, 1949; and not at least Hal Koch: *Hvad er demokrati?* Gyldendal 1995. (What is Democracy?1945).

ciations and a free public debate was a prerequisite for the development of a new civilian and democratic culture in the modern society.

Sovereignty of the People implies free public communication and free assemblies in civil society without state paternalism. Democracy is based on a separation between state and society, which sets limits on government power, and the critical threshold is, when the State seeks to control people's opinion. The government cannot announce, what people shall think, or which view of life and socio-political attitudes they shall have, without ending up as a Nanny or Big Brother state. It will turn the idea of people's sovereignty on its head, and the state becomes totalitarian. The attitudinal autonomy of the people is essential in a liberal society, and it is also worth mentioning that it is crucial in the Grundtvigian comprehension of freedom.¹⁷

Democracy and Bildung

In the course of the 1700s the modern comprehension of freedom gained foothold. The increasing secularization of society and culture went hand in hand with a growing market economy and a new independent civil society. Enlightenment could be unfolded, while the state's political and economic control and the church's ideological power were weakened. It was based on a division between state and society and between the church and the secular reason, which created a space for enlightenment for the sake of man and not for the sake of the state and the church. A new self-confident man had entered the stage of history, but it soon became apparent that modern man had to act in several roles on different scenes, both as a human being in the personal and private matters (as *l'homme*), as an employee and employer (as *bourgeois*) in the market, and as a citizen (as *citoyen*) in the new general public and civil society. Modern man lived in a society characterized by differentiation in relatively independent societal areas, such as the private sphere, the civil society, the state and the market; and he had to navigate in a corresponding differentiation of the life spheres as an individual person, as a fellow-human being, as a citizen and as an employee.

With the rising productivity and living standards there were created space for a division of time in hours of work and hours of leisure. Life became more than "earning your bread by the sweat of your brow" for ever-larger segments of the population. Modern man has at the same time a personal existential life, a caring civilian life, a free public life as well as a work life, where he must sell his labour power and leave the managerial right to an employer, whose objective is to think of the particular interest of the business and not the general interest of the republic. In the work life one must act primarily strategically and instrumental goal-oriented and unfold some special skills and qualifications, while one as fellow human and citizen in the private and civil life must act primarily communicative and unfold some other abilities, especially with reference to personal formation (*Bildung*).

This differentiation has in many ways been a major civilizational advance. It has created space for a productive working life, a responsible civic society as well as a rich personal life. But it also implies that the humanistic ideals of autonomy and enlightenment become more contradictory, when they are deployed in divided spheres with different interests. After the great revolutions at the end of the 1700s against the Ancient Regime, it soon became clear that the ideal of human sovereignty was not realized. For it was rather the market's "invisible hand" that controlled the history and it was a story written with "red ink"; worse yet, when the people came to power during the French Revolution, it ended in mob rule and terror.

¹⁷ "Freedom our watchword here in the North, freedom for Loke as well as for Thor" has been used as the quintessence of Grundtvig's vision of freedom. The quote is from "Rim-Brev til Nordiske Paarørende", and is part of the initial poem in "Nordic Mythology", 1832.

A leading educational (and political) response to this challenge was the German neohumanistic Bildung tradition from the end of the 1700s that found inspiration in Rousseau's cultural criticism¹⁸ and Kant's liberal humanism. The main spokesman was the German philosopher, linguist and politician Wilhelm von Humboldt;¹⁹ and in Denmark the answers to the same challenge²⁰ were formulated in the decades up to the fall of Absolutism in 1848 by the philologist, neohumanist and politician, Johan Nicolai Madvig²¹ and the theologian, poet, educator and politician, Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig.²²

The humanistic ideals were unchanged, but the new task was to ensure personal freedom as well as the general public interest, to find a dialectic development between man as a self-serving private person and as a responsible citizen, which could ensure that man as citizen got precedence over man as bourgeois. The Danish and English concept of "formation" does not express this dialectic, while it is expressed by the German concept of "Bildung" and the Swedish concept of "Bildning", which refers both to the verb "to form" and the noun "picture or model".²³ It contains the duality of on the one hand freely to form one-self and on the other hand to do this in relation to role models from the common culture and acts on behalf of the common good.

The primary goal of this Bildung was not to be educated for a private career, but to be formed to take responsibility for the common good and general interests. Grundtvig describes it as an enlightenment to ensure "freedom for the common good."²⁴ Without Bildung, education will not lead to autonomy and democracy, but to wilfulness and majority rules that will dissolve the community in a clash of private interests. The modern pedagogical humanism would counter that the bourgeois perspective of private interests gained dominance and the market became the whole life. It was the larger world orientation, the broad cultural insight and general moral responsibility that was on the agenda. It was the state citizen and the universally human, even the world citizen, who was the aim. The Bildung Theory implies that self development and world orientation are dialectically linked. The personal formation aims to thematize the meaning and purpose of one's own life, but always in a broader context and thus in relation to questions about the meaning and aims of the common culture and the whole society. In a context of Bildung the personal

¹⁸ Cf. Rousseau, Jean Jacques: *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Dover Thrift Editions, 2004 (Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les homes, 1754); *Émile; or, on Education*. NuVision Publications, 2007 (Émile ou de l'éducation, 1762); *The Social Contract*. Penguin Great Ideas, 2004 (Du contrat social, 1762).

¹⁹ Humboldt, Wilhelm von: *The limits of State Action*. Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 1993 (Ideen zu einem Versuch die Grenzen der Virksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen, 1791); "Theorie der Bildung des Menschen. Bruchstück." In: Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Hrsg.) *Allgemeine Bildung*. Juventa-Verlag, 1986. (1793). As secondary literature we recommend David Sorkin: "Wilhelm Von Humboldt. The Theory and Practice of Self-Formation (Bildung), 1791-1810" in: *Journal of the History of Ideas*. Vol. 44, No. 1, 1983, pp. 55-73; and John Roberts: *German Liberalism and Wilhelm Von Humboldt: A Reassessment*. Mosaic Press, 2002.

²⁰ Danish popular enlightenment and Bildung history is presented by Ove Korsgaard in: *Kampen om lyset. Dansk voksenundervisning gennem 500 år*. Gyldendal, 1997; and the doctoral dissertation: *Kampen om folket. Et dannelseperspektiv på dansk historie gennem 500 år*. Gyldendal 2004.

²¹ Important secondary literature on Madvig's Bildung theory are Jesper Eckhardt Larsen: *J.N. Madvigs dannelsestanker. En kritisk humanist i den danske romantik*. Museum Tusulanums Forlag, Københavns Universitet 2002; and the dissertation by Harry Haue: *Almendannelse som ledestjerne*. Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2003.

²² Cf. especially Grundtvig, N. F. S.. "Skolen for livet og Akademiet i Soer", 1838, i N. F. S. Grundtvig: *Værker i Udvalg*, bind 4, udgivet ved Georg Christensen og Hal Koch. Gyldendal 1943. Among the very comprehensive secondary literature very few have tried to interpret the work of Grundtvig in a context of social philosophy and history philosophy; exceptions are the doctoral dissertation of Regner Birkelund: *Frihed til fælles bedste. Om Grundtvigs frihedsbegreb*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2008; and the doctoral dissertation of Ole Vind: *Grundtvigs historiefilosofi*. Gyldendal, 1999. The newest and best English introduction to Grundtvig's pedagogical thoughts is by Broadbridge, Warren and Jonas: *School for Life: N F S Grundtvig on the Education for the People*. Aarhus University, 2011.

²³ Gustavsson, Bernt. *Dannelse i vor tid*. Klim 1998 [Bildning i vår tid, 1996]

²⁴ Cf. Grundtvig: *Statsmæssig Oplysning - et udkast om samfund og skole*. Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck i samarbejde med Selskabet for Dansk Skolehistorie, 1983.

self-reflection and self-criticism are inseparable from social and cultural reflection and societal criticism.

The modern ethical and political goal of human autonomy and popular sovereignty had thus to be supplemented with new pedagogical goals of *Bildung*. Human sovereignty in a modern context demanded an ongoing effort of personal and social formation. The ethical and political goals had to be supplemented with educational and cultural goals, if the ideals of a democracy as freedom for the common good should be ensured.

4. Neoliberalism and New Public Management

4.1 Neoliberalism

Classical liberalism and neoclassical economy

Neoliberalism represents a distinctive theoretical school of thought, which has some references to classical liberalism and neoclassical economics, but it also breaks with key parts of these traditions. As a theory it can be characterized as "new", but it is only partially liberalistic in economic terms, it is far from liberal in political terms, and it is alien to the humanist discourse that was included in the classical liberalism.

Liberalism as an economic and political theory was developed in 1700s Scottish enlightenment by spokesmen as Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and David Hume with roots back to the Liberal natural law thinking, particular John Locke.¹ Hume was politically liberal and supported the idea of fundamental rights and democracy,² however he denied that private property was a natural law, and his economic ideas pointed more toward Keynes than neoliberalism. Ferguson rejected that the market alone could ensure the cohesion of a civil society, as it also had to build on shared values and community morals.³ Adam Smith was not only an economist, who maintained that the market's invisible hand ensured that the pursuit of self-interest would lead to the common good.⁴ He was also a moral philosopher, who warned against the weaknesses of the market and maintained the need of a civil society before and beside the market that could ensure human sympathy and shared values.⁵ The fathers of Liberalism, Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith regarded civil society as an independent norm regulated sphere next to the private interests and the invisible hand of the market. It was during the Scottish enlightenment that the basic concepts of a modern liberal social order was conceived, including the separation of politics and economics and the distinction between state, market and civil society. The spokesmen clearly saw the inner tensions of modern liberalism with its needs of simultaneously to be an ethical citizen, a politically liberal and an economically liberalist.⁶ This problem consciousness is completely absent in the neoliberal thinking.

The neoclassical economics from the end of the 1800s was developed by the British economists, Jevons⁷ and Marshall.⁸ These economic theories have provided the inspiration for the modern economic liberalism, although they actually only represent a narrow microeconomic theory of price formation in an ideal market, which only operates under a set of abstract assumptions, including complete competition. This theory assumes that the market agents, seller and purchaser act goal-rational to maximize their utility; and this mechanism of marginal utility behind supply and demand can thus ensure equilibrium prices, so consumption and production is still in balance. But the theory was just an economic theory of the mechanism behind the ideal market, and had no ambition to be a general social theory. It did not claim that these mechanisms had validity outside the market area and therefore could be used as a law in other areas of society. Furthermore, the

¹ John Locke: *Two Treatises of Government; and A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Yale University Press, 2003 (1690, 1689). Locke wrote these books as a defence of the "Glorious Revolution" in England in 1688.

² David Hume: *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. Hackett Publishing Co, Inc; New edition (1751)

³ Adam Ferguson: *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Cambridge University Press, 1995, reprinted 2001 (1767)

⁴ Adam Smith: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Chicago University Press; 1977 (1776)

⁵ Adam Smith: *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Liberty Fund Inc; New Ed edition, 1984 (1759)

⁶ Cf. Jens Erik Kristensen & Mads P. Sørensen: "Moralfilosofi og politisk tænkning fra Mandeville til de skotske oplysningstænkere" in: *Den skotske oplysning*, Slagmarks Skyttegravsserie, Århus 2006.

⁷ William Stanley Jevons: *The Theory of Political Economy*. Augustus M. Kelley, 1965 (1871)

⁸ Alfred Marshall: *Principles of Economics*. Macmillan, 8 ed., reprinted, 1977 (1881)

theory presupposed and required not a private property over the means of production, because from its point of view, it was immaterial, whether the maximum benefit or profit provided by the mechanism of marginal utility goes to shareholders, workers or the state. The distinctive feature of the neoliberal application of the neoclassical theory is, first, that it seeks to generalize and transfer this market behaviour to areas outside the market; and second, that it chooses to ignore that a collective or public ownership of parts of the economy may be feasible and desirable, according to the neoclassical theory.

The neoclassical economic theory was dominant until the world economic crisis in the 1930s, when it became impossible to maintain the assumption that the market is able to fix prices, including wages so there continued to be balance on goods and labour. There appeared a need for the state to stabilize the economy through fiscal and monetary policy and public investment. John Maynard Keynes was the spokesman for a active state intervention in the market,⁹ and the Keynesian economic theory dominated the welfare state politics in the post-war period until the oil crisis in 1973. In the subsequent recession with rising public debt and a simultaneous unemployment and inflation, Keynesianism lost its strength, and during the 80s neoconservative governments with Reagan in the U.S., Thatcher in England and Schlüter in Denmark, the neoliberal crisis management gained dominance.

Neoliberal positions

Already in the 70s, and especially in the 80s there was a "rebirth" of the most market-oriented part of economic liberalism in the form of the so-called neoliberalism. Major neoliberal spokesmen were the political philosopher Robert Nozick,¹⁰ the economist Friedrich von Hayek,¹¹ and the economist and Nobel laureate Milton Friedman.¹²

Where the classic liberalism represented a moral and political philosophy as well as an economic theory, neoliberalism based the theory one-sided on the rationale of the market economy. Society as a whole is interpreted from the "market optic", and the goal is to rehabilitate the market at the expense of the welfare state and civil society. The neoclassical microeconomic "ideal model" of agents' utility maximization in perfect market conditions is distorted to a general goal-rational and utilitarian theory, where it is the individual self-interest that becomes the key explanation of all areas of society. Public economic activity and governmental intervention in the market are evils, which is economically inefficient and represents a political assault on the freedom of the citizens, since it is based on taxation or "robbery" of corporate and personal income used for redistribution and shared aims one does not necessarily agree with.

Neoliberalism is highly critical of the welfare state and its democratic regulations and redistribution in relation to the market. This criticism is expressed most uncompromising by Nozick. Even though the market has proven to favour some more than others, it does not give the state any right to redistribute property by taxation and help people in need, because their need is their personal problem and nobody else's. Nozick recommends a pure minimal state or a night watchman state with the only function to protect the property rights of the market. Hayek is not quite as rabid, however he also sees the market's spontaneous coordination of the private interests as superior to any democratic regulation. Public redistribution in relation to the market economy is not rejected completely, but should be limited to what is strictly necessary, since it weakens the economic efficiency by counteracting the individual's motivation to make an (extra) effort.

⁹ John Maynard Keynes: *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Macmillan Press. 1974. The collected writings of John Maynard Keynes, Vol. VII (1936)

¹⁰ Robert Nozick: *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. Basic Books, 1977 (1974)

¹¹ Friedrich von Hayek: *The road to serfdom*. Routledge Classics; 2 edition, 2001 (1944)

¹² Milton Friedmann: *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*, Thomson Learning, 1980.

The welfare state is according to neoliberalism both a threat to individual freedom and economic efficiency. The policy recommendations are aimed at rehabilitating the market in all areas of society by reducing the state's redistribution of resources, and by introducing market solutions for the remaining areas, both in the public sector and in the third sector in civil society. During the '80s the neoliberal agenda gained strong political influence in a number of key international economic organizations. From OECD, WTO, IMF and the World Bank sounded the same message to all member states that market forces had to be freed from government regulation. In particular, the OECD has been a significant advocate of neo-liberalism,¹³ and subsequent for a transition of the public sector to New Public Management.¹⁴

The National Competitive State

The international community has, since the '80s and until the current financial crisis, been marked by a particular form of neoliberal globalization, where it has become increasingly difficult for the national state to manage its own national economy, and the international community to steer the global economy. The background for the neoliberal success was the international political deregulation of capital movements across borders especially of finance capital, which began in the early '80s, and forced all countries into a mutual competition to attract share capital and investments on the conditions of the world market; because when capital is free to leave or flow to a country, it starts to get veto power over the policy of the country.¹⁵

The period was internationally thus characterized by a post-Keynesian policy. Before the national economy was embedded in the politics of the nation state, but after the 80s the global market economy started to embed the national policy. The state's role has become increasingly reactive in relation to international market conditions, and its primary task has been reshaped to ensure the domestic industry's competitiveness on the world markets. This development entails far from the death of the nation state, but rather that it with Joachim Hirsch's words have got a new role as "national competitive state".¹⁶ In line with the neoliberal globalization, the state is governed more and more like a concern, that strengthen its competitiveness in the global economy. The citizen is in this context primarily seen as labour power, which must be formed for optimal employability and competitiveness on the conditions of the market economy.

Where the State in the Keynesian period sought to regulate and control the market, the state in the neoliberal period instead seeks to help the market to gain dominance over all parts of society. This help feature for the market is not just about ensuring structural conditions such as wages, taxation, infrastructure, education and workforce profiles, but also to ensure the proper attitude of the people; it means to adjust people's minds to the needs of the market. We therefore experience a state, which has giving up to control and regulate the economy, and instead has tried to control and regulate the people. Discipline, control and monitoring of the citizens have been enhanced during this period, where increased economic liberalization has gone hand in hand with an increased anti-liberal political control of citizens.

Definition of Neoliberalism

Above, we have in line with other commentators used the term "neoliberalism" to describe the social changes the last decades; but strictly speaking there is no widely accepted definition of neoliberalism. Often it is connected with an ultra-liberal policy to expand the market and reduce the

¹³ Cf. OECD: *The Welfare State in Crisis*. Paris 1981

¹⁴ Cf. OECD: *Public Management Development*, 1990

¹⁵ Cf. Anders Lundkvist: "Den danske kapitalisme og demokratiets forfald", in: Anders Lundkvist (red): *Dansk Nyliberalisme*. Frydenlund 2009.

¹⁶ Hirsch, Joachim: *Vom Sicherheitsstaat zum nationalen Wettbewerbsstaat*. Berlin: Id-Verlag. 1998.

welfare state to a minimal state; and it was also such long-term goals neoliberalists as Nozick, Hayek and Friedman had advocated. Yet, the economic scale of the state has not been substantially reduced in the EU member states since the '80s, and this fact could imply, we must deny that the past decades have been a neoliberal period.¹⁷

However, a more comprehensive definition of neoliberalism will not focus on the possible reduction of the state's quantitative scale, but rather on the state qualitative changes as a result of neoliberal influences. The characteristic of neoliberalism is not more market and less state in the form of extensive downsizing and privatization and a weakening of state control, but rather that a strong state helps the market to break down the divide between state, market and civil society. The new quality of neoliberal strategies is the systematic implementation of market relations as the management principle; not by limiting government intervention, but by making market principles to the rationale of state government. Because the neo-liberalists have realized that the market can only gain influence, if the state actively develops and maintains market principles throughout the whole society. The core of the neoliberal strategy is thus to expand market relations and functions not only within the public sector, but also within areas of civil society and the private sphere, which so far have been protected from the market and kept free of government interference.

Based on this interpretation, the Danish sociologist Peter Nielsen¹⁸ has - with reference to Hardt & Negri,¹⁹ Jessop²⁰ and Hirsch²¹ - thus characterized neoliberalism as a societal strategy, where a strong state helps the market to gain increasing influence throughout society, not least within the public arena of culture struggle and value disputes. The state introduces with the neoliberal strategy new forms of discipline and management methods to ensure that more and more social functions are subsumed market forces.

However, these reforms are only possible, if the government expands its scope and its control. The Common term for these new management methods and organizational forms is New Public Management and its theoretical basis derives primarily from the Rational Choice Theory and the Principal - Agent Theory.

4.2 New Public Management

Characteristics of NPM

New Public Management (NPM) is a term for a range of organizational forms and management methods, which originated from the private sector, and has dominated the so-called "modernization" of the public sector in recent decades. NPM emerged in the mid 80s and is a sort of heading

¹⁷ This viewpoint has been presented by Pierre Bourdieu: *Modild*. Hans Reitzels Forlag, København 2001 (Contre-feux 2, 2001); and Anthony Giddens: *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Polity Press, 1998. Tony Blair's New Labour strategy had reference to Giddens' understandings and recommendations, and this could explain the uncritically import of neoliberal tendencies, especially New Public Management in Blair's "new" politics.

¹⁸ Cf. Peter Nielsen in: *Nyliberalismen i det danske velfærdssamfund*. Research Paper no. 3/06. Roskilde University; and in: "Nyliberalismen i velfærdssamfundet", in: Anders Lundkvist (red.): *Dansk Nyliberalisme*. København: Frydenlund 2009.

¹⁹ Cf. Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri: *Labour of Dionysus – A Critique of the State Form*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis / London, 1994, p. 241: "The development of the neoliberal State did not lead toward a "thin" form of rule in the sense of the progressive dissipation or disappearance of the state as a social actor. On the contrary, the State did not become a weak but rather an increasingly strong subject."

²⁰ Cf. Bob Jessop: *The Future of the Capitalist State*. Polity Press, 2002, p. 211: "The rearticulation of the state involves neither a gradual withering away of the national state nor simple displacement based on 'more market, less state'. Instead, it is the Keynesian Welfare National State (KWNS) that has been eroded. But the erosion of one form of national state should not be mistaken for its general retreat. On the contrary, as the frontiers of the KWNS [...] are rolled back, the boundaries of the national state are rolling."

²¹ Hirsch (1998).

for the neoliberal showdown with the welfare state in general and the Danish or Nordic welfare model in particular. The inspiration came from the neoliberal political upheaval in the U.S. and England in the 80s with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher at the helm. Their neoliberal thoughts about using the market mechanism in the public sector and expanding the market spread in most European countries, both in centre right and centre-left governments. Many social democratic parties in Europe took over NPM as the modernization model, not least New Labour in Britain from the late '90s with Tony Blair as leader. In Denmark, NPM was initiated by the conservative Schlüter-government in the '80s, continued by the social democratic Nyrup-government in the 90s and fully unfolded during the liberal-conservative Fogh-government in the 00s.

Since NPM emerged in the 1980s, its content has been refined and further developed with the main aim to strengthen market principles in the public sector and if possible also in the third sector in civil society. The direct enhancement of the market is done through the privatization of former public institutions, while the indirect is done by embedding the public institutions and civil non-profit institutions and associations in market related forms of control. This attempt to create a world in the image of the market is far from being political liberal. The administrative control is not least developed in the soft areas such as education, research, culture and public service, where the demand of a market-oriented efficiency goes hand in hand with behavioural regulation and actual mind control. Well-established traditions of institutional autonomy, the arm's length principle and pedagogical, academic, artistic and journalistic freedom is being undermined partly by legal and organizational means of new statutes, external governance, hierarchical management, performance contracts and other rules, and partly by economic means such as extensive use of contract management, taximeter funding, political decided project funds, development funds and strategic research funds, and new demands of cooperation with private companies.

During the last decade the political control has also been extended to civil society associations, liberal adult education and art and culture. Fixed public subsidies are increasingly replaced by political earmarked project funding and performance contracts, and demands of increased funding by donations and sponsorship from the private sector. Demands of extensive evaluation and reporting are as far as possible also established within these soft areas, and the required quality standards have consistently reference to the employability and business related use of the activities. NPM is often explained as a politically neutral "modernization" of the public sector, but in reality it represents an authoritarian strategy to strengthen the market and to subordinate the public sector and civil society as economic domains of the market. NPM has a clear political ideology aiming to rehabilitate the market and this aim concerns not only the public sector, but the whole society, and thus the relationship between the private sector, the public sector and the third sector in civil society. Especially the last point is underexposed in the current academic research of NPM, which has focus on the relationship between state and market, while the consequences for a free civil society is out of focus.²²

The Public Choice theory

NPM is often explained as a politically neutral "modernization and de-bureaucratization" of the public sector, but in reality it constitutes a neoliberal strategy for strengthening the market and subordinating the public sector and civil society to domains of the market. Although NPM is composed of many elements, it should not overshadow the fact that it has a joint theoretical-political core. The theoretical basis is formed by a utilitarian focus on the use of results, a liberalistic atom-

²² Nordic Cultural Institute in Copenhagen has completed a comprehensive research of the cultural area including the impact of New Public Management. Cf. Peter Duelund (ed.): *The Nordic Cultural Model*, Nordisk Kulturinstitut, København 2003; and Peter Duelund: *Nordic Cultural Policies, a Critical View*, Nordisk Kulturinstitut 2008. Nordic-European Academy completed in 2006-07 a survey of Nordic adult education and voluntary associations, which exposed the impact of NPM. Cf. Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard: *Da dannelsen gik ud*, Interfolks Forlag, 2. oplag, 2009.

istic view of man, and a neoclassical starting point with a goal-rational "homo economicus"; and this base is expanded with a political liberalistic vision of the dominant market, and supplemented by authoritarian and neo-conservative values.²³

As a management theory and method NPM is based primarily on the Public Choice theory and the Principal Agent theory. The Public Choice theory sees society through the optic of the market by transferring the neoclassical microeconomic model of "rational choice" to the public administration and political democracy.²⁴ The basic assumption in Public Choice is that "homo politicus" and "homo economicus" are basically the same, and the requirements to economic and policy as decision-making systems are the same, and they can be compared by using the same neoclassical microeconomic optics. This economist simplification or reductionism terminates the classic distinction between man as respectively l'homme, citoyen and bourgeois, and man is perceived solely as a bourgeois, who goal-rational pursues a market-like self-interest in all life situations.

From this economic optic Public Choice can claim that the neoclassic market model may represent an assessment standard not only for the current macro economy, but also for the existing political institutions. Thereby it can compare the degree of efficiency, which respectively the market and the political democracy has to ensure the right decisions. Not surprisingly, the Public Choice theory concludes that traditional policy (specifically democracy) as a system of decision making suffers from efficiency problems. The market is better than the policy to ensure the right decisions, or expressed differently: The market is better than the political decision-making system for aggregating subjective individual preferences into a collective preference. The market makes no mistake in its demand, but so does policy.

The application of Public Choice in NPM indicates that the public service has been marked by an economic reductionism in relation to the political administration and democratic decision-making. The individual user-concept has replaced the previous joint and solidary citizen concept as measuring point for the public service. However, politics is not just about one's own welfare, but to gain influence on the common societal conditions and thereby also the welfare of others, and democracy is about more than individual utility maximization. First and foremost, because politics is not just about an aggregation (summation) of individual interests, but about a process where individual interests and preferences are processed from joint values and goals and transformed into collective interests with an understanding of the common good. The collective choices in a democratic public are based on a different type of argumentation and decision-making than the private choice on the anonymous market. The growing marketization of public service includes a tendency to neglect the broader humane and democratic considerations and thereby the concern for the common good, which was originally the reason, why the Nordic welfare model positioned such tasks in the public sphere under democratic control.

The Principal - Agent theory

The new management method of NPM comes mainly from the "Principal - Agent" theory, where the market philosophy is applied to public management and personnel policy. The focus is on the relationship between the principal (the political-administrative leaders) and the agents (the employees), and this conceptual framework of principal and agent has reference to the management practices in the Middle Ages, where one party (the principal) delegate the performance of a given

²³ Cf. Henrik Herløv Lund: *New Public Management - rehabilitering af markedet*. Forlaget Alternativ, august 2008; Carsten Greve: *New Public Management*, Nordisk Kultur Institut 2002; and HK Kommunal Østjylland og FOA Århus: *Hvad er New Public Management?* Århus, januar 2008

²⁴ The pioneer work was done by Anthony Down: *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957. Other spokesmen are Milton Friedman: *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962; and William A Niskanen: *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*. Aldine-Atherton, 1971. Niskanen was economic adviser for Ronald Reagan and one of the architects behind "Reaganomics".

task to another party (the agent). The medieval reference indicates that modern workplace democracy is a foreign word here.

The theory aims to define the institutional rules that can strengthen the principal as leader, and to encourage agents as employees to meet the principal's wishes, even if they do not immediately feel like it. The power of the Principal shall be reinforced through hard measures by a greater division of tasks, stronger managerial means and an increased control. Employees must also through soft measures be encouraged to do the right thing by positive incentives, such as employee interviews, personal development plans, targeted in-service training in personality development, and individual payroll systems.

The theory's emphasis of strong leadership is based on the neoclassical model of individual self-interest as the key motivator. The theory takes it as a given assumption that public employees will pursue their own interests, and they will therefore probably cheat and build intricate systems that favour themselves. Distrust, which is a basic condition in any market, is introduced as a principle throughout the public sector, and this mistrust is the background of the increased concentration of power to the upper layers of managers. The theory is thus also called a "low - trust" - theory. The contract is in this theoretical frame the most rational approach by the principal (leader) to regulate and manage the agents (employees) by imposing them a higher degree of "self governance". But actually they are kept in a very tight leash by the contract system, where each level of employees is associated with the next via a contract. The concept of "self management" implies by no means a more democratic self-government for employees and institutions, but rather that they themselves are responsible for ensuring the detailed objectives set out from above by their principals.

The implementation of principal-agent relations indicates that the public management culture has been embedded in a brutalizing view of human nature and an economic reductionism. In this frame of understanding it is believed that all public employees except managers and middle managers only think of personal utility maximization, and therefore must be controlled with an iron fist. In this optic it is ruled out that the performance of the employees can rest on other reasons and motives such as professional pride, professional ethics, team spirit, sense of duty, official terms of loyalty and solidarity with the users, they are in contact with. The principal-agent theory legitimizes thereby an authoritarian and centralized form of management with a comprehensive control system to counter that staff goes into bureaucratic overdrive. But the result of the principal-agent management is not less, but more bureaucracy and economic inefficiency. Especially during the last decade of NPM has the extent of regulations, detailed standards, documentation requirements, ongoing evaluation and reporting swollen and robbed time from the service of citizens to an increased service of the principal and his principals.

Furthermore, this "low trust - management" and the increased control of the public employees, imply that their professional scope of influence has been reduced, while administrative values are pushed into the foreground. With this control pressure it becomes increasingly difficult for public employees to see themselves and act as responsible managers of public property and interests of citizens. One consequence is a decrease of the motivation, job satisfaction, and creativity, the second is a decrease in the service for citizens and users.

Consequences for democracy and social welfare

NPM has marked the public sector with management practices, which prioritize (an imaginary) economic efficiency higher than the citizens' democratic influence on public administration. The individual user concept has replaced the previous joint and solidary citizen concept as measuring point for public service. Furthermore, NPM has, with reference to Rational Choice and Principal - agent theory, actually rejected the possibility of binding relationships between the representative

democracy and the citizens, because democracy is just a political framework for competition between different user groups, who pursue their own group interests or private interests.

Welfare services in the Nordic social democratic model was controlled politically with the aim to correct an unequal distribution of incomes and hence unequal access to common welfare benefits, which had been politically determined as fundamental social rights. The original idea of using democratic means and not market means was to ensure, that other considerations than private wealth should influence the people's access to welfare benefits. The politically established welfare benefits were before NPM understood as an "extended product", which in addition to services also should ensure legal protection and democratic governance. But this principle does not apply in the market, where your access to influence and benefits depend on your purchasing power. On the market there is no equality between citizens, here the financially strong have access to welfare benefits, which the economically disadvantaged have not.

NPM means not only a reduction of democratic values; it furthermore implies, that the broader humane considerations are pushed aside, which was originally the reason, why the welfare model positioned such tasks in the public service under democratic control. This is not just a risk, but simply an intentional part of the NPM's introduction of a public management that follows market principles. In doing so, the economic redistribution through the welfare state is replaced by a distribution policy that is more similar to the "ideal" market distribution, and the social, cultural and economic inequalities between the citizens has increased.

Based on Habermas' theory of communicative action, we can interpret NPM as a sign of the penetration of the market's instrumental rationality to areas of society, which have hitherto been dominated by communicative rationality. Or, expressed differently, the political-democratic public has been colonized by the economic goal-rationality of the market.

5. Paradigm dispute on lifelong learning

In recent decades, where the neoliberalistic way of thinking has dominated the social and cultural debate in Europe as elsewhere, we have experienced a gradual paradigm shift in education policy and culture policy, from a humanistic and Bildung-oriented discourse to an instrumental and competence-oriented discourse.

This paradigm shift implies, with Jürgen Habermas' words, that the instrumental rationality rooted in the market and state gradually has undermined the communicative rationality rooted in the lifeworld more and more. The concept of *lifelong learning* has during this shift drifted still more away from the concept of *learning for life*, which the Neohumanistic and Grundtvigian Bildung-traditions represent and which still have a stronghold in UNESCO.

The amazing thing is that this paradigm change has been relatively unnoticed, and it has been implemented by help of New Public Management without much debate even in the affected areas of education and culture.

5.1 Humanistic and instrumental discourses

The idea of lifelong learning is not new

The concept of "lifelong learning" has become the big buzzword over the past decade, especially after the EU Commission in 2000 published the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*. But the idea of lifelong learning is not new.

In the European history of ideas the main humanistic traditions have always seen education and enlightenment as essential to human freedom and reason. The ancient Greeks saw it as an ultimate goal of the free citizen to acquire knowledge about the world and himself and thus to become a whole person.¹ The same reasoning can be seen in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and especially in the German Goethe period² and the succeeding neohumanism, where life was seen as a life-long and unfinished process of enlightenment for wisdom.³ The Nordic folk high school has also represented a lifelong education or rather enlightenment on a humanistic basis, which should develop whole and vibrant humans, active citizens and able employees. For Grundtvig enlightenment was the foundation of the individual life and the goal for the common history of mankind. In recent times the term has first been used explicitly by Eduard Lindman in his classic *Meaning of Adult Education* from 1926, which was inspired by his friend and colleague John Dewey.⁴ In 1929, Basil Yeaxlee could, inspired by Lindman and his own experiences with adult education in England, present the first major analyse of the concept in his book *Life Long Education*, which was marked by a humanistic outlook on education.⁵

¹ Cf. the three-volume work of Werner Jaeger: *Paideia. The Ideals of Greek Culture*. Translated by Gilbert Highet. Oxford University Press, Second Edition, 1986 (1933); especially Volume II. *In Search of the Divine Centre*, where the Socratic tradition is in focus.

² Cf. John Roberts: *Wilhelm von Humboldt and German Liberalism. A Reassessment*. Mosaic Press, 2009; and K. Grue-Sørensen: *Opdragelsens historie*, bind I-III. Gyldendals Pædagogiske Bibliotek, 1964, i bind II, s. 225 – 234.

³ Cf. Lessings proud statement in *Anti-Goeze* from 1778; "If God in His right hand held all truth and in His left hand the ever-active quest for truth, although with the reminder that I shall forever and ever err, and said to me: 'Choose,' I would in humility choose His left hand and say: 'Father, give. Pure truth is for You alone.'"

⁴ John Dewey: *Democracy and Education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. The Free Press London: Collier-Macmillan 1966. (1916)

⁵ Basil Yeaxlee: *Lifelong Education, A sketch of the range and significance of the adult education movement*. London: Cassell. 1929.

Even though the idea of lifelong learning has a long tradition, the concept first gains influence in the education policy, when two international key organizations began to advocate the idea, namely UNESCO from 1970 and OECD from 1980. However, their perspectives on lifelong learning are very different. Throughout the '70s it was UNESCO's more humanistic and democratic approach that characterized the agenda, but during the '80s OECD's neoliberal views on adult education won still more weight.

Dispute between UNESCO and OECD

UNESCO⁶ related lifelong learning to human and democratic development. Education is seen as an end in itself, and not just as a mean for economic growth and governmental management. For example, even though literacy is seen as important for social and economic development, it is primarily justified by a human right to acquire knowledge and culture. Because of Denmark's strong tradition of liberal adult education, UNESCO's first conference on adult education in 1949 was held at the International People's College in Elsinore. The inspiration from the Nordic tradition of liberal adult education was also evident in the next UNESCO conference in Montreal in 1960. However, it was not until the report *Learning to Be*, released in 1972 by Edgar Faure for UNESCO's International Commission on Education that the concept became widely known; and the report had with its many translations and reprints been one of UNESCO's most popular publications. The main theme is that education must be both lifelong and life-wide: "We must no longer acquire knowledge once and for all, but learn to develop our knowledge throughout the whole life - learning to be".⁷

OECD⁸ on the contrary sees education as an investment in "human capital" and prioritizes the economic and commercial reasons for lifelong learning. The main objective of lifelong learning is here to promote growth, competitiveness and employment. Education, which was previously associated with a particular phase in life, is now no longer a lifelong opportunity for the citizens, but a lifelong necessity for the employees. The humanistic and democratic goal has here been replaced by the economic demands of the new global world market. As the Danish pedagogical philosopher, Ove Korsgaard wrote more than ten years ago; "All countries are confronted with the fact that knowledge and education have become an increasingly important factor in global competition. This message is in these years, couched in almost identical terms in a series of national and international reports. In many countries, from Japan to Denmark, one hears the same conclusion: If we want to succeed in global competition, so education, more education and even more education are needed."⁹

The reductive paradigm

In recent decades there has thus been a gradual paradigm shift in the educational agenda from a humanistic discourse with focus on democracy and human development to an instrumental discourse with focus on economy and global competitiveness. This paradigm shift implies with Habermas' words that the instrumental reason rooted in the subsystems of the market and the

⁶ UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) was established the 16 November 1945 with the ambitious goal to create peace between the nations through education, science and culture.

⁷ Edgar Faure: *Learning to be, Towards an educating society*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972

⁸ OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) was established in 1961 with base in OEEC (the Organization for European Economic Co-operation), which was founded in 1947 for coordinating the Marshall Help to develop Europe after the Second World War. OECD aims to develop democracy and market economy especially a liberalistic world market. The members come from Europe, USA and Commonwealth as well as Japan, South Korea, Mexico and others.

⁹ Ove Korsgaard: "Oplysning og demokrati" (Arbejdsblad nr. 1, 1998 ved forskningsprojektet: "Voksenuddannelse, folkeoplysning og demokrati", Danmarks Lærerhøjskole 1998), p. 12

state put a still stronger pressure on the communicative reason in the lifeworld. The predominant application of lifelong learning can be interpreted as a significant example of colonization.

With the instrumental acquisition of the concept, the term "lifelong learning" has gradually and silently changed content. Originally in the 70s the concept had a reference to the lifeworld and an emancipatory strategy of self-organized learning processes rooted in civil society. During the 90s the concept changed reference to the market with focus on competitiveness and the vocational usefulness of the learning output. But this transformation has taken place with an unchanged terminology from the lifeworld oriented tradition. It is presented as a discourse that can accommodate the needs of both the lifeworld and the system. In reality, however, the market's specific needs won dominance at the expense of other needs for learning. The discourse presents itself as neutral, and thereby covers up the central conflict in contemporary society in trying to incorporate civic oriented experience pedagogy in market oriented management pedagogy. This disguised discourse presents the needs of the market, the public, the civil society and the individual human as one and the same case. Thereby, it marginalizes the perspectives of personal formation and public enlightenment with the common good as meaning horizon, which was an essential part of the original concept of lifelong learning.¹⁰

The reason for this discursive slippage is the market-dominated globalization, which increases the pressure on the nation state to adapt the societal conditions to the neoliberal competitive conditions on the world market. As Joachim Hirsch has stressed with the concept of "the National Competitive State", the state's role has become still more reactive in relation to the new international market conditions, as they are interpreted by the rich countries' various cooperation forums like the WTO, IMF, OECD, World Bank and European Commission. The technocratic planning of the education sector has been tightened, and education is part of a mobilization of all societal resources to strengthen the country's competitiveness and continued privileged position in the allocation of global resources.

The reductive discourse of lifelong learning is enhanced by the terminology of a post-Fordist knowledge economy, which not only has a need, but also a natural right to ensure a flexible and adaptable manpower both in terms of skills, job functions, geographic mobility and blurring of boundaries between work and leisure time.¹¹ The reference to the knowledge economy is used as a legitimization of the employers' enhanced power to dispose of all the "human resources" of the employees, as they say in management theories of lifelong learning. But the goal of "flexible work" with its constant demands for full adaptation to the changing needs of the market and for full identification or commitment to the firm has a downside. It threatens to dissolve the employee's personal identity and wider civic orientation. The flexible work leads, as Richard Sennett has pointed out,¹² to fragmentation of the personal life and the social relationships and an impaired ability to engage in local and close relationship. The consequence is a growing sense of loss of control over ones owns lives and a dwindling ability to maintain a coherent life story.

The colonisation is thus profound. The lifelong learning, both in the formal and non-formal and informal learning areas, must restlessly be designed to ensure the changing business needs. The quality of each individual's learning is measured on its qualities for business, while the qualities of

¹⁰ Cf. The critique by the Danish philosopher, Jens Erik Kristensen: "Viljen til kompetenceudvikling", in: *Asterisk*, no. 1, 2001; and the article: "Almendannelse og studieforberedelse i kompetenceudviklingens æra", in: *Uddannelse*, no. 1, januar 2003.

¹¹ Cf. Karen Lisa Salomon, (2005). "Et nyt verdensbillede? – om realisering af selvet som aktie", i: S. Brinkmann og C. Eriksen (red.): *Selvrealisering – kritiske diskussioner over en grænseløs udviklingskultur*. Klim, 2005; "Det nye arbejdsliv", i: Peter Nielsen (red.): *Økonomi og samfund 2007*. Frydenlund, 2007; "Nyliberal kosmologi – åndelighed og værdibaseret som arbejdspladsens teologi", in: Joek Haviv (red.): *Medarbejder eller modarbejder – religion i moderne arbejdsliv*. Klim, 2007.

¹² Richard Sennett: *The Corrosion of Character: Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*. Norton & Co, 1998.

learning related to personal formation and active citizenship are out of focus, and they will thus not be measured or assessed.

5.2 Development in EU

Lifelong learning on the agenda

Lifelong learning in the OECD's understanding became the meta-narrative during the '80s with a strong appeal to decision makers, politicians and business people, and it came very much to shape the educational understanding of the EU-System, especially in the European Commission and subsequently in the EU Member States.

The Commission's primary goal of promoting "lifelong learning" was to strengthen the vocational adult training. The White Paper on "Growth, competitiveness and employment, Challenges and pathways to the 21 century" from 1993 sees education as the crucial mean for providing economic competitiveness and employability. In 1995, it was followed by a second White Paper "Education and Training. Towards the Learning Society" with the same message. The Council meeting in Luxemburg in November 1997 launched a European employment strategy, which included the working definition of lifelong learning that the Commission subsequently used. The European Council adopted in Lisbon in March 2000 as a strategic goal that the European Union should become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based society in the world. The decisive step was taken, when the Commission in November 2000 published the "Memorandum on lifelong learning" for consultation in all Member States. After feedback from the extensive consultation processes including the sector of adult education and voluntary associations in each country,¹³ the Commission issued interim reports on the consultation,¹⁴ and in November 2011 the Commission issued the Message "Making a European area for lifelong learning a Reality".

The Memorandum on Lifelong Learning introduced a new understanding of learning, where the concept of "competence" was at the centre. This new learning discourse has with minor adjustments been finalized in the Recommendation "On key competences for lifelong learning", which the Parliament and Council adopted in December 2006. This recommendation has the status of supranational law, and it affects virtually all areas of education and culture policy in the Member States.

Main aims for lifelong learning

The Memorandum from 2000 determines lifelong learning as having both the *lifelong* aim to learn from cradle to grave, and the *life-wide* aim to learn in all arenas, both formal learning with certificates from primary school to university, and non-formal learning without papers in liberal adult education, folk high schools and other free schools; and especially informal learning in civil society associations, including amateur art and voluntary cultural associations.

The first key message is the promotion of a catalogue of seven main competences, which includes two basic competences in reading and writing in native language, and arithmetic; and five

¹³ The two official Danish consultation responses were 1) Report on the national consultation in Denmark about the European Commission's memorandum on lifelong learning, June 2001; og 2) General comments of the Danish ministers responsible for the consultation to the national consultation on the European Commission's memorandum on lifelong learning, June 2001.

¹⁴ Cf. Summary and analysis of the feedback from the Member States and EEA Countries as part of the consultation on the Commission's Memorandum on Lifelong learning, European Commission, November 2001; Summary and analysis of the feedback from the Candidate Countries as part of the consultation on the Commission's Memorandum on Lifelong learning, Nov. 2001; Summary and analysis of the feedback from Civil Society as part of the consultation on the Commission's Memorandum on Lifelong learning, November 2001; Resolution adopted by the European Trade Union Confederation Executive Committee – 13/14 June 2001, Brussels – on the Commission Memorandum on Lifelong Learning.

enhanced competences in respectively a foreign language, ICT, technological culture, entrepreneurship and social skills. In addition, the memorandum mentions the ability to learn and make sense of extensive information. The memorandum does not explain further, why it is precisely these learning elements that must be prioritized, and why the five are so dominated by a vocational focus; or why key aspects of active citizenship such as development of personal autonomy, democratic formation, historical and cultural insights are not mentioned, or why art subjects or existential subjects should not be part of lifelong learning. The memorandum does not outline the underlying learning theory and the applied learning concepts are unclear. There is no distinction between competences and qualifications, the differences between knowledge, skills and attitudes are unclear, and "competence" continually changes meaning from just being synonymous with "attitudes" to include all learning

However, it is quite clearly not a learning discourse that refers to the broad European tradition of humanistic pedagogical thinking, where concepts such as enlightenment, autonomy and personal freedom and people's sovereignty play a role; a tradition, which after all have characterized and still characterizes many Member States' legislation on education. The tradition of pedagogical thinkers such as Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci, Erasmus, Comenius and Grundtvig, who came to name the major EU programs for lifelong learning, is silent in the proposal of the Commission. It is the learning qualities of vocational training, which must be encouraged and recognized. The aim of promoting "lifelong learning" only promotes a specific subset of the overall learning potential, namely to ensure professional skills. A lifelong learning aimed to be a wise person or to be a knowledgeable and engaged citizen, or to participate in learning activities to create art and beauty, or just jointly to play and enjoy life are not included in the Commission's concept of learning. It is the system and not the human needs for learning, which sets the agenda.

The EU-system has also launched a slightly different learning discourse in the ambitious proposals of providing a "European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning" (EQF).¹⁵ In this framework the components no longer consists of knowledge, skills and attitudes (as in the reference framework for key competences), but of knowledge, skills, and (personal and professional) competences. The reason, why attitudes are replaced by competences, is that this framework solely assesses the learning quality by the learning results or outcome; and it can be difficult to measure attitudes, whereas "competence" more easily can be measured as "output". The consequence is that "competences" thus are being interpreted more unequivocal instrumentally, as means to ensure an output.

Main features of the learning discourse of these two frameworks are firstly that the questions of goal and meaning in the Bildung discourse have disappeared, and secondly that the essence of reason is reduced to a zweck-rational assessment of outcome, and thirdly that the value of the soft personal skills is also viewed instrumentally. The Memorandum and the later Messages and Recommendations do not mention the concept of personal formation (Bildung), and it may be justified by the fact that the concept is mostly used in the German and Nordic cultural sphere and not in the Roman and Anglo-Saxon sphere, but what is worse, its substantial meaning and purpose have also been omitted.

The diffuse theoretical foundation

There is a pervasive ambiguity or inconsistency in the Commission's approach, because it on the one side mainly refers to business-related objectives, but on the other side nevertheless points out a double objective of employability as well as active citizenship. However, this may be justified, given that the Commission initially appoints the principal virtue of citizenship as having a

¹⁵ EQF, European Qualification Framework. Adopted by the European Parliament and Council on 23 April 2008

job; only so, one becomes a full member of the community. This understanding is particularly evident in the initial *White Papers* and in the *Memorandum*, but it is toned down after widespread criticism during the consultation process in 2001. In the subsequent *Message*, citizenship gets a more independent value with reference to civil society, and there is a breakdown of the main aim of "active citizenship" in the diverse aims of "personal fulfilment", "social inclusion", "cultural cohesion" and "active citizenship".

The Memorandum and subsequent Messages and Recommendations highlight two overall aims of learning: One the one hand, the instrumental aim to promote employability for the benefit of the system world, and on the other, the humanistic goal of promoting personal fulfilment and active citizenship for the benefit of the lifeworld; and somewhere between the aims of social inclusion and cultural cohesion. The EU proposals have a foot in both worlds, but with the preponderance of the OECD discourse. The first and largest leg is planted in the system world and is aimed at developing employability with a focus on people as employees. The second minor leg is planted in the lifeworld and is aimed at human development and active citizenship with a focus on people as fellow human beings and citizens. This dual objective of lifelong learning indicates the recognition of the fact that a functioning society not only needs updated employees, but also active citizens and enlightened human beings. Because no one can realize himself fully in the work life; an active, rich and meaningful leisure time is a crucial part of the good life.

The problem with the EU's main aims of learning is that they are not substantiated from a declared theory of man and society. They float in the air, and therefore it is difficult to distinguish between their different meanings in different spheres of life, and the danger is that employability unspoken becomes the dominant goal. But the European system have nevertheless not taken an unequivocally stand in the paradigm conflict, and although there is a clear predominance of the instrumental discourse of the system world, there is also a theoretical and political opening for the more humanistic discourse of the lifeworld.

5.3 A Danish example – between Bildung and competences

The gradual paradigm shift in education policy has been very clear and illustrative in Denmark. Especially the Danish liberal adult education, which traditionally has had a strong base in the lifeworld, has been hit by a refined colonization. The lightning¹⁶ that has struck down in the area of adult education has been the concept of "competences".

The humanistic tradition in Nordic education policy

Although the European Commission's primary goal of "lifelong learning" was to strengthen the vocational adult education, the concept is at the same time applied hegemonic on all learning areas, both lifelong from cradle to grave and life-wide in formal, non-formal and informal learning. Therefore one should have expected more debate and critique, when the objectives of vocational education were implemented in educational areas, which so far have had a tradition and a legal framework with another and wider purpose. A large part of the Danish educational system built on traditions rooted in a humanist outlook, and this background still characterize the educational legislation, even though the administrative practise has been changed.

¹⁶ Grundtvig's writings contain a continuous distinction between information that either enlivens or destroys/kills (in Danish "døder"), or in more modern terms between the instrumental and communicative rationality. He gives a poetic distinction in the poem "Now it is revealed" from 1834, verse 9: "Then one shall know the difference of sunshine and lightning, although they both can burn and create clear visions; for as reason gives, the one light enlivens, the other kills."

Within the primary school the core concepts of the preamble or mission declaration¹⁷ are still to promote “a versatile and balanced personal development”, to promote “autonomy and independent critic”, and to educate for “freedom and democracy” (active citizenship). The priority is given to the development as human and citizen, and not the vocational training to become a competitive employee. The Provisions of the legislation are characterized by a humanistic pedagogical discourse with roots in both the elder Grundtvigian tradition and the newer reform pedagogical tradition.

The Gymnasium (upper secondary school) has a double purpose of general Bildung and preparation for further studies.¹⁸ The keywords of the legislative mission are “Bildung, knowledge and competences”, which can secure a “Bildung-perspective” and “development of personal autonomy” and “preparation to freedom and democracy”. The legislation has clear roots in the neohumanistic pedagogical tradition.

The legislation for the liberal adult education¹⁹ provides the common framework for Evening Schools, voluntary association’s educational activities, Day High Schools, and Peoples Universities. The purpose of evening schools and the voluntary associations is to provide learning, so the participants can “take responsibility for their own lives and participate actively and engaged in community life.” The aims are personal autonomy and active citizenship, while vocational aims not are mentioned. The Day High Schools, by contrast, have a dual purpose of citizenship and employability, and they are in a border area between the free liberal education and the vocational training. The purpose of People’s Universities is to disseminate knowledge of the methods and results of the university research. The goal is clearly defined non-instrumental, because the acquisition of knowledge of literature, history, astrophysics, etc. is here considered as having a human and democratic value in itself, and it is not seen as a mean to strengthen the employability of the participants.

The purpose of the Folk High Schools was in the 1943-Act to provide “a general Bildung”, which could help the students to gain a personal outlook on life, and this is still essential. The revised purpose in the 1993-Act and the 2000-Act was to provide a popular enlightenment, which could “enlighten the communities of the people, interpret the conditions of existence and discuss the meaning of life.” The recent 2006-Act presents three parallel aims of “life-enlightenment, people-enlightenment and democratic formation”.²⁰ The legislation represents a clear continuity with reference to the Grundtvigian legacy, and the common core is a humanistic and democratic pedagogical outlook and the common aim is to provide “learning for life”.²¹

The liberal adult education and the folk high schools as well as the primary schools and the gymnasium are in Denmark founded on main traditions of the humanistic pedagogical discourse, where the primary task is not to serve the interests of the church, government or market, but to contribute to the development of knowledgeable, enlightened and autonome humans and citizens, who can take responsibility for their own and the common life. It would also be strange, if no educational areas had this main role in society; because the humanistic discourse is the foundation of our Constitution and its principles of human rights and sovereignty of the people.

¹⁷ Bekendtgørelse af lov om folkeskolen, LBK nr 1049 af 28/08/2007

¹⁸ Bekendtgørelse af lov om uddannelsen til studentereksamen (stx) (gymnasieloven) LBK nr 791 af 24/07/2008

¹⁹ Bekendtgørelse af lov om støtte til folkeoplysende voksenundervisning, frivilligt folkeoplysende foreningsarbejde og daghøjskoler samt om Folkeuniversitetet (folkeoplysningsloven). LBK nr 535 af 14/06/2004

²⁰ Bekendtgørelse af lov om folkehøjskoler, efterskoler, husholdningsskoler og håndarbejdsskoler. LBK 1149 af 21/11/2006

²¹ Cf. Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard: *Den særegne højskole. Idegrundlag og tradition*. Folkehøjskolernes Forening i Danmark, 2000.

New management theories and the competence discourse

The concept "competence" started to be used in the Danish educational debate from the early 1990s,²² when "competences" became part of the new management theories of the "learning organisation" and "human resources".²³ Here the concept "competences" is founded on business related goals, and it is used as a critical competitor to the concept "qualifications". According to management theory, the new knowledge economy implies that the old qualifications are too static and professionally delimited to ensure flexibility and adaptation. The concept of qualifications is not suited for the labour requirements for new "personal skills" such as adaptability, flexibility, interpersonal skills and the ability to learn. According to the management theory these skills were not provided in sufficient degree by the current educational system.

There could certainly be something about the importance of "soft skills", although the Nordic educational programs might have been "more soft" than in most other countries. However, why should we need a new word "competences" instead of the old word of "personal qualifications" to promote an updated educational program? The intention was not to replace "hard qualifications" with "soft qualifications! None of the proponents had intentions to employ nurses to construct a new Little Belt Bridge, or engineers to develop medicine at Novo Nordisk, or to hire a blacksmith as chief physician at the University Hospital; no matter how many "soft skills" or "personal qualifications", they may have. The hard skills and examination papers meant just as much as before, and as they still do. No, the aim was not to downgrade the importance of hard qualifications, but to change the content and significance of the soft qualifications.

The goal was by no means to ensure more humane growth, but to readjust the employees to serve the economic growth.²⁴ The soft skills was inserted into a management discourse that focused on optimizing the company culture, and it gained better ground with the use of a new terminology with humane references. The concept of competence was introduced to support a new business strategy that easier could tie the employees' internal, personal qualities (commitment, attitudes, feelings, values) more closely to the goals and needs of the firm. With the transition from industrial to knowledge societies on the conditions of market economy, it was no longer enough to buy an employee, who reserved a right to have a personal space and a free leisure time outside the work life. The whole person with body and soul should be included in the purchase.

The new terminology with concepts such as competence, the learning organisation and human capital was an effective part of a strategy to implement a change of attitude, both in business and the wider public. In the wake of the 80's neoliberal breakthrough, the doors were open for an ideological offensive also in the area of education. Employees should learn to love their company and the public learn to love the private sector. The employees had to learn to show more "commitment" to their work and their employers. They should learn to be more flexible and adapt to changing needs of the company. They should especially get rid of the employee mentality of industrial society, and personally absorb that the old division of work and leisure was not valid anymore, and therefore it was natural to let the work fill still more of life; because to work is to live.

²² Cf. Stefan Hermann: *Et diagnostisk landkort overkompetenceudvikling og læring – pejlinger og skitser*, Learning Lab Denmark 2002; and Stefan Hermann: *Fra styring til ledelse – om kompetencebegrebets udvikling*, *Undervisningsministeriets tidsskrift Uddannelse nr. 1, januar 2003*; and Finn Wiedemann: "Personlige kompetencer. Baggrund, tendenser og udfordringer", in: Alexander von Oettingen og Finn Wiedemann (red.): *Mellem teori og praksis*. Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2007; Thyge Winther-Jensen: *Kompetence og livslang læring – om begrebernes oprindelse og udvikling i internationale organisationer og dokumenter*. DPU's arbejdsrapporter om kompetencemåling. DPU, 2003; and Jørgen Gleerup: "New Public Management – nye pres på højskolen", in: Jørgen Gleerup (red.): *Voksenuddannelse under forandring*. Gads forlag, 2001.

²³ A major spokesman was Peter Michael Senge: *The Fifth Discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization*. Random House, 1990

²⁴ Ebbe Kløvedal Reich gave a harsh critique of this development in the essays: *I svampens hede. Krønike imod tidsånden*. Vindrose 2002; especially the article: "De kompetente abekatte", p. 110 – 118.

The agenda of Human Resource Management was the market liberalistic to adapt education policy to business needs. The competence discourse focuses primarily on man as an employee (as private citizen or bourgeois), contrary to the Bildung discourse that primarily focuses on man as fellow human being (l'homme) and as a public citizen (citoyen). But through the linkage of competence to lifelong learning, the management approach seems like a new humanistic pedagogical discourse, that gave priority to the whole person and lifelong human growth, and it had a seductive effect in wide sections of the educational system.²⁵

The new competence system for adult education

It is important to understand that the rationale for the gradual paradigm shift within the field of education has not come from the area itself, e.g. due to the strength of argument from new educational theories, or from new ideological movements in the area. No, it was driven from outside and from above, when neoliberalism gained political influence. It began in the '80s, when Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and in Denmark Poul Schlüter came to power, the yuppie culture flourished, postmodernism and deconstructivism tore the critical theory apart at the universities, CBS spokesmen became the new arbiters of public taste, and New Public Management won a foothold in the public governance. It was not until the 90s after the fall of the Berlin Wall, where Fukuyama announced the end of history,²⁶ that the neoliberal modernization took off with Clinton, Tony Blair and at home Poul Nyrup at the helm, and this "modernisation" reached a peak after 9/11 2001, when Busch and at home Fogh Rasmussen unfolded the specific neoliberal combination of economic liberalization and brutal state control to ensure a world in the image of the market.

However, it is worth emphasizing that it was a social democratic-radical government, which started in mid-90s to implement the neoliberal agenda into practical policy, also in the area of education. It was New Public Management and human resource theories that set the agenda, when the Ministry of Education in 1996 published the report on "Development of personal qualifications in the educational system"²⁷, and the same year presented plans "On a new parallel competence system for adult education".²⁸ The same applies to the report "Quality in the educational system"²⁹ from 1998, which the Ministry of Finance published; and the report "On objectives and means of publicly funded adult education and training"³⁰ from 1999, which was prepared by the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labour, and Ministry of Education.

The overall aim of these reports was to streamline the use of resources, to strengthen the business-oriented qualities and to develop new instruments to assess the vocational outcome within adult education. This, one can say a lot about,³¹ but the interesting part in this context is that a humanistic pedagogical understanding and its Bildung-related concepts became homeless. The purpose of primary school regarding "a versatile personal development" and promotion of "personal autonomy and democratic formation" are not mentioned; the general Bildung of the

²⁵ Cf. Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard: *Da dannelsen gik ud*. Interfolks Forlag, 2009, p. 71 – 82, about the seduced reform pedagogical agenda.

²⁶ Francis Fukuyama: *The End of History and the Last Man*. Free Press, 1992

²⁷ Ministry of Education: *Udvikling af de personlige kvalifikationer i uddannelsessystemet*, 1996.

²⁸ Ministry of Education: *Om et nyt parallelt kompetencesystem for voksenuddannelser*. 1996.

²⁹ Ministry of Finance: *Kvalitet i uddannelsessystemet*, 1998.

³⁰ Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labour, and Ministry of Education: *Mål og midler i offentligt finansieret voksen- og efteruddannelse*, 1999.

³¹ Cf. The report by Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard: *Højskoleånd og arbejdsliv. Rapport om højskolen og et nyt kompetencesystem for voksenuddannelser*. København: Folkehøjskolernes Forening i Danmark, 1997.

Gymnasium was forgotten, and the liberal adult education's main concepts of life-enlightenment and democratic education" became foreign words.

The reports only speak about general, professional and personal qualifications. "General qualifications" are defined as basic knowledge and skills in Danish, mathematics, foreign languages and IT, and it has in reality nothing to do with personal formation or *Bildung*; "professional qualifications" are defined as specific skills within a subject area; and "personal qualifications" are defined as the ability to analyze, communicate and collaborate, show independence and innovation and have the willingness to adapt to new challenges. It was especially the emphasis of the soft "personal qualifications" and the proposals of getting a certification of these soft skills, which had a seductive effect also in the circles of liberal adult education.

The loss of mission

The Danish Ministry of Education subsequently renounced to incorporate the liberal adult education and folk high schools in the new "Competence system for adult education", because the quality assurance or rather control of the free schools were too difficult. However, the soft "personal qualifications" – which the liberal adult education typically could provide – were still in focus as the first step in promoting employability, either by empowerment of unemployed to get a job or by motivating unskilled workers to start a formal education. The Ministry did not expect that the liberal adult education could provide relevant knowledge and skills, and its contributions to *Bildung* was not seen as relevant, because the concept had been written out of the proposals.

This created a pressure on the liberal adult education to shift focus from general leisure time education in a civil society context to become a subcontractor of useful learning qualities for the vocational training and working life. Apparently, the traditional task of providing liberal education for a richer leisure time was no more a legitimate activity. Now, the societal relevance of the non-formal educational activities should be seen in relation to the labour reserve army. The consequence was that the value of regular evening school subjects, such as a foreign language as English, was no longer that the participants gained new knowledge and skills in the subject, which they could use on a trip to England, or they developed a broader insight into the English culture and society, but merely that they developed soft personal competences like interpersonal skills, self-management, etc., which may be useful for a subsequent vocational training or work. The large target group of ordinary citizens, including elderly citizens out of work, who are seeking a personally rewarding leisure time activity, slipped out of focus. Instead, the liberal education should cooperate with labour unions, unemployment centres, and social services on providing activities for "weak" groups of unemployed adults, who initially had a need for "personal development" or "empowerment" to get a job or start on a vocational education.

This new mission as sub-contractor for the formal education and social services showed in the following years to be fatal for the sector of liberal adult education, especially because the public support to the traditional liberal adult education was severely reduced, and the new tasks as "subcontractor" showed to be an illusion, because the institutions of the system wanted to do the tasks themselves. The former very strong Danish sector of liberal adult education has thus the last decade experienced a nearly fifty percentage reduction of the classical activities in the civil society without getting any noticeable compensation turnover from the promised subcontracting activities for the system.

Critic of the concept of competence

"Competences" defined as soft transversal skills became a Trojan horse to erode the sector of liberal adult education, and convert it not only to become a subcontractor for the vocational adult education, but also a provider of learning with questionable quality. The principal problem with

the overexposed competence concept is that it leads to a dismantling of personal autonomy, which becomes empty without a knowledge foundation and directionless without a Bildung perspective. When transversal competence becomes the super-ordinate term for learning, then one is not only starting to purge knowledge and personal formation, one has also started to drain competences of content and meaning. Because competences are based on two assumptions, they do not set themselves, namely goal definition by personal formation, and grounding in knowledge and skills.

The transversal competences do not include the ability to give reasons for a certain goal. You may have a collaborative competence, but it does in itself not substantiate the purpose of the cooperation. You may have a communicative competence, but what is the use of it, if you have nothing to communicate about. When competences stand alone, they will be used system-affirmative. They can only be used, when there is an authority that dictates their use; and it is precisely therefore, the management theory appreciates them, because it makes it easier for the employer (principal) to define the content and objectives for their use. The value of the transversal competences is to have them, quite simply, not to acquire them for broader goals or contexts. They are goal-rational; they represent a "Zweck-rationalität" or an instrumental rationality; they are means to address specific needs and tasks, they are about what and how, but not about why. Their isolated use will strengthen the instrumental rationality and cause a decline of communicative rationality.

Here, the concept of Bildung represents the necessary personal precondition for formulation of goals for the use of these competences. With personal formation you can thematize meaning and goals of your life, but always in a broader context and thus in interaction with questions about the meaning and goals of the common culture and common society. In a context of Bildung, personal self-reflection and self-criticism are inseparable from cultural reflection and social criticism.

Furthermore, the transverse competences as soft qualifications also lose content and value, if they are not rooted in hard qualifications as knowledge and skills. You may have a general competence for cooperation, but the actual cooperation will always be related to a specific task, where you need concrete knowledge and skills to solve it. You may have a general competence in communication, but what is the use of it, if you do not know anything about the subject you shall communicate about, or have the skills to use the specific communication technology or the needed foreign language.

The problem with the isolated and overexposed competence concept is that it only focuses on the formal aspect of learning without understanding that the formal side cannot be unfold without interacting with the material side. The isolated use of competences will lead to unsubstantiated and uncritical doxa, to self-affirming prejudices. The formal, transversal competences can not in itself lead to a self-transcending reflection, much less to meta-reflection. However, competences can complemented by superficial Bildung and knowledge be used for self-representation, and thus as a mean for individual social success as a private citizen, as lubricants for a career machine. Competences only relate to meaning and content, when they are assigned to personal formation and knowledge. In isolation, they contribute neither to the development of human autonomy or active citizenship, but rather to teachable and adaptable workers, skilled or not.

6. Paradigm dispute on cultural policy

6.1 Pressure on the Nordic cultural model

Arts and the modern public sphere

The free arts has since the Enlightenment in the 1700s been part of the European Bildung-culture, and art has particularly helped to elucidate the existential situation, cultural perspectives and social opportunities of the modern individual. In the classic modern cultural public it was the role of art to convey both personal and universal experiences in order to contribute to the enlightenment and personal formation. In the modern lifeworld art became a vital area for development of personal autonomy as well as coercive-free communications. Art could unfold the aesthetic-expressive rationality, and it represented in particular a free human creation of meaning and opinion forming in relative autonomy from the state and market interests.

Art's autonomy was founded in the establishment of the new cultural public that developed from the independent private sphere, which was a distinctive feature of the modern civil society. With the modern civic family, a new base for individuality and coercive-free communication was founded in relative independence from market relations and government surveillance. This new sanctuary for human freedom and authenticity became, as described by Jürgen Habermas,¹ a starting point for the new cultural public. The private homes of wealthy families opened the doors to their acquaintances, and they featured concerts, poetry readings, theatre, and arts exhibitions. Civil society's independent network of small publics is historically seen developed from the modern private sphere's close and friendly community of civic citizens. Both architecturally and socially, the new cultural public took shape after the family's private residences. The new lounges, clubs and cafes began thus to connect the private to the public, but based on a community of fellow humans and not as subjects of the state or merchants at the market. Through the extension of the family sphere to an emerging public sphere the ideal of reaching understanding through open discussion and mutual persuasion, regardless of prestige and status, was preserved. But there was a clear gender division, where women in particular were part of the literary and artistic salons, while men in particular were part of the political and economic clubs.

The early public sphere developed thus through the establishment of a critical audience for literary activities through newspapers, magazines and public performances. Here, principles of free and open debate proceeded, and this organizational form evolved gradually to modern associations and public forums in civil society, where free debate and open criticism became a basic value. The modern art was based on the free forums in civil society, the salons and the first privately financed public cultural institutions. The state should interfere as little as possible and safeguard a free artistic expression without censorship. Where art previously had been in the service of those in power, it should now serve liberty and the personal formation as an alternative to religious and secular execution of power. However, these ideals soon came in conflict with the social realities. The art had been freed from the state, but got instead a new master, the market, and only a small proportion of the population had the opportunity to participate in this culture market. The privileged groups, who had access to art, found it neither desirable nor possible that broader parts of the population got access to the Bildung of art.

This exclusive social situation was first countered in the post-war period with the labour movement's new cultural policy for a dissemination of art to the people. The social democratic

¹ Jürgen Habermas: *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Polity Press, 1992 (Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit, 1961)

goal of democratizing culture did not aim to abolish the autonomy of art or to control its free Bildung-perspective, but rather to ensure a legal and institutional frame for free artistic offerings and better access for the people to enjoy arts and participate in artistic activities. This policy was justified by an assumption about the free arts crucial role for enlightenment and personal formation in a humanistic and democratic society ruled by law.

Freedom and totalitarianism

In the 1930s the Nordic social democracies outlined in light of the totalitarian tendencies in many parts of Europe the welfare-based Nordic cultural model, which was realized after the war, where the liberal and Grundtvigian ideals of freedom permeated education and culture. These ideals had familiarities with the recommendations of John Maynard Keynes, who on the background of the totalitarian use of education and culture in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union during the war also advocated for a cultural policy in England based on the arm's length principle.² It was his goal to ensure artistic freedom by ensuring the independence of art from the political and economic power in society. The freedom of arts and culture became in general a characteristic of the post-war reconstruction of the democratic and liberal rule in many Western European countries. It was also the objective of establishing the French Ministry of Culture in 1959 and the Ministries of Culture in the Nordic countries, starting with the Danish Ministry of Culture in 1961.³

After the Second World War cultural policy in the Nordic countries was seen as part of the general welfare program, where the democratic government should ensure more equal social and cultural opportunities for all citizens, and at the same time secure a free artistic and cultural activity by supporting alternatives to the market's commercial culture. The goal was to counter the tendencies of the growing culture industry to reduce the diversity of culture and arts, or with a term from Habermas to counter that the culture industry should colonize the lifeworld of the citizens.

Art and culture should become accessible to all citizens through an expanded public support to artists and cultural institutions. The government had to take responsibility for ensuring cultural offerings that gave all citizens the opportunity to be educated and enlightened as free and responsible citizens, who could take care of their own life and the common societal life. The cultural political goal was to strengthen the development of enlightened and autonome individuals, which particularly in light of the totalitarian experience was considered as the critical foundation for the maintenance of a democratic culture in the society.

The Nordic cultural model

The cultural political goals in the Nordic countries were unique in an international context by simultaneously to emphasise the *freedom* of arts and culture and to ensure all citizens *equal* access to arts and culture. These goals implied also the legal and financial support to ensure the independence of arts from economic and political interests. The focus was on arts inner values, and any economic benefit and contribution to national branding were subordinate. The public support should counteract the market's commercialization of art and culture as well as ensure art's autonomy from the state through the arm's length principle.

The cultural policy in the Nordic countries had so many similarities that it provides scientific and political sense to speak of a Nordic Cultural Model⁴ with the following characteristics:

² Cf. Upchurch, Anna: "John Maynard Keynes, the Bloomsbury group and the origins of the arts council movement", in: *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Volume 10, issue 2, 2004, p. 203 — 217.

³ Cf. Peter Duelund: *Kunstens vilkår. Om de kulturpolitiske tendenser i Danmark og Europa*. Akademisk forlag, 1994.

⁴ Jf. Peter Duelund: *Kulturpolitik i nordisk perspektiv. Oplæg til Nordisk Kulturråds årskonference 2002*. Nordisk Kultur Institut 2002; Peter Duelund (red): *The Nordic Cultural Model*. Copenhagen: Nordic Cultural Institute, 2003.

- Freedom of artists and cultural institutions to protect the inner values of arts and culture and counter any form of regulation from public political or private economic interests.
- Art and Culture are seen as a welfare benefit and a right for all citizens.
- Art and culture are an essential part of the citizens' personal formation in accordance with their own objectives and conditions.
- Equal and expanded access to artistic and cultural opportunities for all citizens regardless of social background, economic conditions and geographic residence.

The common Nordic cultural policy was based on a strong emphasis of freedom. "The public may support but not control", as the first Danish Cultural Minister, the social democrat Julius Bomholt said, when he presented the Law on the State's Arts Foundation.⁵ The idea was that politicians should ensure the economic framework, while the allotment should be done through independent Art Committees. The support must not endanger the freedom and autonomy of artists and cultural institutions, and this arm's length principle became in the post-war period the key concept in the Nordic countries' cultural policy.

This policy is justified by an assumption about the free arts crucial importance for a critical enlightenment and communication in a democratic society. The foundation of the democratic culture is enlightened individuals with a strong personal formation, and this enlightenment must also include insights into life's unspoken and irrational dimensions and the development of the aesthetic-expressive rationality in the society, or rather in the lifeworld.

The neoliberal cultural model

Since the mid-90s, the Nordic Cultural Model has experienced a breakdown.⁶ The goal of the independence of art from economic and political interests has gradually been replaced by collaboration between government authorities and business communities with the aim to regulate art and culture from commercial considerations. The previous strategy to counter the culture industry's commercialization of art and culture is now replaced by a opposite strategy to help the culture industry with a takeover of art and culture. Where the legitimacy of public support previously was justified by the intrinsic values of art and its importance as a public welfare benefit, it is now increasingly justified by the economic importance and political utility of art and culture.

We are in these years witnesses to an instrumentalisation of art and culture for political and economic purposes, which the cultural policy before had as the chief goal to prevent by ensuring artistic freedom and cultural diversity. The Nordic Cultural Model is eroded both by the aims of linking culture and business, and by the means that are used to enforce these aims. The new performative forms of management that are part of New Public Management systematically erode the former main principle of arm's length to ensure a dense political control.⁷ Aims and means support here each other, because without the new management tools it would be far more difficult for the political-administrative apparatus to break down the autonomy of cultural institutions and to regulate the voluntary associations in civil society in order to open up for market needs.

The performative management implies that the value of art is assessed by its usefulness in terms of systemic goals. An artistic activity is not judged by whether it expresses something aesthetically beautiful, ethically good or emotionally interesting, but whether it is economically prof-

⁵ During the opening debate in the Parliament, October 1963, Julius Bomholt mentioned that "a genuine cultural policy should to the extreme be liberal. If we want to cultivate democracy, we must first and foremost democratize the external conditions of cultural work by the motto: *Please support but not control.*"

⁶ Cf. Peter Duelund: *The rationalities of cultural policy. Approach to a critical model of analysing cultural policy*, Notes for 3rd International Conference on Cultural Policy, d. 26. august 2004

⁷ Cf. Carsten Sestoft: "Økonomiens invasion af kulturen. Kultur som mål og middel", in: *Turbulens.net*, 2006, nr. 8

itable or politically expedient. Cultural policy can thus be embedded in national, regional and local economic development strategies, which seek to promote a culture industry or an experience economy. Concepts such as "experience-capital" and "cultural-turnover" replace gradually the original concepts like "involvement, enlightenment and personal formation" and the artistic quality criteria are now related to economic indicators, regional development and national branding.

New demands of evaluation for the sake of "quality assurance" underpin the paradigm shift.⁸ The performative "quality assurance" do not focus on artistic quality, but on a quantitative optimization in relation to economic success criteria and interests of external stakeholders. Value for money. The new evaluation procedures confirm the necessity of public control of art and culture and emphasise the need for external principals, who can determine what quality is, and how it must be implemented. The agents from the arts world learn to absorb and adhere to the understanding that artistic quality is all about turnover, merchantability, advertising value, branding, audience shares and the satisfaction of buyers and users. The more the performative management rationality has shown its real nature, the clearer it has become too active in art and culture and politicians with veneration for the area, that there is an urgent need for an alternative to the performative quality assessment to ensure genuine quality on the art areas own terms.

Performance contracts, business plans and comprehensive demands of documentation and evaluation are essential performative management tools, and while the New Public Management in the early phase in the 90s mainly consisted of quantitative regulation, the control in the next phase in the 00s has evolved into a qualitative content regulation. Other essential tools of NPM are privatization and outsourcing, which has now become commonplace in the social and health policy, and is also on the way in education. Privatisation and outsourcing have not yet significantly affected art and culture, but it's a development that may well come in the 10s.

The erosion of the Nordic Cultural Model can be interpreted as the economic and political systems' colonization of the intrinsic values of art and culture. The system's performative control instruments have increasingly been introduced as an alternative to the lifeworld oriented arms-length principles that characterized the original cultural model. When performative management is increased in art and culture the cultural policy risks to lose the original aims of ensuring artistic freedom and cultural diversity as well as promoting high artistic quality by protecting the art from political control and economic commercialization.

6.2 Main stages of cultural policy

The changes of the Danish cultural policy from the 1960s until today can be classified in four main phases,⁹ which indicate a gradual paradigm shift from humanistic to instrumental goals and strategies.

Democratization of culture

From the mid 60s to mid 70s cultural policy was based on a humanistic concept of culture, in which art was understood as a mean to ensure enlightenment of the individual as a human and citizen, and thus a strengthening of democracy. Art were considered a public good that should be available to all citizens.¹⁰

⁸ Cf Karen Lisa Salomon: *Selvsmål*. Gyldendal, 2007.

⁹ Cf. P. Duelund: *Kulturpolitik i nordisk perspektiv. Oplæg til Nordisk Kulturråds årskonference 2002*. Nordisk Kultur Institut 2002; Dorthe Skot-Hansen: "Civilsamfundet i kulturpolitikken", in: Bente Schindel (ed): *Kunst af lyst*. København 2005; and Kaare Nielsen: *Kritisk teori og samtidsanalyse*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, kap. 7: Kvalitetsvurdering og kulturpolitik.

¹⁰ Cf. the social democratic Minister of Culture, Bodil Koch: *Kulturpolitisk redegørelse til Folketinget, 1967*

Cultural policy in this period had a clear orientation towards civil society. The aim was to liberate art and culture from the market as well as avoiding state control through the use of the arm's length principle. The public support was needed to counteract the culture industry's commercial banalising and mainstreaming of art and culture; there had to be ensured offerings in art and culture that would not exist on market conditions. The overall strategy was a *democratization of culture* through increased dissemination of art in its various forms for so many population groups and geographical areas in the nation state as possible. There had to be created equal and increased access to the world of art through an expansion of local cultural institutions and cultural outreach.

The strategy of *democratization of culture* succeeded, however, far from. It was still the best educated and economically well-off populations in major cities, who mainly used the public supported cultural activities; while the culture consumption of the wider population mainly was directed at the commercial entertainment of the cultural industries.

Cultural democracy

From the mid 70s to mid 80s, the humanistic concept of culture was supplemented with a cultural discourse that focussed on people's own activity and local initiatives. The public cultural policy was unchanged seen as a bulwark against the culture industries' tendencies to take over the whole culture, but the orientation towards civil society was enhanced.

The strategy of art dissemination was thereby changed to a strategy of *cultural democracy*.¹¹ The dissemination of professional art in its various forms was now supplemented with public support to locally based cultural initiatives and civic participation. The 70s expressed a more popular based culture, where a main theme was spectator versus participant, and thus came amateur culture more on the agenda. The cultural public was influenced by a multitude of decentralized cultural initiatives, such as liberal education associations, anti-authoritarian tendencies, the women's movement and many new grassroots movements that complemented the professional high culture. The culture concept behind the public cultural policy was widened and marked by the principle of "learning by doing." There was a strong emphasis on people's own participation in amateur activities and local cultural associations. Cultural activities were unfolded more decentralized in everyday life in local communities, where people lived. The aim was still to promote "personal formation and a democratic culture", but the professional arts got competition from an amateur culture marked by cultural pluralism and participatory values, which focuses on people's own aesthetic experience of being cultural active and artistic creative.

In practice this change of the cultural discourse from the 60s "democratization of culture" to the 70s "cultural democracy" implied no significant economic change of the economic distribution. The major part of the public financial support was unchanged distributed to the professional arts and the well-established cultural institutions.

New systemic goals

From the mid 80s to late 90s, the cultural policy is characterized by a growing social and economic instrumentalisation of culture and art combined with a new priority of cooperation with the culture industry. Arts and culture are now enrolled in a systemic discourse that gives priority to relations with the market instead of the civil society. Now the focus shifts from the "internal values" to the "external values" of art and culture, i.e. its social and economic benefits. Culture must pay off.

¹¹ Cf. the social democratic Minister of Culture, Niels Matthiasen: *Kulturpolitisk redegørelse til Folketinget, 1977*

Since the mid 80s, cultural and artistic activities are increasingly supported either to remedy unemployment and social exclusion, or to ensure economic development. One important mean for this instrumentalisation consisted of a decentralisation of the public funding to local authorities, whereby cultural activities increasingly were managed as an investment in local development. Cities, municipalities and regions are investing in cultural centres, festivals and other major culture events from an economic development rationale. Culture should contribute to solving social problems and empower vulnerable groups; or culture should attract new businesses and creates new growth in the community. During this development the voluntary cultural associations in civil society got less attention. Instead, there was focus on cultural events and “Mayor-culture” (pavarotisation), where the initiators were the local authorities and local businesses, and civic associations were only involved as far as they could support these two systems.

This political shift started during the conservative-liberal Schlüter-Government in the 80s and continued during the social democratic Nyrup-Government in the 90s. In the late 90s the Nyrup-government found inspiration in New Labour and Tony Blair's program "The Third Way", in which New Public Management was paramount.¹² Voluntary cultural associations in civil society were involved to solve concrete social tasks and contribute to cultural exports and cultural tourism. According to the Minister of Culture, Ebbe Lundgaard¹³ cultural associations should be obliged to promote social inclusion and empowerment of disadvantaged groups for the work life, and the government should manage these tasks by using political prioritised funding.

Goals of business affairs

Since 2000, the economic instrumentalisation of cultural policy has been reinforced. The cultural policies of the state and regional and local authorities have implemented reforms to link culture to business development strategies, where experience economy is in focus.¹⁴

The governmental regulation of the commercial culture industry is abandoned in favour of cooperation between public administrations and the private business to utilize the “free” arts and “voluntary” culture for economic growth. This transformation of the cultural area occurred through an increased performance management of cultural institutions and arts funding, where performance contracts, business plans, ongoing evaluations in relation to external criteria of success and other control means implied a still stronger qualitative regulation. An increased part of public subsidy have been moved from fixed grants, which the institutions themselves could manage, to politically defined project grants or so-called “strategic culture initiatives”, where the tasks in advance have been defined by the Ministry or local authorities.

The instrumentalisation of art and culture is also supported by tax reforms and a fund legislation that encourage private funding and sponsorship. A wide range of non-public and non-democratic regulated entities such as sponsors, private foundations and businesses dominate increasingly the major cultural circuit in the society. This reduces the importance of the cultural policy decisions in the minor circuit that are subject to democratic control. Business and market bodies get still more influence on the cultural development at the expense of the democratic institutions and the civil society.

The Ministry of Finance established during the first phase of Instrumentalisation from mid 80s to mid 90s a stronger quantitative control of the economic priorities of the cultural institutions. In

¹² En af arkitekterne bag var Anthony Giddens, der beskrev det politiske grundlag i bogen: *The Third Way. The renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.

¹³ Cf. Ebbe Lundgaard: *Kulturpolitisk redegørelse af 4. november 1997*.

¹⁴ Cf. Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Business Affairs: *The report on Denmark's Creative Potential*, 2000; and the subsequent cultural and business policy report: *Denmark in the Culture and Experience Economy - 5 new steps*, 2003.

the second phase of instrumentalisation from the late 90s, it was increasingly the Ministry of Business Affairs that pervaded the cultural agenda. Art and culture are here considered as an economic creativity resource and as a mean to attract tourists, investments and skilled labour. Design and art must collaborate with the culture industry to improve the competitiveness of the Danish business world. The main tendency is to give top priority to artistic and cultural activities that can promote and brand the country at the global cultural market. The spectacular on the international scene sets the standard, and it is here the private and public supports are channelled. For both sponsors and politicians want a share in the prestige, which major cultural and sports events can throw off.

This development creates new pressures on the voluntary cultural activity in the local civil forums, which are marginalized both economically with fewer facilities and resources and with less cultural awareness and recognition. For when the standard is international mainstream performance with an appeal to a broad international audience, the local cultural activities are tapped of fascination, and the individual's motive for becoming active dwindles. The consequence may be that fewer participate in arts-based activities; furthermore, it also creates an adaptation to the international culture market, where the quality criterion is the sales figures. International attention typically requires a levelling of appeal to the lowest common denominator, where cultural products first and foremost aim to please us as private consumers. We are not challenged aesthetically, we are not part of a dialogue as citizens, and we lose the incentive to be cultural active as amateurs or volunteers. We do not experience on our own but on others' conditions.

The exclusive art political agenda

A more exclusive arts policy discourse has also been part of the culture policy, especially in the early 90s after the Minister of Culture, Ole Vig in 1989 established the "Cultural Fund" that should support and strengthen cooperation between the professional arts and the amateur culture. Many professional artists were against this initiative for quality reasons, and recommended to transfer the fund's subsidy to the professional arts. The new elected conservative minister of culture, Grethe Rostbøll agreed as well as the successor Jytte Hilden, who argued against the "Cultural Fund" with reference to Peter Duelund's report "The Danish cultural Model" from 1995. This report defended the professional arts from a humanistic art discourse and accused the amateur culture of being without any kind of aesthetic experience and humanistic formation, and finally the report recommended that amateur art and the voluntary cultural associations should not be supported at all by the Ministry of Culture.

The argumentation was based on the view that professional arts and amateur arts refer to different culture concepts and thus different cultural tasks. The professional arts are according to Duelund¹⁵ based on a humanistic culture ideal that emphasizes individual and universal experiences and therefore contribute to enlightenment and personal formation, while amateur culture as folk culture is based on a popular national (ethnic) culture concept, which in line with a Herderian legacy¹⁶ focuses on a national-ethnic identity, where one people, one language and one nation are united in a common national identity. The Ministry of Culture should therefore, according to Duelund, take a stand and prioritize its tasks and concentrate on keeping an arts policy, which could safeguard the great humanistic arts, while the national-ethnic cultural activities, which amateur culture as folk culture represents, should be handled by other ministries as the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Social Affairs or by the local authorities. This exclusive view-

¹⁵ Peter Duelund: *Den danske kulturmodel: en idépolitisk redegørelse*. Klim, 1995

¹⁶ Herder, Johann Gottfried: *Another Philosophy of History and Selected Political Writings*. Hackett Pub Co, 2004 (Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit, 1774)

point of arts policy could not find a political majority, and the minister Jytte Hilden had to maintain that amateur culture had a certain cultural value, perhaps not in itself, but because it did help with a food chain of talent for the professional arts, and did encourage a greater audience for the professional arts.

In our opinion, this exclusive arts policy could have been reasonable; insofar its distinction between a humanistic professional art and an ethnic amateur culture had been valid. But we see no evidence, either empirical or theoretical for this distinction.¹⁷ During the cultural turn in the 70s with the policy of "cultural democracy" many new voluntary cultural associations originated, not least in amateur culture, and the extent of voluntary cultural association has never been greater than today.¹⁸ According to the few empirical studies¹⁹ conducted in relation to the "cultural concept" of the voluntary cultural spheres, and especially contemporary narrative mappings of views among the active in amateur culture,²⁰ the conclusions are that the sector of amateur culture mainly represents a "humanistic culture concept", and its activities relate to the artistic repertoire of modernity, ranging from classical music, jazz music, choirs, amateur theatres, arts organizations, etc. Certainly, there have been and are national romantic tendencies in parts of amateur culture and the local associations of culture, just as there have been and are in parts of the professional arts. However, the main tendency among both amateur and professional culture from the 70s was, that the artistic expressions and art based learning are based on a modern humanistic cultural outlook and unfold an aesthetic-expressive rationality with a high degree of personal formation and art based learning.

6.3 Aesthetic experience and modern Bildung

Aesthetic reason

With reference to Habermas, one can determine the communicative rationality of the modern lifeworld as being differentiated in the cognitive-instrumental, the moral-practical and aesthetic-expressive rationality with their corresponding institutional areas of science-technology, ethics – law-politics, and art-culture.²¹

The term "aesthetics" comes from the ancient Greek "aisthesis" referring to man's concrete, sensuous form of knowledge, as distinct from the abstract logical form of knowledge. The German philosopher Gottlieb Baumgarten founded the modern philosophical aesthetics with the release of the two-volume work *Aesthetica*²². He also distinguishes between the logical and aesthetic knowledge, where the first recognizes the world with reason, while the latter meets the world "with

¹⁷ The exclusive art policy is criticised in Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard: *Den frie kultur – paradigmestrid om læring, kunst og civilsamfund*. Interfolks Forlag, 2010, section 8.4: "Falsk modstilling af humanistisk kunst og etnisk amatørkultur".

¹⁸ Cf. Ministry of Culture: *Undersøgelse af det frivillige kulturelle område*. 2006. Especially the second section "Kultur i lyst og nød – om det frivillige arbejde i amatørkulturen", by Ulla Habermann and Bjarne Ipsen, CISC, Syddansk Universitet.

¹⁹ An early study of the traditional as well as current Danish "folk culture" is Dorte Skot-Hansen: *Kulturpolitik og folkekultur*. Akademisk Forlag, 1984. The concept of "folk culture" refers here to "amateur culture and the voluntary cultural associations". The concept "folk culture" seems today outdated with its narrow reference to a Herderian culture concept; however, the results of the study did not support the view point that the local "folk culture" was dominated by an ethnic culture concept, rather by a grass-root ideology, where democratic self-organisation was in focus. In a later article - "Amatørerne mellem det fine og det folkelige" in, Bente Schindel (ed.): *Kulturens tredje vej*. AKKS og Forlaget Drama, 2. oplag 2001 – Dorte Skot-Hansen criticised an understanding that draw a sharp frontier between high art and amateur art.

²⁰ Cf. Bente Schindel (ed.): *Kunstens rum*. København: Kulturelle Samråd i Danmark, 2007. Here we meet life stories by active amateurs, who present the core values they have experienced as being in line with a humanistic culture concept.

²¹ Cf. Henrik Kaare Nielsen; *Æstetik, kultur og politik*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 1996.

²² Gottlieb Baumgarten: *Aesthetica* (1750 and 1758).

emotions at front." The two forms of knowledge are complementary. Reason alone or feeling alone leads to a one-sided and incomplete knowledge.

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant further developed this distinction in the *Critique of Judgement*.²³ According to him full cognition develops in interaction between perception (*Anschauung*) and conception (*Begreifen*). *Perception* is the sensuous-receptive part of cognition, which may include a variety of sensory input from sounds, sights, smells, bodily sensations and emotional moods. These sensations expand one's registry of interpretation and gives fullness and meaning, when we recall situations and when we are passing experiences. *Concepts* are however needed to comprehend and rationally to organize the diversity of experiences and create structure in the understanding, thus creating a real or comprehensible experience. According to Kant, any cognition develops in the interplay between sensations and concepts. The diverse content that exists in sensuous perceptions needs a conceptual frame to unfold cognition; on the other hand, the concepts need to have a sensuous material to avoid being empty and incomprehensible, or "senseless", as it is called.

The German poet and philosopher Friedrich Schiller presented in the letters *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*²⁴ an aesthetic *Bildung* theory with reference to Kant's epistemology. A rich personal formation implies for Schiller a development of both logical concepts and sensuous perception and their interactions. The aesthetic qualities of art consist in its ability to develop the perceptions sensual and emotional content and thereby creating fullness and content for the concepts. In the aesthetic reason there is an uncompleted movement between the concrete sensual material and the general concepts, and this create a liberating aesthetic reason, because the experience is not subordinated to a general concept, as in the cognitive reason or moral reason. The aesthetic experience includes a constant movement between an object, the work of art, which cannot be determined exhaustive, and the cognition, which cannot end and find a final grounding.

As Kant and the German *Bildung* tradition in general, Schiller believes that the essence of man is freedom, and his point is furthermore that it is in the aesthetic practice of art, this freedom particularly can be experienced and unfolded. Therefore, the free artistic practice must have a privileged role in the human and civic education and formation. This view of art is the mainstay of the modern humanist art concept,²⁵ and it was a viewpoint that attained a central position in the development of the post-war Nordic Cultural Model.

Quality of art and amateur culture

In the artistic practice or art-based learning, we relate to artefacts, artworks and other cultural works by using our aesthetic-expressive rationality. It is the encounter between the arts work and the receiver, which constitutes the core of the aesthetic practice. This encounter develops a sense-based interpretation of a work of art that hold a stylization or reduction of the complex life experiences with clear forms, emotions and conflicts. The unimaginable experience of modernity is presented in concentrated and tuned forms, which can open for intense experiences and focused meanings. In the artistic experience we can develop a dialogue between the work's aesthetic expression and parts of our own life story and outlook on life.

The aesthetic experience has a strong potential for personal formation (*Bildung*), because it can develop the perception's sensual and emotional content, and thus extend the interpretation registry as well as provide an experience with freedom to interpret and gestalt reality on own

²³ Immanuel Kant: *Critique of Judgement*. Oxford World's Classics, 2008 (Kritik der Urteilskraft, 1790).

²⁴ Friedrich Schiller: *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*. Dover Publications, 2004 (Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen, 1795).

²⁵ An important Danish advocate for this humanistic art concept is the poet Villy Sørensen: *Demokratiet og kunsten*. København. Gyldendal 1989.

terms. The aesthetic practice is unlike other practice types an end in itself as Kant pointed out.²⁶ It is not a mean for something else, and in that sense it is useless by exceeding an instrumental and systemic rationality. When we relate to art or participate in artistic and cultural activities, we do it, because we want it, because we feel like it. The field of art carries its meaning in itself; or rather, it is a field, where people can enjoy, play and learn without external reasons and intentions, a space of free humanity. For Schiller this possibility expressed the highest and most civilised form of human existence.

From this viewpoint²⁷ artistic quality is related to the aesthetic experience and not to the work of art in an isolated sense. Quality is defined by the dialogue between the work and the receiver, which can unfold new unknown experiences and communications and expand the recipients' understanding of themselves and the world. Artistic quality develops in a dialogue between experience and reflection, which firstly expands the recipient's sensual, emotional and intellectual capacity, and secondly encourages the personal formation of autonomy and authenticity. The aesthetic concept of quality is thereby attached with a modern understanding of *Bildung*, and artistic quality can thus be defined through its potential for personal formation (*Bildung* potential).

Meanwhile, our post-modern era is permeated by a pluralisation of the arenas' of arts and aesthetic expressions. The aesthetic practice, which was previously reserved for smaller circuits of high culture, has spread to a larger cultural area of civil society. Arts institutions still exist, but have lost their monopoly on artistic practice, and thereby no cultural forms or selections of art works or aesthetic practices have monopoly to represent a modern personal formation. The smoother transitions between high art and popular art, between professional and amateur art do not imply that aesthetic quality has lost grounding. What matters is not whether the aesthetic practice has received the seal of approval from the art institutions, or enjoy recognition from a voluntary cultural association, or whether it was created by a professional artist or an amateur, or commercial considerations have played a role; but rather if the aesthetic artefacts and activities have promoted personal formation for the creators, performers and recipients, i.e. involve a *Bildung* potential. An amateur art activity may have high quality, as far as the aesthetic process (the art-based learning) promotes an aesthetic *Bildung*.

The joint quality criterion for professional artistic activity and voluntary artistic activity is the degree of *Bildung* potential. The professional art can be judged on whether the result or work is able to initiate personal formation processes for the receivers or audience. The good amateur art can be judged on whether the processes or activities are able to initiate the personal formation for the participants or performers. Apparently, the quality assessments differ, because the professional art focuses on the result, the work of art, while the amateur culture focuses on the process, the activity. However, just as it can be difficult within learning theory to distinguish between process and result, it may be difficult in art theory to distinguish. One characteristic of much late-modern art is precisely that it seeks to transcend this divide.

Even though quality distinctions in modern art and amateur culture are difficult, they are not impossible. Most people will agree that professionals with insight into the aesthetic practice can evaluate the quality of the professional art, because this is the legitimate basis for public committees that distribute public subsidies to individual artists and arts institutions. Like this, professionals with insight into amateur art can evaluate the quality of the amateur activities; and consequently have responsibility for distributing public subsidies to voluntary cultural associations that represent a comprehensive contribution to the art based learning and aesthetic-expressive *Bildung* in society.

²⁶ CF. Henrik Kaare Nielsen: "Kunstens samfundsmæssige potentiale", in: Schindel (red): *Kunst aflyst*. København 2005

²⁷ CF. Henrik Kaare Nielsen. *Kritisk teori og samtidsanalyse*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2001.

7. Paradigm dispute on civil society

7.1 The modern civil society

Premodern understandings

The concept "civil society" dates like many other concepts back to antiquity. However, the conceptual content of "civil society" in antiquity and the middle ages was very different from the modern content.¹ The ancient and medieval thinkers did not distinguish between state and society. They considered civil society as being equal to the political community. Civil society was an expression of civilization, of the regulated community protected by state power. Civil society in ancient Greece was identified with the republic as a politically organized community, contrary to the economic area of the households and the market, which did not belong to the Republic of free men, but was an area for women and slaves, and thus an unworthy area for free citizens to deal with. When the Greeks referred to themselves as "civilized" (they lived in a civil society) to distinguish themselves from the barbarians, they expressed a conviction that only by living in a political community a civilized human life was possible.

The pre-modern concept of civil society rested on a political distinction between civilization and barbarism. A civilised social life was only made possible by the public power. This understanding was expressed from Plato's organic state, Aristotle's republic, Augustine's Christian community, Aquina's republic to Luther's sphere of obligations and Machiavelli's civilian republic. The pre-modern social philosophies did not include the market in civil society, and they could not and did not develop an anti-state concept of civil society, because they experienced that everyday life was only made possible by an organized political central power.

Modern liberal understandings

The English philosopher John Locke presented in "Two Treatises of Government" from 1689 an early modern view of civil society as an area of economic activity between free producers, based on natural rights and the social contract theory.² The economic area and the market was no longer as in antiquity undervalued as an area for slaves and women, but as the most valuable social area, as a place where free men unfolded their true nature. In these Treatises against the autocratic regime and in favour of the "Glorious Revolution" in 1688 in England, Locke described the state as a political umbrella for the real society, namely the civil society. It was the genuine society, because it had existed prior to the State, and here the economically active individuals had signed a social contract to transfer part of their power to a governmental power that would ensure the law, especially the individuals' rights to be able to trade freely and equally at the market. The fundamental principle of society was thus the individuals' fundamental rights to liberty, equality and property, and the state's real task was to guard these rights in a free civil society. If the government sought to break the individual's rights, then the citizens had not only a right but also a duty to rebel against the government.

Locke's ideas had great influence on the Enlightenment in the next century. Montesquieu defended in "The Spirit of the Laws"³ from 1748 a modern constitution with a separation of powers in a legislative, executive and judiciary power, and a rule of law to ensure a free civil society. He

¹ Cf. Benjamin Constant: *The Liberty of Ancients Compared with that of Moderns*, 1816; and G.W.F. Hegel: *Philosophy of Right*, 1821. Both clarify the conceptual differences between the premodern and modern understanding of civil society.

² John Locke: *Two Treatises of Civil Government*. London: EveryMan's Library, reprinted 1970 (1689)

³ Charles-Louis Montesquieu: *The Spirit of the Laws*, Cambridge University Press, 1989 (De l'esprit des lois, 1748).

saw free citizen forums and voluntary organizations as an intermediary link between individuals and the state and as a mean for citizens to exercise a high degree of autonomy. The spokesmen of the Scottish Enlightenment and the fathers of classical liberalism, Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson determined civil society as an independent area outside the state as well as a separate norm regulated sphere next to the private interests of the market. Adam Ferguson combined in "An Essay on the History of Civil Society" from 1767 an analysis of the modern market economy with a critique of its implications for the civil and public virtues.⁴ He seeks to restore parts of the republican tradition of active citizenship in relation to the modern state by referring to a legal protection of the voluntary organization outside the market in an autonomous civil society. Adam Smith was not only an economist, who maintained that the market's invisible hand ensured the pursuit of self-interest would lead to the common good.⁵ He was also a moral philosopher, who warned against the weaknesses of the market and maintained the need of a civil society before and beside the market that could ensure human sympathy and shared values.⁶

However, the greatest influence of Locke's ideas can be seen in the American Declaration of Independence from 1776 in which the famous opening sentence is almost taken directly from Locke: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Civil society is forgotten

The succeeding development of democratic constitutions in many European states established a broad consensus in social theory that civil society should be an independent area beside the state and the market. Not least Tocqueville's studies⁷ of civil society in North America in the 1830s gave rise to a new recognition of the importance of a free and active civil society for the democratic culture of a country. The modern concept of society as a three-part unity of state, market and civil society began to take shape.

The modern idea of "civil society" had in the period before the democratic revolutions primarily been used as a defence for an independent market economy freed from state control. But gradually, as the demands of political democracy gained importance, the idea of "civil society" was seen as the base for a viable political democracy. Within the educational philosophy, not least in the Danish Grundtvigian tradition, where education and formation of free humans and responsible citizens were in focus, civil society obtained a crucial role after the democratic revolution in 1848 to ensure liberal adult education and independent voluntary associations as the basis for a sustainable political democracy.

However, from the late 19th century civil society slid out of the socio-political debate, and it became the relationship between state and market that dominated the agenda. The two major contemporary political traditions, liberalism and socialism shared the same view of civil society as an area separated from the state and the market. Their disagreement was on what to do with it. The liberals wanted to free the market and subordinate civil society to the market, while the socialists wanted to regulate the market and subordinate civil society to governmental regulations. The struggle in the early 20th century between liberals and socialists led the way in parts of

⁴ Adam Ferguson: *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Cambridge University Press, 1995, reprinted 2001 (1767)

⁵ Adam Smith: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Chicago University Press; 1977 (1776)

⁶ Adam Smith: *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Liberty Fund Inc; New Ed edition, 1984 (1759)

⁷ Alexis de Tocqueville: *Democracy in America*. Translated by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop. University of Chicago Press, 2000. (*De la démocratie en Amérique*. First part 1835, second part 1840); Cf. also: *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. New York: Anchor Books, 1955 (*L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, 1856). Here Tocqueville argues that the French Revolution against the absolute monarchy ended in a new despotic etatism, because of the lack of an understanding of and tradition for a free and independent civil society.

Western Europe and especially in the Nordic countries to a class compromise between the labour movement and the bourgeoisie, and the social liberals and social democrats worked together to develop the welfare state; and civil society gradually went out of focus. In Russia the Communist dictatorship held power and other parts of Europe experienced a fascist or even Nazi counter-revolution, and in these totalitarian ideologies there were no room for an autonomous civil society. In the post-war period, the focus in Western Europe was on the development of the Keynesian welfare state, and in Eastern Europe on the development of the communist one-party system. During the main period of Cold War the importance of civil society was not on the political and theoretical agenda.

That changed during the last phase of the Cold War. From the late 70s the new left began with reference to the new grassroots movement to involve civil society in their socialist strategy discussion, typically with reference to the ideas of civil society and hegemony, which the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci had developed in the 30s in opposition to the communist strategies of a revolutionary break similar to the Russian October Revolution.⁸ But this debate had marginal impact, and from the late '80s the new left lost initiative and influence on the public debate.

Instead, the debate on civil society was taken over during the 80s by other movements in the East and West, where "civil society" became a key concept for the Eastern European dissident as an alternative to the totalitarian one-party state, and for the American neo-conservative communitarians as an alternative to the welfare state in Western and Northern Europe.

The East-European dissidents

During the 1980s, the debate on "civil society" again came on the international political agenda, and it became from the early 90s also a central theoretical concept in social sciences.⁹ The reason was the renaissance of the ideas of civil society in Eastern Europe, where dissidents used them against the claim of the totalitarian state to permeate the entire society. A growing dissident literature criticized the one-party state and identified the "actual existing socialism" with a non-democratic and oppressive state, outdated centralized management and a profound suppression of social initiatives outside the one-party control. Concurrently new civilian organizations were established with independent trade unions, human rights groups, grassroots movements, student movements and other dissident forums, among others the Polish organisation "Solidarność" was an example of initiatives in a "parallel" civil society outside the reach of the state.

The dissidents demanded liberal political reforms that could safeguard a free civil society. Liberal ideas about political rights, civil liberties and the rule of law should guard a social sphere, kept free from arbitrary bureaucratic state intervention. Voluntary associations were seen as essential for democratic participation and as a bulwark against the one-party state. However, inspired by Western theories of totalitarianism, the dissident movement ignored the economic issues, and opened the door for an unrestrained market economy. Because of their understandable anti-etatisme, their ideas about civil society were marked by ultra-liberal theories that only saw an enemy in the state and a friend in the market.

For the dissidents, public economic regulation became equal to political tyranny, and they were unaware of the market's possible threats to civil society.¹⁰ In the late '80s the movement's views turned to a profound distrust of government regulation and trust in private ownership and

⁸ Gramsci, Antonio: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971 (1929-1935).

⁹ In Denmark, the renewed debate on civil society was initiated by Torben Hviid Nielsen in the article "Stat, civilt samfund og marked som organisationsformer", in: *Samfundsøkonomen, arg. 1984, nr. 3*; and succeeding his book: *Samfund og magt. Om samfundstyper og mennesketyper*. Akademisk Forlag, 1988. Civil society was the main issue in the journal *Politica, årgang 22, 1990, nr. 2*; and in the journal *Social Kritik, nr. 29, 1994*.

¹⁰ Cf. John Ehrenberg: *Civil Society. The critical History of an Idea*. New York University Press, 1999; and Adam B. Seligman: *The Idea of Civil Society*. Princeton University Press, 1992.

unfettered market economy. They took over the neoliberal theories, where the material basis of freedom is private property and a free civil society implies a judicial protection of individual ownership of the means of production. For them a strengthening of civil society thus was equal to as far as possible to change collective public ownership in a state sector to private property in an unrestrained market sector.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the succeeding fall of the Communist regimes in the Eastern Bloc, many dissidents got leading political positions the reformed governments, and they took part in a reform policy, which ensured not only the introduction of private property and a liberal market, but even an unrestrained market economy. However, there was a price to pay and the bill came soon, because it was not a strong civil society that was reborn in Eastern Europe but a capitalist market economy. The hope, that the former dissident associations and NGO's could defend the nascent civil society, faded soon, and large parts of the new civilian structures and forums, the dissidents had built up during the resistance to the communist regimes, were swept away during the implementation of the market economy. During the 90s the new initiatives to build a vibrant civil society fall apart, and the Enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 did not improved the situation; and the current civil societies in the former Eastern Bloc have difficult times. Ironically, it was many of the leaders of the dissident groups that had championed the importance of civil society, who with the neoliberal reforms have actively contributed to a policy, which subsequently broke it down.

The neoconservative and neoliberal agenda

Concurrently, as the new civil society in Eastern Europe ran into crises during the 90s, the idea of civil society gained new importance not least in the U.S., where it was used for a neoliberal attack on the welfare state as well as a neoconservative attack on the decay of tradition and moral. This criticism has among other things been expressed by some civil society researchers, who have attacked the Nordic welfare model for undermining civil society.

The American sociologist, Alan Wolfe got in the early '90s international recognition for his claim, that the ability of modern humans to behave morally committed to each other were endangered by a strong state. This claim, he transferred to the Nordic welfare states, as "putting pressure on families, communities and social networks."¹¹ Later in the same decade, the Habermas-inspired social scientists Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato assessed, that "the welfare state's success has led to a veritable crisis of solidarity by replacing forms of reciprocity, self-help and cooperation within the family with public organized functions."¹² The claim is in short that an active redistributive welfare state that interferes with market forces will necessarily weaken the social and democratic capital, which a vibrant civil society can provide.

However, a number of recent research results from the Scandinavian countries have refuted such claims. A Swedish study by Bo Rothstein has shown that the welfare state has not undermined the social capital in the civil society.¹³ He presents data from Sweden showing that social relationships and voluntary associations have generally been strengthened after 1950 with the welfare state expansion. Similar data applies to Norway and Denmark.¹⁴ The Norwegian sociologist Per Selle has documented that the Nordic authorities at the same time support the voluntary

¹¹ Alan Wolfe: *Whose Keeper? Social Science and Moral Obligation*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1989. p. 22

¹² Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato: *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge, 1992, p. 465.

¹³ Bo Rothstein: *Just Institutions Matter. The Moral and Political Logic of the Universal Welfare State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

¹⁴ Cf. Per Selle: "The transformation of the voluntary sector in Norway: a decline in social capital?", in Van Deth; Maraffi, Newton and Whiteley, (eds.): *Social Capital and European Democracy*. London and New York: Routledge. 1999; and Lars Torpe: "Democracy and Associations in Denmark: Changing Relationships between Individuals and Associations?" in: *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 3., Aalborg University, 2003

associations financially and organizationally and use the principle of arm-length to secure the freedom of the voluntary sector. The voluntary organizations can thus be related to the public sector without losing their high degree of autonomy. A strong state does not have to be a threat to civil society, it might as well be a protector of it, especially against the market. It all depends on how the state chooses to use its strength, for example by respecting the arm's length principle and the associations' right to self-management.

The state as such is not a threat; it is only the given state policy that can be a threat. This is actually, what has happened the last decade, at least up to the financial crisis in 2007 and the succeeding crisis for the neoliberal economic and political theories. In the last decade the former Nordic welfare state, especially in Denmark during the rightwing government of Fogh-Rasmussen, has been transformed to a neoliberal competitive state, and the state seeks to involve and optimize all parts of society in relation to the global market competition. With this neoliberal state that uses New Public Management to control and shape all areas of society in the image of the market, the third sector in civil society certainly risks to lose its independence and core qualities.

During the period of neoliberal governmental management, we have experienced an unseen close cooperation between state and market, which has created a double pressure to reduce civil society as an independent area for voluntary associations, liberal adult education and free cultural expression. This political strategy appeals to us as private persons, as workers and consumers and not to us as citizens and fellow human beings. A genuine civil society policy should have the opposite strategy to ensure an independent civil society with a strong learning capacity and a free formation of public opinion.

7.2 Theories of civil society

Two main figures – Putnam and Habermas

In the current debate on the relation of civil society to democracy and welfare state, there are two main approaches. On the one hand, a Putnam-inspired approach that emphasizes the role of civil society to ensure social capital and cultural cohesion, on the other hand, a Habermas-inspired approach that emphasizes the role of civil society to ensure a deliberative public and democratic participation. In both approaches, the importance of civil society is reduced to ensure needs outside its own area, and the core value of civil society to be the main base of human freedom is not taken seriously. It will be further elucidated in this section.

Putnam's communitarian position

The main prerequisite for a participatory democracy and effective institutions in modern society is according to Robert Putnam the existence of civic engagement in local communities. It is the networks of trust, reciprocity norms and cooperative habits, created in civil society through the microcosm of human civil engagement in local institutions and associations that are pivotal for a functioning society. Putnam calls this resource of trust for social capital, because it can be saved, stored over time and used in other social contexts than where it was acquired.

Social capital is developed according to Putnam, when individuals decide to do something together in civil forums ranging from local networks, associations or other more or less informal contexts. What activities the citizens assemble about, is not important, but rather that these activities are characterized by voluntariness, equality, and none-selfish interests. The social capital does not particularly develop in political social movements, national single-issue organizations, or trade unions, church organizations or political parties, but rather in more limited leisure time groups such as choirs, local football clubs, nature organizations and other hobby communities.

These activities build trust between people, because we experience that services are reciprocated and agreements are respected, and we can entrust money and tasks to strangers without being ripped off or disappointed. This confidence is in itself humanly valuable and enriching; and in addition, it constitutes a social resource that enhances the ability to cooperate and solve common problems, also in other context as work, political cooperation, or in public institutions. Furthermore, these activities also increase the participants' tolerance, solidarity and willingness to compromise. Through time spent together in voluntary communities, we learn to accept others and live with differences, and to realize the necessity of compromise and negotiation, and we become more open to help others and make sacrifices to get communities to work.

It was in the book *Making Democracy Work*,¹⁵ Putnam presented the thesis that a working democracy depends on the degree of social capital, which in turn depends on strong voluntary associations and networks in the local community. Based on extensive data, statistics and interviews Putnam argued that Italy's northern regions are far more efficient than the southern regions in terms of political participation, social cooperation, functioning institutions, etc. His main explanation is that Northern Italy has a far greater density of voluntary associations. In the book *Bowling Alone*,¹⁶ Putnam illustrates the ailing social capital in the U.S. and explains it with decreasing social contact in civic communities and network, especially because the families spend too much time watching TV. In short, the problem is that Americans opt out social networks on a large scale, and more and more families are "bowling alone" rather than in clubs or with neighbours.

Both books became instant international successes and the concept of social capital and its reference to a strong civil society with a comprehensive network of voluntary associations won many supporters, both in the broader socio-political debate and in the theoretical discussion about civil society; but it also met much criticism.¹⁷ Most agreed that "social capital" is important for a functioning society, but rejected Putnam's micro-sociological causal explanations as either misleading or overloaded. From a macro-sociological perspective, modern society is composed of three connected sectors: the state, market and civil society. Specific conditions in civil society may influence the development of social capital, but other conditions in the state or market may have the same or more influence. For instance, Putnam does not recognise that the higher degree of "social capital" in Northern Italy may be due to a conscious strategy from the major Catholic and socialist national mass movements that mobilized from above. It was not the small local network that created political parties and movements, but the other way around. Or, he does not recognise the reason, why Americans are bowling more alone, do not need to be due to a moral decay, but the fact of the market, where the American society in the post-war period had been the most thoroughly commercialized society in the world, not least in the mass culture, or that the work pressure and competition to get a decent jobs had been increasing over the period.

The consequence of Putnam's micro perspective is, first, that the narrow local perspective on civil society ignores the ability of the state to produce social capital "from above". The Norwegian sociologist Per Selle emphasizes that Putnam with his theoretical micro optic only has eyes for the type of social capital that is created "from below" through local interaction in intimate networks. But such a theory cannot explain the development in the state-friendly Nordic countries, where the voluntary sector and local associations historically have been deeply influenced by "the government" back from the time of enlightened absolutism from the last part of the 1700s and forward to the social democratic welfare state. Public initiatives "from above" have not only influenced the local conditions, but they have also actively helped to develop the voluntary sector. A

¹⁵ Robert Putnam: *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press, 1993.

¹⁶ Robert Putnam: *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schusters Paperbacks, 2000.

¹⁷ Cf. Lars Hulgaard: "Civilsamfund eller social kapital?: En institutionel kritik af Habermas og Putnam inspirerede samfundsteorier", in: *Dansk Sociologi, Vol 13, No 4, 2002*.

secondary consequence of Putnam's micro perspective "from below", which he himself did not advocate, but other allied neo-conservative communitarians had been advocating, was that a flourishing of civic engagement demands a dismantling of the welfare state.

Secondly, Putnam's micro perspective does not see that civil virtues also must imply a more general solidarity and patriotism. The Danish political scientist, Per Mouritsen have emphasized¹⁸ that essential civic norms is not just about local patriotism and group solidarity, but also about state patriotism and a national community. A citizen with a sense of public interest must have a broader political identification and a solidarity that cut across class lines, cultural differences, regional boundaries and divisions between centre and periphery. The older civil society theorists such as Ferguson and Tocqueville, and especially Grundtvig¹⁹ knew that such patriotic citizens were required to pay taxes, fight in wars, or rebel against unjust governments, and they also knew that patriotic citizens needed an attitude of state-citizenship and a common political culture.

Thirdly, Putnam has been criticised for the lack of a concept of communicative action to explain the complex relationship between social movements and political institutions. The American sociologist Jean Cohen²⁰ objects with reference to Habermas, that Putnam's minimalistic focus on local face-to-face civil relations overlooks the fact that the public sphere in civil society is the prime mediator between citizens and representative democracy. Thus, he becomes blind to the kinds of political influence that the new social movements or political engaged groups achieve by using the public sphere to influence decisions in the democratic institutions.

Finally, Putnam has been criticized for a naive determination of social capital. The American political scientist, Sheri Berman²¹ has objected that civil society as an unregulated area just as well can be filled by arbitrariness, discrimination and violence as with mutual proximity and self-regulated needs. Independent associations outside the state and the market can hold much more than a fine moral of mutual interest. Fiorentina's brotherhood of fanatical Tifosis may have a strong community, but they are not necessarily very pleasant to be together with for others. That we call social cohesion may be of a more or less pleasant character. Trust in relation to others in the same local community may well imply distrust of other communities and minorities. The trust that is needed is confidence in those, who are different than us. Trust must have a general nature to ensure cohesion in a time, where we are involved in a European integration, or facing an inter-ethnic cooperation in the community.

Social capital is not a neutral quantifiable ability as implied with the term "capital". A meaningful use of the concept requires a qualification of its inherent pedagogical, ethical, cultural and political understandings and values. We need to define the norms for education, morality, culture and politics, we wish to promote, when we use the concept. We must determine the specific contents and forms of social capital we want to strengthen, if the concept shall be used meaningfully in a pedagogical and political context.

Habermas' deliberative position

In the article *Further Reflections on the Public Sphere* from 1992, Habermas emphasises with reference to the dissident movement in Eastern Europe that civil society has become a key concept,

¹⁸Per Mouritsen: "What's the Civil in Civil Society? Robert Putnam, Italy and the Republican Tradition", i: *Political Studies*, vol. 51 nr. 4, 2003, s. 650-669

¹⁹ Cf. Grundtvig: *Statsmæssig Oplysning. Et udkast om samfund og skole*. Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1983 (1834). Grundtvig here commented the need of a patriotic citizenship: "False enlightenment constantly starts with the needs of the individual, but false enlightenment is dangerous to civic society – at all times and under all stars; because every society rests upon a certain awe of a right higher than that of the individual and upon sacrifices of the individual to the benefit of the whole. What is true of conceitedness is also true of smallpox – when broken out, it is too late to vaccinate."

²⁰ Jean Cohen: *American Civil Society Talk*. The National Commission on Civic Renewal, Working Paper #6. University of Maryland. 1997.

²¹ Sheri Berman: "Civil Society and Political Institutionalization", in: *American Behavioral Scientist* 40, no.5, 562 – 574, 1997.

also for the theory of communicative action.²² However, he tries in vain to find a definition of the term "civil society" and ends with maintaining the public sphere as the underlying and defining concept. The meaning of civil society is to him its ability to ensure the transference of public communication into the political sphere. The same reductive understanding characterizes his work on law and democracy, *Between Facts and Norms*.²³ In the last two chapters, Habermas develops a specific "lock model" of how attitudes and understanding in civil society can be transferred into the political decision-making system and ensure its legitimacy via the communication processes in the public sphere. It is through these "gates or locks" that the political system can remain open to influence from civic forums and networks and maintain a connection to the communicative rationality of the lifeworld.

The American political scientists, Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato have a similar approach to civil society. In their comprehensive work *Civil Society and Political Theory*²⁴ from 1994, the importance of civil society is reduced to ensure the communicative rationality a strong impact on the government through the civic and public sphere. The same reasoning represents the Habermas-inspired Danish cultural theorist, Henrik Kaare Nielsen.²⁵ He points out active citizenship and participation in the public sphere as the essential value of civil society, while its value as a free area for personal fulfilment and the base for an independent private sphere is more or less neglected.

The Habermasian understanding has been criticised for making a too narrow connection between the public sphere and civil society. The English democracy theorist, John Keane²⁶ and the Danish sociologist, Lars Hulgaard²⁷ have stated an "institutional critique" against a too narrowly location of the democratic public opinion in civil society. The Habermasian "lock model" implies according to them a too sharp separation between system and lifeworld and a following misunderstanding of the actual institutional relationships between state, market and civil society. Because the state represents not only bureaucracy but also democracy, and the market is not only profit maximization but also a place for trade unions, and civil society is therefore not the only area for a democratic culture. Keane and Hulgaard emphasise that a democratic public are not only rooted in civil society, but also have strongholds in public institutions as well as within market forums, depending on the political balance of power. It is not only civil society that contributes to a democratic culture; the communicative rationality has also footholds within the areas of the system.

The political sociologist, Margaret Somers²⁸ has criticized the Habermasian "lock-model" for underestimating the state's role to ensure an active civil society. She argues that historical research shows that it is "the muscles of the state", which provides the necessary institutional security of a viable civil society. Because in those periods, when the modern state did not support the forums and networks of civil society, they began to crumble under the pressure of the market; while they prosper in the periods, where the state provides legal and financial protection and support. The Habermasian "lock-model" thus gives civil society a too important role as the democracy-bearing area of the whole societal unity of state, market and civil society. For this role, it cannot develop alone, and even less without the support "from above" by the state.

²² Jürgen Habermas: "Further Reflections on the Public Sphere", in Craig Calhoun (ed.): *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992.

²³ Jürgen Habermas: *Between Facts and Norms*. Polity Press, 1997 (Faktizität und Geltung, 1992).

²⁴ Jean Cohen & Andrew Arato: *Civil Society and Political Theory*. MIT Press, 1994.

²⁵ Henrik Kaare Nielsen: *Kritisk teori og samtidsanalyse*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2001.

²⁶ John Keane: *Civil Society – Old Images, New Visions*. London: Polity Press, 1998.

²⁷ Lars Hulgaard: "Civilsamfund eller social kapital? En institutionel kritik af Habermas og Putnam inspirerede civilsamfundsteorier", in: *Tidsskriftet Dansk Sociologi*, Nr. 4/13. årg., december 2002.

²⁸ Margaret Somers: "Romancing the Market, Reviling the State: Civil Society and the Privatization of Citizenship in an age of Social Naturalism" in Crouch & Eder (ed.): *Forthcoming in The Ambiguities of Citizenship*. Oxford University, 1998.

Freedom and reason

In our point of view there is a further consequence of the Habermasian overloading of civil society with democracy-supporting tasks. For while this position overstates the function of civil society for maintaining democracy, it also understates other and equally important functions. The role of civil society is not only to be basis for active citizenship and democracy, but also to be the basis for personal autonomy and fulfilment as the crucial area for the unfolding of free humanity.

Such an understanding can be substantiated with reference to the critique, another prominent representative of the Frankfurt School's second generation, Albrecht Wellmer has presented with reference to Hegel's analysis of the nature of modernity.²⁹ Wellmer has unlike Habermas focused not only on reason, but on freedom as well. He emphasizes that the central question in the modern social theories has been, how freedom can be realized in the modern world.³⁰ However, there has been considerable disagreement over, whether freedom should be understood from the perspective of the individual or the community. The individual-oriented theories, where Kant has been the main spokesman, have highlighted a negative concept of freedom, where freedom is about the absence of external coercion in relation to the private zone of the individual, as each individual is unique and an end in itself.³¹ The community-oriented theories, by contrast, emphasized a positive concept of freedom, where freedom can only exist in an intersubjective context and thus in the social life.

The two positions seem mutual incompatibility or as an antinomy, but Hegel managed, according to Wellmer, in his *Philosophy of Right* to overcome the contradiction in the two positions with a dialectical third position. Hegel's starting point is the division of modern society in state and civil society, where the state represents the positive freedom and the expression of the general will, while the civil society represents the negative freedom and the expression of the individuals' particular wills. Hegel determines civil society as the foundation of the negative freedom and the basis for all the individual rights. He considers this emancipation of the human rights as an irreversible historical progress, which at the same time implies that the common ethical life of the old civil society is dissolved, because everyone now is free to pursue their own interests and special needs. This liberation of the individual becomes a threat to the common positive liberty, and it is the State which may abolish these contradictions, not by removing them, but by ensuring them a civilised form of development. The private freedom can only exist, if part of the freedom is transformed into a governmental guaranteed positive freedom. The individual's right to express his particular will in civil society is balanced by the securing of the general will by the rule of law.

Hegel conceives the modern civil society as the crucial sphere of negative liberty in which the old ethical and authoritarian community is divided and lost. But he does not as Rousseau³² and Marx³³ consider this divide as a loss and a scandal, but rather as the necessary price to pay to se-

²⁹ Hegel, G.W.F.: *Philosophy of Right*. Translated with notes by T. M. Knox. Oxford University Press, 1967 (Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse; Eduard Gans' second edition from 1833).

³⁰ Albrecht Wellmer: "Models of Freedom in the Modern World", in *Endgames, the Irreconcilable Nature of Modernity*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998 p. 3 – 39 (Endspiele: Die unversöhnliche Moderne, Suhrkamp Verlag 1993).

³¹ Emmanuel Kant: *The Metaphysics of Moral*. Hackett Publishing Compagny, Indianapolis, 1999,

³² Rousseau tries in *Du contrat social* from 1762 to solve this scandal by subsuming the particular wills in civil society under a totalitarian general will in the state. The same year he wrote "Emile" with the opposite message of the natural freedom of the individual. Rousseau never found a way to solve this antagonism.

³³ The young Marx declared in *Zur Judenfrage* from 1843 that this scandal could be dissolved in the classless society, when the divide of state and civil society could be replaced by an immediate community, where the general will and the particular wills would melt together. This naive and un-reflected utopia characterises the whole work of Marx, and it opened for a principal neglect of legal protections of the fundamental individual rights; this neglect showed to be a fatal flaw in the communist ideology, when Lenin released the proletarian dictatorship and later the dictatorship of the state. There is a red line from Rousseau's general will, the Jacobins terror during the French Revolution to Marx's communist utopia and the Bolsheviks political strategy.

cure everyone's freedom under the conditions of modernity.³⁴ The foundation of negative freedom is the necessary condition for a fully emancipated human individuality, and it is also the condition for the emancipation of science and art from the political and religious coercion in premodern societies. With the legal protection of the negative freedom, authorities can no longer restrict the freedom of opinion, the free artistic expression and critical science. Hegel clearly sees that the implications of negative freedom not only are the individual right to act freely, but also the right to act unwisely. It is the negative freedom, which gives a human right to self-determination and thus the right - within certain limits - to be headstrong, eccentric, self-destructive and sometimes act as a dissident with "civil disobedience"; or as the Norwegian play-writer, Henrik Ibsen wrote in *An Enemy of the People*: "the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone."³⁵

In civil society individual freedom stands before community reason, in the state positive freedom stands before individual freedom. Building on Hegel's provisions, Wellmer may thus argue that modern societies are characterized by a normative dualism between freedom and reason. There is a necessary dialectical tension in the universal concept of liberty, where the common reason and individual freedom collide.

The too reasonable theory of communicative action

The modern world holds for Wellmer an irrevocable dualism between freedom and reason, which is rooted in the separation of civil society from the state, and the modern project is thus also an unfinished project with no final solution. For its future history can not only be shaped by a discursive rationality with a possible telos, but also by a stubborn individual desire for freedom. He rejects hereby a concrete utopia of a final goal of history, and defends instead the open utopia of a future where freedom can come into its own.

It is from this insight into the modern dualism between freedom and reason that Wellmer criticizes Habermas' theory of communicative action for not being on par with this dualism, but reductively takes the side of reason. Hereby the intersubjective communication theory does not leave much room for the negative freedom; on the contrary it builds on a communicative principle that is silent about a right not to be reasonable. The aim of the discursive rationality is precisely to exclude unreasonable actions. But the right of the individual also entails the right to be against the demands of a common rationality and thus the right to be dissident, to disagree and act against the reasonable discourses of the majority. Habermas make the mistake that he will make the communicative rules to the only meta-principle for a coercion-free dialogue and thus for the deliberative democracy. However, it must be supplemented by a meta-principle of the individual's fundamental rights with reference to Kant's maxim about individual autonomy, where every human being is determined as an end in itself. It is only when the two principles of intersubjective reason and subjective freedom are jointly deployed, that a democratic culture can be founded.

The principles of (all) individuals' freedom and of communicative reason need each other, but they do not imply each other. Like the discursive rationality cannot justify the participation of less reasonable persons in the democratic dialogue, so it cannot justify a post-conventional idea of solidarity. For a modern solidarity means that we want a place for everyone's negative freedom, that everybody has their personal space to express autonomy and authority over their own lives, and thereby also the freedom to say no to the majority's values and understandings. Only through

³⁴ The French political thinker, Benjamin Constant presented in line with Hegel the importance of the modern civil society in *Principles of Politics Applicable to All Governments* from 1815 and *The Liberty of Ancients Compared with that of Moderns* from 1816. Both are part of: *Constant. Political writings*. Cambridge University Press, 1988.

³⁵ Henrik Ibsen: *An Enemy of the People*, Act V, (1882)

this open freedom for all, can we develop symmetrical forms of mutual recognition, voluntary agreements and rational consensus between peers.³⁶

In our point of view, it is also possible to draw the further consequence of Wellmer's analysis, that the dimension of particular wills and authentic freedom in civil society cannot normatively be subsumed the general will and common reason of the state. The negative freedom with base in civil society must be equated with the positive freedom with base in the state. The activities of associations in civil society cannot be reduced - as Habermas tends to do - to be "locks", which are taming the particulate interests and forming them to the public good through the impact on the government policy. The free activities by individuals and associations in civil society have their own value, and they create opportunities for a substantial part of the good life. They must not only be regarded as means to ensure a democratic general will of the state. They constitute an end in themselves as a privileged area for the expression and formation of free humanity.

Bildung and civil society

The Bildung tradition represents contrary to the main part of the current pedagogical theories a clear understanding of this dialectical tension between freedom and reason, and the pedagogical challenges, it implies. We therefore see a strong need for a reconstruction and further development of the modern Bildung tradition; and the three main sources of inspiration can here be Rousseau, Humboldt and Grundtvig.

Rousseau's writings were characterized by an unmediated contrast between the aims on the one side of a natural formation to be a free individual in nature or rather civil society, and on the other side of a cultural formation to be a responsible citizen of the state. The pedagogical work, *Emile* from 1762 defends the free education of an authentic human, who can unfold its potentials freely beyond societal obligations and constraints. The social philosophical work, *The Social Contract* from the same year states an opposite opinion and defends the necessity of educating the citizens to subordinate to total state control. Rousseau did not find a solution on this opposition between the free human being with legs in civil society and the responsible citizen in the political sphere, but he got both categories in play as equals, and he resorted not to the reductive "Habermasian" solution to "lock" Emile into the Social Charter.³⁷

The German Bildung tradition of neohumanism from the end of the 1700s attempted to overcome the contradictions of Rousseau's position. The classic humanistic program of human autonomy remained unchanged, but the new task was to ensure personal freedom as well as the public good, to find a way between man as a free self-willed human and a responsible citizen of the state. The answer from the main spokesman Humboldt was - in *The Theory of Human Formation* from 1793 - simply said, that the aim of Bildung was first to evolve as a human being (l'homme) before entering into the other life roles as a citizen (citoyen) in the state and as a employee (bourgeois) in the market. Furthermore, the process of personal formation was lifelong; and it was thus essential to have a civilian base for the process of learning outside the areas of politics and economics.

For Grundtvig and the Grundtvigian tradition of enlightenment, the goal was to develop a liberal adult education rooted in a free civil society, where life enlightenment comes before the education as state citizen and the vocational education. In parts of Grundtvig's school writings,³⁸ especially about "the School in Soer", the Folk High School has a role as "a lock" to active citizenship,

³⁶ This line of thinking has another actual spokesman for the Frankfurt School, Axel Honneth developed in: *Disrespect: The Normative foundations of Critical Theory*. Polity Press 2007 (Das Andere der Gerechtigkeit, Suhrkamp Verlag 2000); and in *Pathologies of Reason. On the Legacy of Critical Theory*. Columbia University Press, 2009 (Pathologien der Vernunft. Geschichte und Gegenwart der Kritischen Theorie. Suhrkamp Verlag, 2007)

³⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *Émile: or, on Education*. NuVision Publications, 2007 (Émile ou de l'éducation, 1762); *The Social Contract*. Penguin Great Ideas, 2004 (Du contrat social, 1762).

³⁸ Grundtvig, N. F. S.: "Skolen for livet og Akademiet i Soer", 1838, i Grundtvig: Værker i Udvalg, bind 4, Gyldendal 1943.

but generally the Folk High School is seen as a free area for a personal development that was an end in itself, and which went before man's activity in public life and in work life. Grundtvig's pithy words "Human first, Christian then" could rightly be rewritten to "Human first, citizen and employee then".

There can probably be reconstructed a different understanding and valuation of the civil society than the Habermasian "lock model" suggests, by engaging the humanistic freedom discourses. In this context it may be mentioned that the elder Marx advocated for a vision of human freedom with reference to the free leisure time beyond the life of necessity in the work time. It was during the free time that man could become a whole and versatile man, and where I, - as Marx previously wrote in *The German Ideology* from 1845, - could "go hunting in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, and criticize after dinner, just what I want, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic".³⁹

7.3 EU's aims of lifelong learning and civil society

Interestingly, a humanistic perspective on civil society is part of the European Commission's discourse of lifelong learning. After the release of the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*⁴⁰ in 2000, the consultation process in all Member States and candidate countries implied so much criticism, that the Commission in the subsequent Message on *Making a European area for lifelong learning*⁴¹ in 2001 had to revise its aims of lifelong learning. It maintained unchanged the one main aim of "employability" for the work life, but at the same time it revised the other main aim of "active citizenship" to include "cultural cohesion/social inclusion" for the social life, and furthermore it included a new aim of "personal fulfilment" for the civic life. Thus, the Commission gave an opening for the view, that free human activities in civil society could have their own value, and that the non-formal learning in liberal adult education and informal learning in voluntary associations could have a wider aim than being learning providers for the work life and social life.

Thus, the EU system has developed a terminological framework that includes a humanistic learning perspective on the meaning of a modern civil society. When the Council and Parliament adopted the *Recommendation on Key Competences for lifelong learning*⁴² in December 2006, they established a supranational legal frame for the member states, which to some extent include a humanistic learning discourse. The specific statutory implementation in each member state constitutes a major political agenda marked by theoretical and political paradigm conflicts between instrumental and humanistic views, and the outcome will have significant implications for the future development of the European civil society.

Theories of civil society with reference to learning

In the last decades, "civil society" has become a key concept in the socio-political debate. However, it is used conceptually in many meanings and with very different political perspectives. However, these different positions can be determined from their relations to the main aims of lifelong learning, which the EU Commission had outlined, namely 1) employability; 2) social inclusion/cultural cohesion; 3) active citizenship; and 4) personal fulfilment. From this categorization we can outline four main learning-oriented discourses of civil society:

³⁹ Karl Marx: *The German Ideology*. Collected Works, Vol. V, page 275 (Die deutsche Ideologie, 1845).

⁴⁰ European Commission: *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*. Nov. 2000.

⁴¹ European Commission: *Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality*. Nov. 2001.

⁴² The European Parliament and the Council : Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning, 2006/962/EC)

A (neo-)liberal position, which focuses on the learners' *employability* and hence their role as employees/employers (as bourgeois). Here the market is seen as a part of civil society, and the view is that market expansion implies a strengthened civil society. These theories do not use a tripartite division of society into state, market and civil society, but a dichotomy between the state and the rest of society, which is called civil society. The vision can switch between a classical liberal position, where the state should limit its activities to ensure law and orders, and a neo-liberal position, where a strong state should help the market to acquire or rather replace the civil society.

A communitarian position, which focuses on the learners' *social inclusion and cultural cohesion* and hence their role as tradition-confirming citizens (as a moral citizen in the local and near community). This position makes in contrast to the liberal position a clear distinction between the market and civil society, and it explains a number of problems in modern society with the tendencies of the market and the state to expand their influence on the expense of a morally strong civil society. Communitarians believe that civil society elements such as family, local community, traditions and religion holds pre-political values, which ensure cohesion and morality in society. The growing dominance of the market and state has eroded the common morality and left the civil society in a profound value crisis.

A position of the Critical Theory, which focuses on the learners' *deliberative and active citizenship* and hence their role as citizens in the communicative action (as citizen in the deliberative democracy). This position distinguishes as the communitarian between state, market and civil society, and it also explains a range of social problems with the market's and the state's colonization of the civil society and the lifeworld. The Habermasians see the contribution to the democratic public debate as the main characteristics of civil society; contrary to the communitarians that emphasise the maintenance of the family and tradition-borne local communities. It is the enlightened citizens, who in a free and critical dialogue must interpret and re-define the common norms and understandings, and not a tradition-bound citizen, who cling to a delimiting morality rooted in un-reflected traditions.

A Bildung-related position that focuses on the learners' *personal fulfilment* and hence their role first and foremost as a man (l'homme); and then their roles as a citizen (citoyen) and as an employee (bourgeois). This position distinguishes as the communitarians and the Habermasians between state, market and civil society, and it defends a free civil society against state control and market commercialization. But unlike the critical theory this position asserts, that the importance of civil society includes more than its contribution to a democratic public debate, namely free human learning as an end in itself and a private sphere for existential personal realisation; and unlike the communitarians it has no intentions of strengthening unreflected traditions and prejudiced local communities, but instead to secure the modern personal space and a free and critical intersubjective dialogue. It is not tradition and morality, but the autonomy of the individual, which secure the foundation for a free and rational intersubjective dialogue.

This position appreciates the opportunities in civil society for all citizens in their leisure time to learn freely and to develop aspects of their humanity, which they cannot experience and unfold within the domains of the state and the market.

Theories of learning with reference to civil society

Instead of using the learning aims for a categorization of different civil society positions, we can turn it around and use the civil society understandings for a categorization of different learning theories. In this way we can outline four main learning positions:

- The liberalistic learning position, which gives priority to learning in civil society that can improve the learners' *employability* and business value in order to qualify their role as employee or employer (as bourgeois or private citizens).

- The communitarian learning position, which gives priority to a learning in civil society that can enhance *cultural and social cohesion* and improve conservative traditions and morality, in order to qualify the learners' role as fellow human beings and citizens (as l'homme and citoyen in their local communities).
- The critical theory's learning position, which gives priority to a learning in civil society that can enhance *active citizenship* in the area of public debate and democratic participation, in order to qualify their role as citizen (as state citizen in the Republic's democratic community).
- The Bildung-related position, which gives priority to a learning in civil society that can develop the learners' personal formation in the sense of autonomy, authenticity and fulfilment, in order to qualify their role as human being (as l'homme in an existential sense) and then as a fellow human beings, citizens and employees.

The first three positions are in varying ways affected by an instrumental mindset, where humans are not seen as an end in themselves, but as means or resources for something else. The neoliberals have the utility for the market economy as goal, and vocational learning as means. The communitarians have the social-cultural cohesion as goal, and a morally-oriented learning as means. The Habermasians have the deliberative democracy as a goal, and citizenship learning as means. Although the first three positions in different ways stress the importance of having an independent civil society, the reason is not that they see the free individual or joint learning activities in civil society as an end in itself or as having an intrinsic value in human terms, but rather that they can be useful means for something else, such as economic, cultural or democratic goals.

Only the Bildung-related position has transcended the instrumental logic, arguing that the human fulfilment through free cultural activities and personal formation processes is a goal in itself, while market economic efficiency, cultural cohesion and democratic participation on the contrary must be seen as means to ensure the human freedom. Only this position defends the value of civil society as a free area for realization of personal interests and passions, an area for the joys of the amateur, who can do something of lust and love, and where the activity is a goal in itself and holds its own meaning and reward. This desire – to do something one as amateur loves (*amare*) – may not be equally possible to do in the realm of necessary, neither in the state's rule-bound sphere nor in the market's commercial sphere, or to do in the work time or as consumer at the market.

The humanistic question

The main question for the humanistic position is not, what benefit the civil society can do for the state (and market), but opposite to ask, what benefit the state (and market) can do for the civil society. For a vibrant civil society should not be considered as a means to something else, e.g. to provide democratic participation or social capital; but as an end in itself, as a sphere for learning and expression of human qualities, which cannot be unfolded in the market or the state. The civil society provides the pivotal societal sphere for the fundamental rights of negative freedom and individual autonomy as well as a free human learning.

Henrik Kaare Nielsen emphasizes the fundamental point of view that "private interests and the near communities in a differentiated post-traditional society only just have a private and particular character and therefore not immediately offer any principle of socialization, which may have general relevance and validity of the modern social formation."⁴³ It seems here like he cannot see the forest because of trees. For it is precisely characteristic of post-traditional societies that individualization has gone hand in hand with social and cultural modernization. In pre-modern societies, the smallest unit was not the individual, but the household, the family or the congregation. It was not until the transition to modern society, "that man became man", as the Danish theologian

⁴³ Henrik Kaare Nielsen: *Kritisk teori og samtidsanalyse*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2001, p. 36

Johannes Sløk expressed it,⁴⁴ i.e. became an individual, where personal autonomy and authenticity were the hallmark, and man was destined to define meaning and purpose for his own life. It was in interacting with this new historical freedom in civil society that the state endorsed the fundamental individual rights as the base of the rule of law.

In the chain of rights came the securing of the personal space first with the protection of the personal inviolability and the peace of privacy, and thereafter the individual freedom of thought and expression, as a prelude to freedom of assembly and freedom of association and finally the democratic rights for all. With the security of the private sphere, the individual was not only protected against the state, but also against the family, the neighbours, the local community, and sometimes even against the employer. The crucial modern and historic new virtue was to be a unique individual, to have personal integrity and autonomy, and to take over one's own life in existentialistic sense as "a single individual" with the words of Kierkegaard,⁴⁵ and listening, as Karen Blixen says, to "the human heart's deepest cry: Who am I?"⁴⁶ A living space as an individual was the starting point to become an equal citizen. It is the individual autonomy or sovereignty, which is the basis of the sovereignty of the people. In other words, this is an essential principle of modern socialization, and as little as one should take democracy for granted, one should take the autonome individual for granted. It is not only the systemic rationality, but also the philistines and the compact majority, which may cancel out the sphere of the individual.

It is surprising that an initial emancipatory and critical theory so easily dismisses the right of "the single individual" and submit it to the duties of the citizen role. But the reason could be that Henrik Kaare Nielsen as Habermas wishes to reject the modern "subject philosophy", which not least Kant has advocated. Habermas does not want to found the theory on the freedom of the subject, but on the reason of intersubjectivity, and he has taken over Appel's language theory, the universal pragmatic, where the system of language rules supersedes the subjects, who speak it.

The question is, whether this subject-critical communication theory can provide the desired normative basis. Can a theoretical anti-humanism, where language endures, while subjects pass, be combined with a freedom-based humanism. Can a critical Bildung theory and a general history theory with an emancipatory interest do without a meta-theory, which emphasizes freedom as a trans-historical category of the human? The answer shall not be given here, but there is undoubtedly a tendency among the Habermasians to value the reason in the democratic public above the freedom of the individuals and their associations in civil society, because the norms of a democratic dialogue are more consistent with the norms of the universal pragmatic. The free humanity in the civilian life fits with its wilful and passionate demands of authenticity not into the intersubjective norms of communicative reason, and its theoretical importance and even its political and pedagogical legitimacy are downgraded.

This is not a pleasant consequence for people with an existential nerve or interest in the free learning and the autonomy of art, or for those parts of the voluntary associations that are not particularly socially or politically oriented, but instead want to find a free sphere to engage in free human and cultural interests.

⁴⁴ Cf. Johannes Sløk: *Tradition og nybrud: Pico Mirandola*. København: Rosenkilde og Bagger: 1957; *Kierkegaard - humanismens tænker*. Hans Reitzel, 1978; *Nicolaus Cusanus og hans filosofiske system*. Gullander, 1974.

⁴⁵ Søren Kierkegaard: *Either/Or* (Enten-Eller, 1843); and *Philosophical Fragments* (Philosophiske Smuler, 1844)

⁴⁶ Karen Blixen: "The Cardinal's First Tale", in; *Last Tales* (Sidste fortællinger, 1957)

III. Learning methodology

8. Learning concepts

8.1 Outline of the learning theory

Curriculum in context

The educational policy papers in the EU system and the majority of Member States are characterized by internal tensions, in which different and even conflicting goals and priorities can be legitimized. The policy papers thereby also contain openings for a humanistic agenda that seeks to promote free learning arenas in the European civil society - in other words, liberal adult education and learning activities in voluntary associations that can help to maintain and develop a rich life world.

Anyhow, it is not our view that one form for learning is the right one. Instead we will emphasise that the different learning aims can be reasonable at the right time and place, because the content and form of the learning must differ according to the specific context and perspective. We see it as an imperative for a qualified pedagogical methodology to clarify the context of the learning and thus avoid a pedagogical reductionism, where appropriate learning needs from one context (for example employability in work life) as a sort of hidden agenda are colonising the forms and content of learning in another context (for example personal fulfilment in civil society). In general, the practise and theory of learning curriculum can be classified in four main traditions with focus on respectively learning as product, as process, as praxis, and as context:

- *Curriculum as product* represents a more technical, management and market oriented trend, where the lifelong learning aim of employability is in front. Here curriculum is a technical exercise, and the focus is on the part rather than the whole, on the useful rather than the significant and fulfilling.
- *Curriculum as process* represents a more person-centred trend, where the lifelong learning aim of personal fulfilment is in front. Here the process has become an end itself, and the learners' ability to use and make sense of the learned is somehow overlooked.
- *Curriculum as praxis* represents a more critical trend committed to social and human emancipation, where the lifelong learning aims of active citizenship, social inclusion and cultural cohesion are in front, but the different contexts and needs of learning is somehow overlooked.
- *Curriculum as context* represents a more situational trend, where the different aims of lifelong learning are prioritised differently according to the specific learning situation and perspective. Here the "hidden learning agenda" is clarified and consciously used in the curricula description and the learning practise.

The context of learning in this project is amateur art and voluntary cultural activities in a civil society perspective. Our ambition is to combine a view on learning as both product and process and to see it as praxis but always in a specific context - and here the curriculum must be developed for a context of amateur art and cultural volunteering in civil society and of facilitating local artistic and cultural activities permeated by humanistic and democratic values.

The principles of liberal adult education

The learning concept of this project takes the main principles of liberal adult education into account, because these principles permeate from the outset the learning in the amateur art and voluntary cultural organisations that offer a non-formal and informal learning for adults without vocational specific aims. This learning concept share in general the (Grundtvigian inspired) peda-

gological tradition of liberal adult education that focus primarily on learning for a personal fulfilling live and learning for the community, and only secondary on training people as employees for a specific job.

The concept of "Personal formation" (Bildung) is in front here. The primary goal of learning activities is here not to be educated to a private career (as bourgeois), but to be enlightened to fellowship and citizenship (as l'homme and citoyen). The German term "Bildung" or the Swedish term "Bildning" comprise the real meaning of this dialectical concept with its reference to the verb "to form" (to bild) and the noun "picture or model" (a bild). It has the double meaning, on the one hand freely to form oneself, and on the other hand to do this with reference to the common good. Here, personal self-reflection and social and cultural reflection are interrelated. It was the larger world orientation, the broader cultural understanding and the general moral responsibility that was on the agenda.

The amateur art and voluntary cultural organisations share the overarching goal of liberal adult education of providing people better opportunities to take control of their own and common lives, and the main aims can be characterized as promoting personal fulfilment and active citizenship. The lifelong learning in the voluntary cultural sector is free and voluntary, lacking a formal curricula and focus on the needs for personal fulfilment, cultural cohesion and active citizenship. The learning aims are considerably broader than in formal education and represents a diversity of learning methods, curricula and participants, and the learning processes involve experientially based learning with active exchange of experiences, ideas, values and observations between the participants. Great importance in knowledge development is thus attached to group processes that empower the participants on their own terms. The learning here imply a critical approach to change personal and common life situations, values and attitudes.

The voluntary cultural organisations represent thus a learning capacity in civil society promoting humanistic and democratic values. These learning goals and values must this project take into account, when seeking to develop a new curriculum and related course modules for the learning providers in the voluntary culture and amateur art.

Learning for different life spheres

When we incorporate the Bildung-dimension, the question of purpose and perspective of the learning becomes more important. The quality of a specific learning process must be seen in relation to its value for the five different life spheres of modern societies, we live in, namely

- The life in the personal existential sphere as a self-conscious, authentic and autonome human being (single individual in the existential sense of Kierkegaard);
- The life with family, friends and others in the private and civic sphere as a fellow human being (l'homme);
- The life in civil society and the public sphere as active citizen (citoyen);
- The working life as an employee and employer (bourgeois);
- The life in the formal educational system as student and future employee.

The pedagogical guidelines must be to find a balance in the learning for the different life spheres and to achieve, through various learning processes, the different learning qualities and learning aims, each sphere requires.

The EU Commission emphasizes five main aims for lifelong learning, which should characterise all learning, but these aims must have varying importance in relation to the different life spheres. Learning for the work life must naturally have most focus on employability, while learning for the civic and public life will have focus on active citizenship and cultural cohesion, and learning for the personal existential sphere will give priority to aspects of personal fulfilment.

The non-formal and informal learning in amateur art and voluntary culture are characterized by both personal formation and education in many different shades, and it would be a Procrustes bed of learning, if we tried to validate the quality of these shades by using a common learning context with reference to vocational adult education for the work life.

Learning in all modalities

Parts of the three learning dimensions (personal formation, knowledge & skills, competences) are present in all learning processes, but their weight and qualities can and will vary depending on the specific learning arena and their intended sphere of application.

One basic problem with the dominating discourse in lifelong learning is the reductive approach, where all learning arenas are treated as the same without any differentiating between the different learning contexts. Whether you follow a vocational training course, participate in a folk high school course, or are active in an amateur art session, you learn roughly the same, namely to develop your competences as they say in the commercial management theory. But this reductionism is contra-intentional, because when you make all cats grey, you will lose your sense of quality. This reductionism can be easier to see through, when we involve the application perspective and ask which sphere of life and life roles that the learning outcome addresses. The form and content of the learning process will be very different, if the aim is to develop your-self as human being in relation to the personal existential sphere or as a citizen in the public sphere in civil society, or as an employee in your work life, or as student in a vocational education program.

As learning provider as well as learner, it is therefore important to clarify the application perspective and to ensure a close connection between the learning objectives and the application perspective. The form and content of the learning must be tailored to the specific learning needs of the context. As a learning provider one must realize that modern societies are characterized by differentiation of societal sectors, forms of rationality, and life spheres. The modern society is differentiated into state, market and civil society; the rationality is differentiated into the cognitive-instrumental, the moral -practical and the aesthetic-expressive rationality; and the life spheres is differentiated into the personal sphere with individual humans, the civic sphere with fellow human beings, the public sphere with active citizens and the commercial sphere with employees.

There are crucial differences of modalities between these life spheres and their rationality forms, and thus also different needs for learning qualities and modalities. The learning needs must be seen in the right context. A postmodern society and its citizens need learning in all these modalities, and not that one of them wins supreme status or all of them are blended to a colourless mix of soft social competences and easy learned hard skills and none personal formation. There is a need for formal education and vocational adult learning that contributes to an effective system world as well as needs for non-formal and informal learning in civil society that can enhance a rich and free life world. Learning must happen for the sake of working life as well as the personal, civic and public life.

A theory of learning and an educational policy, which ignores these differences and subsumes all learning under the qualities of the instrumental vocational learning, represents a reductionism that is both theoretically flawed, educational stupid, politically dangerous and personally alienating. It will in general not improve the educational system, and it will surely not improve the learning in amateur art and voluntary culture. Worse still, it can undermine the democratic and civic culture in the country and create imbalances between the societal sectors. In the short term it may increase the productivity in the market economy, in the longer term it will reduce people's life quality and endanger the reproduction of a prosperous society and culture.

8.2 Deficiency of the critical pedagogical theory

A reflective learning concept must not lose the connection to the discourses of Enlightenment and Bildung. Immanuel Kant pointed out that the new humanistic program of Enlightenment should "release man from his self-incurred tutelage" and give him the "courage to use his own reason". The modern humans have the opportunity in freedom to use their own reason to set goals for their own lives and the common societal lives and to achieve autonomy of their own history.

But this ideal implied that the new ability of judgement was formed to ensure the personal freedom as well as the general interest or public good. The Bildung discourse both in its neohumanistic and Grundtvigian version focussed mostly on human and civic formation, and less on the vocational education. The primary goal of "enlightenment" was not to educate people to obtain a private career, but to form them to take responsibility for the common and general interests. Grundtvig mentions it as an enlightenment that can ensure "freedom for the common good."¹ Without this personal formation, the enlightenment will not lead to personal autonomy and democracy, but to selfishness and a majority rule, which will dissolve the community to a clash of private interests.

The modern pedagogical humanism, the Bildung tradition seeks to counter that the perspective of the private citizen gained dominance and marked the culture of all spheres of society. It was the wider world orientation, the broad cultural insight and the general moral responsibility, which were on the political and thus pedagogical agenda. It was the republican citizenship and the universally human, even more the world citizen, which was the sight line of Bildung.²

The significance of authenticity

The work of Habermas is in many ways part of this Bildung tradition. Even though he only sketchily has treated pedagogical theoretical topics, his theories of communicative action, discourse ethics and deliberative democracy can contribute to a significant development of the Bildung Theory and thereby to a qualified learning theory. However, his discourses can have the weakness that their references are too classical modern and not quite on par with the late modern challenges. He focuses on the aspects of classical enlightenment that refers to autonomy and reason, while the succeeding romantic concept of authenticity and aesthetic learning, which are directed towards emancipation of individual authenticity, is out of focus.

With the concept of authenticity, the ideal of freedom is radicalized and becomes more subjective. Here the ideal is self-realization, to be one-self and live in a free, genuine and unrestrained way, often by going one's own way and follow one's own feelings and passions in Kierkegaard's sense, and to create one's own life as a work in artistic sense. The concept of authenticity is for Habermas as the main part of the pedagogical thinking to self-willed, passionate and irrational. Autonomy was the ideal during 1700s rationalism and enlightenment, where a Danish spokesman was Holberg,³ while authenticity was the main ideal during 1800s romantic movements with Kierkegaard as the key spokesperson.⁴ One of the current international well-know philosophers, the Canadian Charles Taylor determines authenticity as the central concept of modern culture, while he gives autonomy a subordinate position.⁵ The Danish philosopher, Mogens Pahuus has

¹ Cf. the doctoral dissertation of Regner Birkelund: *Frihed til fælles bedste: Om Grundtvigs frihedsbegreb*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2008.

² Cf. Peter Kemp: *Verdensborgeren som pædagogisk ideal: Pædagogisk filosofi for det 21. Årh.undrede*. Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2005.

³ Ludvig Holberg: *Moralske Tanker*, 1744. See the survey work by Thomas Bredsdorff (red.): *Den radikale Holberg - Et brev og et udvalg*. Forlaget Rosinante, 1984.

⁴ Søren Kierkegaard: *Either/Or*. Anchor Books, 1959 (Enten-Eller, 1843).

⁵ Charles Taylor: *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Harvard University Press, 1991.

devoted much of his writing to describe the relationship between autonomy and authenticity, where he assigns authenticity as the main concept seen from his life philosophical approach.⁶ Today, most teachers appreciate the autonomy, while their pupils and students instead appreciate authenticity. The fact is however, that autonomy and authenticity complement each other and a whole person cannot do without any of them.⁷

Aesthetic rationality

Although Habermas with reference to Kant founds his discourses on the modern tripartite division of reason in the cognitive instrumental, the morally practical and the aesthetic-expressive reasons, he has consistently treated the last form of reason step-motherly. In his linguistic theory, truth of aesthetic statements refers to their degree of subjective intensity or authenticity. Thereby they refer to subjective feelings, and artistic experiences get a personal therapeutic nature; furthermore, his conception of language is based on a correspondent theory, where the language only refers to or reflects reality.⁸ This marginalises the side of language, especially in its aesthetic poetic forms, where it does not destroy itself in favour of what it communicates, but creates a surplus or a difference between the signified (the object) and the sign (the subjective expression), whereby the latter not simply disappear in its expression, but something is staying as an additional meaning; or differently said: The aesthetic language reflects not only the reality, it also creates new reality. Artistic expressions do not only lead to inner subjective emotions, but have a creative dimension by producing new meanings in the intersubjective lifeworld and new artefacts in the common culture. Hard drawn up, artistic activity is not only pastime, but the privileged workshop for the free creative human nature.

A modern concept of personal formation (*Bildung*) must take authenticity and the aesthetic reason seriously. It remains important, as Habermas does, to emphasize the cognitive and practical reason to promote enlightened and morally responsible citizens, but there is also a need to emphasize the aesthetic-expressive reason to promote authentic and creative human beings.⁹ The purpose of *Bildung* is to enhance a democratic community as well as a human personality. The significance of the voluntary arts-based learning cannot, with such an extended concept of personal formation, be reduced to its contribution to a democratic public, because its real significance is that it creates an open sphere for free aesthetical formation processes and a richer personal life.¹⁰

Universal pragmatics and *Bildung* theory

Human autonomy is essential for Critical Theory, including the theory of Habermas. However, the main question is, if his general linguistic theory (the universal pragmatic), as the meta-theory and critical foundation of his whole theoretical construction, consistently can be combined with a genuine *Bildung* Theory? The problem is that Habermas rejects the Kantian freedom-oriented subject philosophy and want to replace it with the intersubjective communication theory, which is based on the rules of language, but marginalises the subject, who speaks. This theoretical anti-

⁶ Cf. Mogens Pahuus. *Holdning og spontanitet. Pædagogik, menneskesyn og værdier*. Kvan 1997; "Spontanitet, integration og dialog – elementer i livsoplysning og dannelse", in: Jørgen Gleerup og Niels Kayser Nielsen (ed.): *Folkeoplysning, krop og dannelse*. Herning: DGI forskning, 1998.

⁷ Cf. Hans Jørgen Vodsgaard: *Højskole til tiden – en udredning om de unges trang, regeringens ønsker og højskolens ærinde under senmoderne vilkår*. København: Folkehøjskolernes Forening i Danmark, 2003. Afsnit 5.4: Det uforklarlige i nyt lys.

⁸ Cf. Pieter Duvenage: *Habermas and Aesthetics. The Limits of Communicative Reason*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003.

⁹ Friedrich von Schiller: *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*. Dover Publications, 2004 (Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen, 1795).

¹⁰ Cf. Bente Schindel (ed.): *Kunst af lyst*. København: Kulturelle Samråd i Danmark, Huse i Danmark, Amatørernes Kunst og Kultur Samråd og Musisk Oplysningsforbund, 2005.

humanism makes sense for a theory that have over-individual systems and structures as object, such as society, history, and languages; but in our point of view it is infertile for theories that have individuals or subjects as object, such as pedagogy and psychology, and it may especially be infertile for a Bildung theory that is grounded on the concept of personal freedom.

A pedagogical theory must necessarily have a theory about the subject that is formed, and it must be able to conceive and determine the subject, who unfolds the diversified forms of rationality and also ensure their integration into the very same subject. The main personal properties - autonomy, authenticity, self-reflection and integration - are essential features of the free personality; but does it make sense to talk about these properties, without a reflective entity or subject that contains them and can express them in action and language. Furthermore, these properties are all based on the concept of personal freedom; they simply lose their meaning, if the possibility of personal subjective freedom is an illusion.

The key concepts of Bildung have in our point of view become homeless in Habermas' universal pragmatics. He has in his extensive writings only peripherally addressed questions of pedagogy and Bildung,¹¹ which may be related to the fact that an elaborated theory of personal formation will be very difficult to reconcile with his intersubjective language theory. But this blindness to pedagogical theory imply serious questions about, whether he theoretically consistent in line with Kant can maintain human freedom as the normative critique basis, while he at the same time maintains the universal-pragmatic as fundamental theory. Conversely, one can say that the main part of his theoretical work, such as the theories of system and lifeworld, the public sphere, the discourse ethics, the deliberative democracy, and the many dazzling historical and theoretical studies, may well survive that the language theory gets a less fundamental position in his collected works.

¹¹ Even though Habermas has not presented a pedagogical theory, his theories of communicative action, discourse ethics and deliberative democracy provide a basis for innovation in the educational theory, especially for general adult education or general education. Among the many newer pedagogical works that have linked to Habermas's critical theory, we can mention Jack Mezirow: "A Critical Theory of Adult Learning and Education", in: *Adult Education*, 1981, 32 (1), p. 3 - 27; Raymond Morrow and Carlos Torres: *Reading Freire and Habermas: Critical Pedagogy and Transformative Social Change*. Teachers' College Press, 2002; Stephen D. Brookfield: *The power of Critical Theory for Adult Learning and Teaching*. Open University Press, 2005; Mark Murphy and Ted Fleming: *Habermas, Critical Theory and Education*. Routledge, 2009.

9. Terminology of learning

9.1 The view on learning

One of the main problems in the current educational debate is the lack of a common understanding of the key educational concepts,¹ and this problem is intensified in a European multi-language context with different traditions of pedagogical terminology. Different pedagogical discourses may use the same words like *Bildung*, general *Bildung*, qualifications, personal qualifications, knowledge, skills, ability, attitudes, competence, personal competence, learning and prior learning. However, these discourses often understand the meaning of the concepts very differently, and furthermore, the meaning have also been changed during the last decades, e.g. the concepts of qualification and competence have switch meaning. This conceptual confusion has existed simultaneously with the EU Commission's introduction of the new discourse of lifelong learning in the late 90s, where the key concept was competence.

The learning discourse 20 years ago

Twenty years ago, the concepts in the mainstream Danish pedagogical discourse and many other European discourses could be summarized as follows:

The curriculum in all areas of the education system consisted with varying emphasis of both *hard and soft qualifications*. The *hard qualifications* referred to more objective factors such as actual knowledge and real skills in a subject area, while the *soft qualifications* referred to more subjective factors such as critical thinking, analytical ability, independence, creativity, sense of order, interpersonal skills, ability to present and communicate about an academic subject, method awareness and ability to transfer a problem solving approach to new problems, ability to interpret others and own efforts and thus the ability for reflection and self-reflection and meta-reflection. In most formal educations, the examination and grading would assess the degree of both hard and soft qualifications skills, and combine them in the overall assessment.

The unity of hard and soft qualifications could also be interpreted through the theory of *categorical learning* (formation), where the hard knowledge and skills referred to the *material learning* (the more objective academic content) and the soft qualifications referred to the *formal learning* (the more subjective aspects such as critical thinking, analytical skills, ability to see wholes, the ability to transfer methods to new fields, etc.).

At the end of an accomplish formal education, where it had been proven through examinations and other tests, that the student had reached the established qualification profile, he or she would get a *competence* in legal sense to further study or to pursue a profession, depending on whether they have followed an study-competence-giving or a vocational-competence-giving education.

Furthermore, many educations, such as the secondary school, the gymnasium and especially the non-formal liberal adult education and the Folk High Schools also had a goal of providing *Personal Formation (Bildung)*. This concept refers to the relationship between qualifications and the personal acquisition with the perspective of a versatile personal development, where aims of personal autonomy and democratic outlook were essential. Personal formation was important, because qualifications, like a specific body of knowledge, skills and professional attitudes, are silent about the goals and mission with these qualifications must be used for; they are *zweck-rational*, as means to address specific needs and tasks; they are about what and how, but not about why. Con-

¹ Cf. Poul Brejnrod: *Grundbog i pædagogik. Oplysning, dannelse og fusionspædagogik i senmoderniteten*. Gyldendals lærerbibliotek, 2006.

trary, Personal Formation is about the underlying goals and values, which these qualifications must be unfolded from and in relation to. Personal formation thematizes meaning and purpose with the individual's life, but always in a broader context of the general interest or common good; and thus in interaction with questions about the goals of the common culture and common society. Here personal self-reflection and self-criticism are inseparable from cultural reflection and social criticism. The dimension of personal formation is thus crucial for the ability of the citizens to express a communicative rationality.

A common (Danish) learning discourse would twenty years ago then have three main dimensions: A perspective of personal formation; a body of knowledge and skills (hard qualifications); and a sum of practical and personal abilities to use the knowledge and skills in practise, both in work life, social life and personal life. This learning discourse characterized also the liberal adult education, but it is not so anymore, or rather for the time being.

Current understandings of learning

The current understanding of learning, which the EU system has launched in the context of life-long learning, is characterized first by the absence of the concept of personal formation (Bildung), and secondly by a dominance of the concept of competence. This understanding now characterizes the most learning discourses in most member states and thus also the learning discourses of non-formal liberal adult education.

Between the old and the new main terminology there is a lot of variants, where the concepts have changing content and the discourses vary, but the concept of competence has in general gained a central position. In the current Danish agenda of curriculum three main positions are represented:

- A Bildung-oriented position, which is founded on three basic components: personal formation, knowledge of and skills, and soft skills/competences; and here the component of personal formation has a privileged role to ensure purpose and totality.²
- A Competence-oriented position, which only has two main components: Knowledge and competences, and Bildung has disappeared, either because it is attributed no importance, or because it is believed to be part of competences.
- A "compromise theory", which uses the same three basic components, but sees them being of equal or parallel importance.³

It is the second position, which characterizes the EU legislation and recommendations on lifelong learning, and it is also this position that dominates the current Nordic education policy, not least in the area of vocational adult education and liberal adult education.

A current coherent learning view

However, we would like to be spokesmen for the first Bildung-oriented position, which is best in accordance with the learning discourse in liberal adult education some decades ago. From this position, learning is determined by three interrelated dimensions: Personal formation, knowledge and skills, and personal skills or competences.

² Cf. Harry Haue: "Almen dannelse: Hvorfor er den nu kommet på dagsordenen?", i: Håkon Grunnet (red.): *Uddannelsesprofil & almindannelse*, Århus Amtscetret for Undervisning, 2001; "Almindannelse og studieforberedelse", i: *Uddannelse nr. 4, april 2003*; and Per Øhrgaard: "Goethe og dannelsen", i: *Uddannelse, nr. 4, april 2003*;

³ Cf. Svend Erik Larsen. Jf. "Dannelse – at forandre sig og forankre sig", i: *Uddannelse nr. 5, maj 2003*; "Globalisering og almen uddannelse – udfordring eller tilpasning?", in: *Uddannelse, nr. 7, 2005*;

Personal formation is characterized by a communicative rationality, where questions of meaning and purpose of the personal and the communal life are thematized in a way in which personal clarification and world orientation are linked. *Knowledge and skills* bring the learner a certain sum of knowledge and skills to enhance understanding of specific subject areas and ability to act on them. *Competences* bring the learner some personal transversal skills necessary to function adequately in changing situations and use knowledge and personal formation in practical action.

The three dimensions of learning cannot do without each other. Personal formation will be empty without knowledge-anchoring and act-weak without competence; knowledge will be directionless without personal formation and impractical without competence; and competences will be useless without knowledge and bewildered without personal formation. The three dimensions are present to some extent in all learning processes; but their weight and qualities may vary depending on the learning arena, and which application perspective that characterizes the learning.

9.2 The applied learning frame

The framework for learning assessment, we initial used in this project, applied the three inter-related dimensions of learning – personal formation, knowledge and skills, and competences - and six learning elements for each dimension. The specific number of elements was based on a heuristic estimate, and it could be argued for more and fewer elements, and it is debatable whether there should be the same number of elements for each dimension. But the choice of six elements for the dimension of personal formation, we find adequate, and to ensure a balance in the overall assessment framework, the two other dimensions also had six elements. The original learning framework that was used in the survey questionnaires was thus structured as follows:

- The dimension of personal formation includes the six elements of authenticity, autonomy, reflexive knowledge, moral judgement, aesthetic sense and integration (a versatile personality or the whole person).
- The dimension of knowledge and skills includes the six elements of general knowledge about man, society and culture, as well as special knowledge, skills and didactical understanding within a particular academic topic.
- The dimension of competence includes the six elements of cooperation, communication, creativity and innovation, self-management, intercultural skills, and general learning abilities.

Each element is validated from five key attributes that can be translated into five specific key questions about each element. The original questionnaire thus comprised three dimensions, each with six elements, and each element is validated by five questions. This gives a total of 90 questions that you must answer to describe your own learning profile.

Elements of personal formation

The essential part of the questionnaire framework was the attempt to determine the dimension of personal formation through six elements, each of which is determined by five keywords:

- *Authenticity* meaning that you are genuine and natural, intuitive, spontaneous and lively in the sense "that you are yourself." Keywords are self-feeling, joy of live, intuition, spontaneity, fullness and openness.
- *Autonomy* meaning that you are autonomous, can take a personal stand and follow your own judgement on the basis of a personal outlook on life. Keywords are self-confidence, courage of life, independence, self-determination, and personal attitudes.

- *Reflexive knowledge* meaning that you have a personal approach to your knowledge of human culture, society and nature, and that you can reflect on and consolidate this knowledge into a holistic view of life. Keywords are general orientation, critical thinking, interdisciplinary, self-reflexive, and a personal outlook on life.
- *Moral sense* meaning that you can act as fellow human being in the close relationships and can act as citizen in the larger societal conditions. Key words are empathy, ethics of reciprocity, democratic culture, solidarity, and active citizenship.
- *Aesthetic sense* meaning that you are sensitive and imaginative, have a feeling for moods, can express yourself sensual and poetic, and can use aesthetic judgements. Key words are sensitivity, sensuality and emotional, poetic, imaginative, and artistic taste.
- *Versatile personality* meaning that you have self-esteem (as a combination of self-feeling and self-confidence), can integrate reason and emotions and combine judgements of knowledge, moral and aesthetic. Key words are self-esteem (unity of self-feeling and self-confidence), balance of reason and feelings, combined judgements of knowledge, moral and aesthetic; alternate between self-control of autonomy and spontaneity of authenticity, and combine joy and courage in openness for others and the world.

The six elements refer partly to the three forms of reason: the cognitive-logical, the moral-practical and the aesthetic-expressive reason; and partly to the three main aims of personal development: authenticity, autonomy and integration.

The division of reason into three forms has a long historical reference. In the ancient philosophy, Plato assigned reason the threefold mission to seek the truth, the good and the beautiful, and the ancient view of man also included a division of the soul in cognition, will and feelings, which is a psychological parallel to the philosophical division of reason in knowledge, morality and aesthetics. The modern philosopher, who most thoroughly has analysed the tripartite division of reason, is Kant in his three Critiques.⁴ Here he distinguishes between the theoretical reason (that seeks the truth), the practical reason (that seeks the good) and the aesthetic reason (that seeks the beautiful); and at the same time he presents the succeeding questions of how the separated rationality forms can be integrated into a further developed form of reason, however without finding a solution on this question.

Habermas develops his theory of communicative action in continuation of Kant a differentiation of the modern rationality in the cognitive-instrumental, the morally-practical and the aesthetic-expressive rationality. Habermas's general language theory (the universal pragmatic) includes also a historical evolution theory about the future reconciliation of reason, when the separated rationality forms again will be reunited on a higher level and interact without losing the gains of their specialization. Furthermore, Habermas seeks with reference to the universal pragmatic to found the normative basis in human autonomy. Thereby, Habermas opens for autonomy and integration as basic concepts for a Bildung theory; on the other hand, he gives no openings for authenticity, since it is a foreign word in his general language theory.

Most modern political and pedagogical theories agree that autonomy is of fundamental importance. Democracy requires responsible citizens with a personal judgement; and a major pedagogical ideal of upbringing, education and learning has been and is to ensure self-determination or autonomy⁵. However, there is less consensus about authenticity as an ideal, because it can seem too wayward, passionate and irrational according to many, including Habermas. With the concept

⁴ The three critiques of Immanuel Kant included: *Critique of Pure Reason*, Penguin Classics, 2007 (Kritik der reinen Vernunft, 1787); *Critique of Practical Reason*, Cambridge University Press, 1997 (Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, 1788); and *Critique of Judgement*. Oxford University Press, 2007 (Kritik der Urteilskraft, 1790).

⁵ The literal Greek meaning of autonomy is self-legislation: auto (myself) and nomos (law)

of authenticity, the ideal of freedom is radicalized and it becomes more subjective. Here the ideal is self-realization, to be one self and live in a free and genuine way, often by following one's feelings and passions.

In our learning frame, autonomy and authenticity complement each other as equal sides of a freedom based *Bildung* concept, which is commensurate with the late-modern reality.

Elements of knowledge and skills

The learning frame for the dimension of knowledge and skills is based on general knowledge about human, society and culture and specific knowledge, skills and didactic in relation to an area of interest (cultural topic):

- *General knowledge about man* meaning that you have a broad knowledge of human conditions, can address human condition and values, and have the skills to act in interpersonal situations. Keywords are general knowledge, assessment ability, personal attitudes, disseminating skills, and acting capacity in relation to interpersonal situations.
- *General knowledge about society* meaning that you have a broad knowledge of society, can address societal conditions and values, and have the skills to act in social and political situations. Keywords are general knowledge, assessment ability, personal attitudes, disseminating skills, and acting capacity in relation to societal situations.
- *General knowledge about culture* meaning that you have a broad knowledge of culture, can address cultural conditions and values, and have the skills to act in cultural situations. Keywords are general knowledge, assessment ability, personal attitudes, disseminating skills, and acting capacity in relation to intercultural situations.
- *Specific knowledge of your area of interest* meaning that you have developed your knowledge in this specific academic topic. Keywords are knowledge about the subject's area, disciplines, methods, history, application and quality standards.
- *Professional skills in your area of interest* meaning that you have developed your skills in this specific academic topic. Keywords are quality assessment, performance; technical skills, methodological skills, dissemination, and overall application of the skills.
- *Didactical insight in your area of interest* meaning that you have developed knowledge about your own learning style and your ability to choose the kind of learning that works best for you within your topic. Keywords are insight in pedagogical methods for the topic, practical teaching and learning forms, professional ethics; didactic self-awareness, insight in own personal learning style.

Elements of competence

The learning frame for the dimension of competence is based on six core competences in relation to cooperation, communication, creativity and innovation, self-management, intercultural understanding and general learning ability.

- *Social competence* meaning that you can engage in social communities in a constructive way. Keywords are empathic and inclusive, responsible and accountable, participatory and engaged, tolerant, and respectful insight in diversity.
- *Communicative competence* meaning that you have motivation and ability to communicate with others in a good and appropriate way. Key words are: enjoy communicating, clear and distinct; can use different communication forms, conscious of communication styles, can change style of communication.

- *Creative and innovative competences* meaning that you can see new possibilities, easily get new ideas, and have the ability to develop and implement innovations. Key words are: can see new opportunities, reliable intuition, imaginative, unorthodox, and experimental,
- *Competence of self-management* meaning s that you that you are good to plan and implement your own tasks. Keywords are: self-propelled, entrepreneurial, goal-oriented planning, self-awareness of weak and strong points, and risk-oriented.
- *Intercultural competence* meaning that you have a broad understanding of different cultures and can understand and work with people across differences. Keywords are: openness and curiosity; insight into your own culture; insight into other cultures, tolerance and respect for diversity, and intercultural capacity.
- *Learning competence* meaning that you have that you have motivation and ability to continuously learning as human being, citizen and employee, and you know your own learning styles and thus the best ways to acquire new knowledge and skills in different learning areas. Key words are: curiosity and joy of learning, perseverance, self-discipline, awareness of own learning style, and responsibility for own learning.

Outline of the final learning questionnaire

In this project we used the big questionnaire framework in the survey and as the basis for decisions of the final questionnaire for the online tool for learning documentation and validation. The partnership circle decided subsequently to establish a framework with fewer elements and keywords to simplify the use of the tool. The revised model was composed as follow:

- The dimension of personal formation had unchanged the same six elements, which were authenticity, autonomy, reflexive knowledge, moral judgement, aesthetic sense and integration (a versatile personality). For each element we used three and not five keywords.
- The dimension of knowledge and skills was reduced from six to three elements, which were general knowledge about man, society and culture; professional knowledge and skills in a specific discipline (area of interest), and didactic insight into this specific discipline. For each element we used four and not five keywords.
- The dimension of competence was reduced from six to five elements, which were cooperation, communication, creativity and innovation, self-management, and general learning ability. Key words from the intercultural competence were integrated in the social and communicative competences. For each element we used three and not five keywords.

The final online questionnaire has been translated into the languages of the partnership circle: Danish, Dutch and Slovene; and the coordinator organisation, Interfolk has also made an English version.

Data from the different language versions are collected together in a common transnational and cross-sectoral database, and this collection of data can subsequently form the basis for research on several levels: For each association, for a group of organisations and for common European statistical surveys of qualities and outcome of learning activities in amateur culture and voluntary cultural associations.

IV. Empirical data: Questionnaires and interviews

10. The methodology

In the first phase of the project, the partnership circle completed a survey of learning quality and learning outcomes in their own organisations. The aim of this survey was to identify learning qualities of the cultural associations and amateur culture as well as to test and develop the questionnaire framework, which should be used in the web-based tools for learning documentation and validation

The survey was based on common questionnaires and qualitative interviews with learners and learning providers from the participating organisations, and a questionnaire with the project leaders to get documentation of the values and core services of the organisations.

10.1 The respondent groups

The survey included a series of interviews and three questionnaires: One for the learning providers, another for the learners, and a third for the project leaders in the partnership circle. The overall survey included:

- A questionnaire for the project leaders of the project consortium that focused on their assessment of the mission, learning goals, application perspective and learning dimensions in their own organizations;
- A questionnaire for learning providers (leaders, board members and teachers) from the organisations of the partnership circle with focus on learning goals, application perspective, and learning outcomes;
- A questionnaire for learners (students and participants) from the organisations of the partnership circle with focus on the learning outcomes in the main dimensions of learning;
- A series of qualitative interviews with learners and learning providers from the organisations of the partnership circle with focus on learning outcome and perspectives of art based learning.

The number of respondents in the survey can be seen in table 1:

Method	Questionnaire 1	Questionnaire 2	Questionnaire 3	Interviews		Total
Respondents	Project leaders	Learning providers	Learners	Leaders/ teachers	Students/ active	
Cultural Councils (DK)	1	10	6	1	2	20
JSKD (SI)	1	4	9	1	3	18
Kunstfactor (NL)	1	5	2	1	2	11
Total	3	19	17	3	7	49

The group of respondents is quite small, and the data amount of the questionnaires is so low that the rationale of the “survey” cannot be to document the actual learning profiles of the involved culture organisations, but rather to test the meaning and usefulness of the learning concepts and learning frame, including to clarify guidelines for the final design of the questionnaire framework for the online tools for documentation and validation of learning profiles.

10.2 Structure and processing

The questionnaires are designed to be self-explanatory. However, since some concepts may be foreign to the respondents, they include an explanatory text for some of the questions. Apart from the questionnaire for the project leaders, all questions are only formulated with closed response categories in which the respondents must choose between a series of possible answers.

The initial section of the questionnaires has factual questions about background, while the main part of the questionnaires is related to attitude issues. These questions regarding attitudes and values cannot be measured directly, but only indirectly through indicators, typically through indications of degree of adherence to an attitude issue. To ensure a greater certainty of the measurement of attitudes, we have used several questions on the same issue, where the response values are added together and their average is found.

The processing of the data sets for the overall responses as well as the varying subgroup responses indicates the values as an average, i.e. the average of responses equals the sum of observations divided by the number of observations. The survey data is processed by simple totals of responses within the different response categories. The results of these totals are presented as percentages in frequency tables, and these numerical values provide thus the documentation of the survey.

The numerical values of the attitude answers are derived from a five point Likert scale, where the series of five response categories consisted of

- Decisive importance/high importance/moderately importance/low importance/not important
- Decisive effect /High effect / moderately effect / low effect / no effect
- Fully agree / mostly agree / neutral / mostly disagree / totally disagree

Thereby the respondents' assessment of the statements can be valued on a point-scale including 1.0 (100 %) / 0.75 (75 %) / 0.50 (50 %) / 0.25 (25 %) / 0.0 (0 %). This type of conversion requires that the five response categories are approximately continuous.

10.3 Validity and reliability

The validity of the questionnaires is considered to be reliable. The collected response is considered to be relevant to the derivative questions, which the survey's problem formulation has outlined.

The reliability of the collected data is considered to be in order. The questionnaires consist mainly of attitudinal questions, which are weighted from a typical Likert scale. These questions refer to and have consistency in relation to the conceptual framework of learning, which was presented in the theoretical section of the report.

11. Questionnaire for the project leaders

The survey included a questionnaire for the project leaders of the partnership circle.¹ It focused on the activities of the participating organisations in relation to the:

- Mission and the learning aims of the organisations.
- European Commission's main aims for lifelong learning.
- The three learning dimensions: Personal formation, knowledge and skills, and competence.
- The application perspective for the different life spheres.

11.1 Mission and learning aims

The project leaders described in the open questions the mission and the learning aims of their organisations as follows:

Table 2: Presentation of mission and learning aims

Cultural Councils (DK): Mission and learning aims

It characterises a rich lifeworld that citizens have the opportunity to constantly learn and evolve, not only for the sake of work life by vocational adult education, but very much for the sake of a human life through civic and community learning. The importance of lifelong learning refers both to the lifelong aim that we learn from cradle to grave and the life-wide aim that involves all arenas, both formal learning and non-formal learning in civil society associations, including the cultural area.

It is the mission of Cultural Councils in Denmark to promote this political viewpoint at the national level and at the local level by inspiring the cultural councils to do so. The purpose is to make politicians aware of the cultural association's values and work and to ensure that the area is treated equally with other voluntary associations such as sport and non-formal adult education associations, which in Denmark has considerably more political attention and thus better conditions.

The learning objectives of the organisation are

- To obtain personal fulfilment
- To help to ensure a good society for its citizens and promote trust and equality
- To help the civil society to maintain its freedom from state and market

JSKD (SI): Mission and learning aims

The purpose of JSKD is

- to promote creativity in the field of amateur culture,
- to provide professional and organisational support for amateur cultural organisations
- to increase the accessibility of cultural goods
- to increase inclusion and integration of target audiences in the cultural network
- to create conditions for intercultural dialogue, and
- to engage in international cooperation in the European and global scene.

The core services are to maintain and strengthen the national cultural identity through cultural activities and to encourage cooperation at transnational level in the field of amateur arts.

The learning objectives of the organisation are:

- To improve the ability to implement cultural projects
- To preserve the knowledge of specific or traditional cultural activities
- To develop specific technical skills and encourage creativity

¹ The questionnaire WP 2.1 can be downloaded at the project website: www.interfolk.dk/loac

Kunstfactor (NL): Mission and learning aims
<p>Kunstfactor inspires and promotes the amateur arts in the Netherlands and represents the amateur arts nationally and internationally. By stimulating people to actively participate in arts, we contribute to a creative, multicultural society.</p> <p>Kunstfactor regards it as its task to put social and artistic development on the agenda, to establish refreshing contacts and to stimulate debate on the basis of research, current and newly acquired expertise and its many national and international contacts.</p>
<p>The learning objectives of the organisation are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To provide arts that connects people – to another and to society as a whole. ▪ To secure tradition and innovation as important elements of amateur arts. ▪ To integrate art education as a natural part of active involvement in the arts.

Interfolk (DK): Mission and learning aims
<p>The mission is to promote lifelong learning with a general educational and civic purpose within liberal adult education, cultural work and voluntary associations in civil society - in Danish, Nordic and European context..</p>
<p>The learning objectives of the organisation are</p> <p>To strengthen a free learning capacity in civil society that is characterized by humanistic and democratic values, inspired by the Nordic-European tradition of enlightenment and Bildung.</p>

11.2 Priorities of the main aims of lifelong learning

The project leaders were introduced to the five main aims for lifelong learning, which the Commission presented in the Message on Lifelong Learning from 2001, and these aims were confirmed by the Council and Parliament in the Recommendation on key competences in 2006. The main aims addressed on the one side a clear instrumental goals of employability with reference to the system world, and on the other hand a clearly humanistic goals of personal fulfilment with reference to the lifeworld, and furthermore three aims of active citizenship, cultural cohesion and social inclusion, which has reference to both worlds.

Table 3: The project leaders valuation of EU's five main aims of lifelong learning							
Question: <i>Here we mention the EU Commission's five main aims of lifelong learning. What degree of importance do these aims have in your organization?</i>							
Respondent Groups: Project leaders from the project consortium	N	Personal fulfilment	Active citizenship	Social inclusion	Cultural cohesion	Employ- ability	Average
All	3	0,83	0,75	0,83	0,75	0,25	0,68
Cultural Councils (DK)	1	1,00	1,00	1,00	0,75	0,00	0,75
JSKD (SI)	1	0,75	0,50	0,75	0,75	0,25	0,60
Kunstfactor (NL)	1	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,50	0,70
<p>Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive importance (1,0). It was possible to choose "Don't know".</p>							

It can be seen in table 3, that the overall highest importance is given to personal fulfilment and social inclusion (both have an average of 0.83), followed by active citizenship and cultural cohesion (both have an average of 0.75), while employability get a low importance (0.25).

But the assessment varies between the organizations: All organisations give the highest value to personal fulfilment (from 0.75 to 1.00) and the lowest to employability (from 0.00 to 0.50). It can be seen that JSKD value active citizenship lower than social inclusion and cultural cohesion.

11.3 Valuation of the three learning dimensions

We apply, as substantiated in chapter 9, a learning methodology that includes the three dimensions of personal formation, knowledge & skills, and competences. According to this understanding of learning, the three dimensions cannot do without each other. Personal formation will be empty without knowledge-anchoring and act-weak without competence; knowledge will be directionless without personal formation and impractical without competence; and competences will be useless without knowledge and at a loss without personal formation.

Although the three dimensions of learning in some extent are present in all learning processes, their weight and qualities may vary depending on the learning arena and application perspective. The question is what degree of importance the project leaders indicate to the three dimensions of learning in their organisation's activities.

Table 4: The project leaders valuation of the three learning dimensions					
<i>Question: Here we mention the three main dimensions of learning. What degree of importance do these dimensions have in your organisation's learning activities?</i>					
Respondent Groups: Project leaders from the project consortium	N	Personal Formation	Knowledge & Skills	Competences	Average
All	3	0,83	0,75	0,75	0,78
Cultural Councils (DK)	1	1,00	0,75	0,75	0,83
JSKD (SI)	1	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,75
Kunstfactor (NL)	1	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,75
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".					

It can be seen that the overall highest assessment is given to personal formation (average of 0.83), while knowledge & skills and competences get the same importance (0.75).

It is only KSD that give personal formation the highest valuation, while JSKD and Kunstfactor give the same value to all three dimensions.

11.4 Valuation of the life spheres

We apply, as substantiated in chapter 8, a learning theory with reference to "curriculum in context", because it is a necessity for a qualified pedagogical methodology to clarify the given learning context to counter a possible pedagogical reductionism, where the learning needs of one context (for example, the need of employability in the workplace) as a hidden agenda subsume the learn-

ing forms and content in another context (for example, the need of personal development and active citizenship in civil society).

The purpose and application of the learning are crucial. The quality of a particular learning process must be related to its value for the five main spheres of life in modern society, namely

- Life in the personal existential sphere as a self-conscious, authentic and autonome human;
- Life with family, friends and others in the civilian sphere as an fellow human being;
- Life in civil society and public sphere as an active citizen;
- Working life as an employee;
- Life in the formal education system as a student and future employee.

The question for the project leaders were, what degree of importance the different life spheres have for the learning activities in their organisation

Table 5: The project leaders valuation of the perspectives of life spheres						
Question: <i>Here we mention five live spheres, where the learning outcome can be used. What degree of importance do these different live spheres have in your organisations learning perspectives?</i>						
Respondent Groups: Project leaders from the project consortium	N	As an individual human	As fellow human being	As active citizen	As employee	As student
		in personal existential sphere	in the private and civic sphere	in civil society and public sphere	in the work life	in a formal education
All	3	0,83	0,58	0,75	0,33	0,25
Cultural Councils (DK)	1	1,00	0,50	1,00	0,00	0,00
JSKD (SI)	1	0,75	0,75	0,50	0,25	0,25
Kunstfactor (NL)	1	0,75	0,50	0,75	0,75	0,50

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".

In relation to the life sphere perspective, the overall highest importance is given to the personal sphere as human being (0,83) followed by the public sphere as an active citizen (0,75) and as fellow human being (0,58), while lowest importance is given to the sphere of work life as employee (0,33) the formal education as student (0,25).

But it is only KSD and Kunstfactor that gives the lowest value for the last two spheres, while JSKD gives them the same importance as the other spheres.

12. Questionnaire for the learning providers

The following three sections present the learning assessments by leaders and teachers from the organisations of the partnership circle. The questions focus on respectively the Commission's main aims for lifelong learning, the importance of the three learning dimensions in the current learning activities, and the priorities for the future learning activities.¹

12.1 Valuation of the main aims of lifelong learning

Importance of the five aims of lifelong learning – main questions

A group of managers and teachers from the partner organisations were introduced to EU's five main aims for lifelong learning, and they should assess, which importance the aims had in their organisation's current learning activities.

Table 6: Learning providers valuation of the main aims of lifelong learning – in general							
Question: Here we mention the EU Commissions five main aims of lifelong learning. What degree of importance do these aims have in your organisation?							
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Personal fulfilment	Active citizenship	Social inclusion	Cultural co- hesion	Emploa- bility	Average
All	19	0,70	0,60	0,55	0,75	0,42	0,61
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,78	0,78	0,38	0,75	0,43	0,62
JSKD (SI)	4	0,56	0,63	0,69	0,81	0,44	0,63
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,75	0,40	0,60	0,70	0,40	0,57

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".

The learning providers gave the overall highest importance to "cultural cohesion" (an average of 0.75) followed by "personal fulfilment" (0.70), "active citizenship" (0.60), and "social inclusion" (0.55), while "employability" gets the lowest value (0.42).

However, the assessment varies between the organisations. The learning providers from KSD gives the highest importance to "personal fulfilment" and "active citizenship" (both 0.78), while JSKD gives the highest importance to "cultural cohesion" (0.81) and "social inclusion" (0.69). Kunstfactor gives highest value to "personal fulfilment" (0.75).

¹ The questionnaire WP 2.2 can be seen and downloaded at the project website: www.interfolk.dk/loac

Importance of the aims of lifelong learning - sub questions

The leaders and teachers were also presented for three additional questions about the Commission's five main aims of lifelong learning. The specific questions and answers are presented in detail in the next section. Table 7 indicates the average values of the responses.

Table 7: Learning providers valuation of the main aims of lifelong learning – with sub-questions							
Question: <i>The preceding table presented five possible main aims of the learning activities in your organisation. Here we present further statements about these five aims that you are asked to value.</i>							
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Personal fulfilment	Active citi- zanship	Social inclusion	Cultural cohesion	Employ- ability	Average
All	19	0,65	0,67	0,59	0,68	0,53	0,62
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,74	0,73	0,46	0,70	0,43	0,61
JSKD (SI)	4	0,56	0,75	0,81	0,77	0,75	0,73
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,65	0,53	0,50	0,57	0,42	0,53
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".							

With the sub-questions, there is a slight change in the overall assessment. The "cultural cohesion" is still highest (0.68), but now followed by "active citizenship" (0.67) and then "personal fulfilment" (0.65). "Social inclusion" is still second lowest (0.59), and "employability" is still lowest (0.53), but with a higher value.

When we compare the assessments from the learning providers with the project leaders in the mission statements, we can see some differences. The project leaders can be seen as more "progressive" or less instrumental than the learning providers in the same organisation.

- In KSD the learning providers agree with the project leader that "personal fulfilment" has the highest value, and "employability" the lowest value, but they give especially a higher valuation to "cultural cohesion".
- In JSKD the learning providers don't follow the project leader, but assess "personal fulfilment" lowest (0.56) and "employability" quite high (0.75).
- In Kunstfactor the learning providers agree with the project leader that "employability" is of lowest value (0.42), and they also value "personal fulfilment" highest (0.65).

Valuation of each aim of lifelong learning

We shall in this section look closer on the respondents' assessments of the Commission's five main aims, where answers on the sub-questions are presented. First we present the answers to the sub-questions regarding "personal fulfilment".

Personal fulfilment

The sub-questions in table 8 include two main meanings of "personal fulfilment" with reference to respectively "authenticity" and "autonomy". The two first questions relate to "authenticity", while the last relate to "autonomy".

Table 8: Valuation of the aim of Personal Fulfilment			
Aim	Question: <i>Here follows statements regarding aims of lifelong learning. What degree of importance do these objectives have in your organization?</i>	Value	Average
Personal Fulfilment	To promote the joy of jointly creating something that has value in itself	0,75	0,65
	To promote self-esteem.	0,60	
	To promote experiences of following personal goals and values.	0,61	
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".			

It can be interesting to notice that "authenticity" (to create something that has value in itself) gets a higher weight than "autonomy" (to follow personal goals and values); because in the pedagogical discourse, it is usually "autonomy", which constitutes the central aim of personal development. However in this context of amateur culture, there is a higher understanding of the significance of "authenticity".

Active citizenship

The three sub-questions in table 9 include different meanings of citizenship. The first refers to a democratic culture with reference to Habermas' deliberative democracy or dialogue democracy in the words of Hal Koch. The second question refers to values of independence and self-government in the sense of autonomy. The third question about trust and social capital has references to Putnam's more communitarian view of citizenship.

Table 9: Valuation of the aim of Active Citizenship			
Aim	Question: <i>Here follows statements regarding aims of lifelong learning. What degree of importance do these objectives have in your organization?</i>	Value	Average
Active Citizenship	To promote a democratic culture based on dialogue	0,70	0,67
	To promote self-determination.	0,59	
	To promote human trust and social capital	0,74	
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".			

Here it is the communitarian perspective of ensuring "trust and social capital" that gets the highest value (0,74), and the democratic perspective of ensuring a "democratic culture" has nearly the same value (0,70), while the perspective of ensuring "self-determined" individuals (as the basis of a free civil society and democratic culture) gets a lower value. The reason may be that the area of amateur culture is based on learning in unison or activities in a community context.

Social inclusion

The aim of social inclusion has in the Commission's discourse primarily an instrumental meaning as means to ensure social inclusion and empowerment of vulnerable groups, so they can regain a position on the labour market. Sometimes the term also refers to social cohesion, in the sense that unemployed marginalized groups can threaten social stability. It is the entrance to labour market, which can ensure that they become equal citizens and contributes to the common good. The first two questions in table 10 have reference to this more business-oriented and "utilitarian" under-

standing of social inclusion, while the third question is about solidarity seen from a humanistic discourse.

Table 10: Valuation of the aim of Social Inclusion			
Aim	Question: <i>Here follows statements regarding aims of lifelong learning. What degree of importance do these objectives have in your organization?</i>	Value	Average
Social Inclusion	To strengthen self-confidence and responsibility of vulnerable groups	0,60	0,59
	To bring vulnerable groups more social skills and to promote social inclusion	0,52	
	To promote a culture of social inclusion and solidarity	0,65	
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".			

It can be interesting to notice that it is the third question's more humanistic understanding of "social inclusion" as "solidarity", which gets the highest value (0.65), while the objective of bringing the vulnerable "more social skills", so they can be as normal people, gets the lowest value (0.52).

Employability

The European Commission's *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* in 2000 presented two main aims, first "employability" and secondly "active citizenship". After the comprehensive critique during the consultation process in the member states, the Commission revised the second aim of active citizenship and divided it into four sub-aims of "active citizenship", social inclusion, cultural cohesion, and personal fulfilment. However, the first aim of "employability" remained unchanged, and it represents the most instrumental of the aims of lifelong learning as a mean to improve the employability and competitiveness of the work force; but this improvement can happen in many ways, and in the questions we have stated three possible ways in the spirit of the concept.

Table 11: Valuation of the aim of Employability			
Aim	Question: <i>Here follows statements regarding aims of lifelong learning. What degree of importance do these objectives have in your organization?</i>	Value	Average
Employability	To promote cooperative capacity and entrepreneurship to be used in work life	0,54	0,53
	To promote skills that can be used in work life	0,59	
	To promote mental health and thereby improving the capacity as employee	0,47	
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".			

It is the direct objective of promoting skills for the work life that gets the highest value (0.59), while the indirect objective of ensuring the mental health through amateur culture and thereby the employability that gets the lowest value (0.47). The average of the three sub-questions (0.53) is higher than for the main question (0.42) but it is still the aim with the lowest average value.

Cultural cohesion

The EU Commission introduced the aim of cultural cohesion together with social inclusion in the Message on lifelong learning from 2001. The goal is to ensure social integration between different community cultures in a society marked by immigration and multicultural trends. The concept of cultural cohesion holds different meanings of identity and cultural contexts. It is no unequivocal

concept, but can alternate between ensuring a local coherence and identity, a national coherence and identity, as well as a global, universal or common human identity. The general question of "cultural cohesion" does not indicate the precise meaning, and the respondents may thus put their own meaning in the term. The three sub-questions in table 12 represent respectively a local, national or global meaning, and this gives a different valuation in the answers.

Table 12: Valuation of the aim of Cultural Cohesion			
Aim	Question: <i>Here follows statements regarding aims of lifelong learning. What degree of importance do these objectives have in your organization?</i>	Value	Average
Cultural Cohesion	To promote your regions particular forms of cultural expression and identity	0,63	0,68
	To promote national values and a common national culture	0,65	
	To promote common human values and a cosmopolitan culture	0,75	
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".			

It can be seen that the global or universal meaning of "cultural cohesion" gets a higher value (0.75) than the national value (0.65), which is worth mentioning at a time, when goals of increased national identity have a strong influence on the political agenda.

The respondents higher valuation of a humanistic outlook can be clearer, when the global and national meaning are valuated from two conflicting statements by A and B, as presented in the next table 13.

Table 13: Valuation of Cultural Cohesion in a national or global context			
Question: <i>Below we present contradictory statements about your organization's activities. Which statements are mostly in accordance with your organization's understanding and attitude?</i>			
Statement from A	Global values	National values	Statement from B
My organization promotes a community of positive energy and respect, where we share values and interests with many people - in fact all over the world.	0,76	0,24	My organization promotes a community of positive energy and respect, where we becomes more conscious of our national identity and our common national roots
My organisation's activities are among other things valuable, because they promote the understanding of common human values in a world that becomes increasingly globalized.	0,65	0,35	My organization's activities are among other things valuable, because they promote the understanding of our specific national values in a world that becomes increasingly globalized.
Average	0,70	0,30	
Note on scale: 1 Fully agree with A (1,0); 2 Mostly agree with A (0,75); 3 neutral, don't know (0,50); 4 Mostly agree with B (0,25); 5 Fully agree with B (0,0).			

B's statements represent a more national identity position, while A's statements represent a more cosmopolitan human position. It is clearly the last position, which the respondents consider the most adequate for their learning activities with an average value of 0.70, while the first position only gets a value of 0.30. The aim of the cultural activities is here not to promote a particular national identity or a specific national ethnic culture, but rather to strengthen a general human identity and common cultural experiences.

12.2 Valuation of the actual learning outcome

Overall valuation of the actual learning outcome

The respondent group of managers and teachers from the partnership organisations were presented for the applied learning frame that includes the three dimensions: Personal formation, knowledge & skills, and competences, where each dimension is determined by six learning elements. Below in table 14 we present the respondents' overall assessment of the importance of these three dimensions (measured as the average of their elements' importance) in their organisations' current learning activities.

Table 14: Learning providers valuation of the learning outcome of students activities					
Question: <i>Indicate the effect or degree of learning outcome by participating in your organization's activities.</i>					
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Personal Formation	Knowledge & Skills	Competences	Average
All	19	0,64	0,58	0,58	0,60
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,55	0,51	0,50	0,52
JSKD (SI)	4	0,73	0,68	0,69	0,70
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,64	0,55	0,57	0,59

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: No effect (0,0), Low effect (0,25), Moderately effect (0,50), High effect (0,75), Decisive effect (1,0).. Possible to choose "Don't know".

In relation to the learning outcome of the actual activities of the organisations, the learning providers overall estimate that the degree of learning outcome is highest for personal formation (0.64), while the outcome for knowledge and competences gets a slightly lower value (0.58). The learning providers follow here the valuation by the project leaders (cf. section 11.3), who also stated the highest value to the dimension of personal formation.

It can be mentioned that there was very few "don't know" answers. The respondents understood and accepted the questions regarding the dimension of personal formation, and gave it in average the highest valuation. They thereby showed openness for a learning view that integrated the dimension of personal formation.

Valuation of the outcome of personal formation

Personal formation (Bildung) represents the first dimension of the learning profile; and it is determined by six elements, where each of these is described through five keywords:

- Authenticity, where keywords are self-feeling, joy of life, intuition, spontaneity, fullness and openness.
- Autonomy, where keywords are self-confidence, courage of life, independence, self-determination, and personal attitude.
- Reflexive knowledge, where keywords are general orientation, critical thinking, interdisciplinary, self-reflexive, and a personal outlook on life.
- Moral sense, where the key words are empathy, ethics of reciprocity, democratic culture, solidarity, and active citizenship.

- Aesthetic sense, where keywords are sensitivity, sensuality and emotional, poetic, imaginative, and artistic taste.
- Versatile personality, where keywords are self-esteem (as integration of self-feeling/to be and self-confidence/to can), balance between reason and feelings, synergy between judgement of knowledge, morality and aesthetics, alternate between the self-control of autonomy and the spontaneity of authenticity, and combine joy and courage in an openness for others and the world.

In the questionnaire for learning providers, the five key words for each element were converted to three key words and corresponding key questions about the outcome of personal formation in the current learning activities.

Table 15: Valuation of the learning outcome for Personal Formation								
Question: Indicate the effect or degree of learning outcome by participating in your organisation's activities.								
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Authen- ticity	Auto- nomy	Reflexive knowledge	Moral sense	Aesthetic sense	Whole person	Average
All	19	0,68	0,68	0,61	0,60	0,66	0,62	0,64
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,54	0,60	0,52	0,58	0,57	0,51	0,55
JSKD (SI)	4	0,73	0,75	0,75	0,73	0,71	0,69	0,73
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,77	0,68	0,55	0,48	0,72	0,65	0,64
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: No effect (0,0), Low effect (0,25), Moderately effect (0,50), High effect (0,75), Decisive effect (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".								

The total average value of the elements of Bildung was as mentioned above 0.64, which was slightly higher than the average of 0.58 for knowledge and competence.

The differences in the valuation of the six elements of Bildung are small, but the outcome in relation to autonomy, authenticity and aesthetic sense get the highest value (0.68 – 0.66), while moral sense and reflexive knowledge get the lowest value (0.60 – 0.61).

There are only a few "don't know" answers to the statements of Bildung, and fewer than for the elements of knowledge and only a little more than for the elements of competence. Although the statements on the elements of Bildung may seem long and unfamiliar, it was not difficult for the respondents to understand them and assess their degree of value. This is worth mentioning in a period, where the concept of "personal formation" and its elements are missing in the major part of the current learning theory, and have become foreign words especially in the instrumentally oriented competence discourse that dominates the current agenda for lifelong learning.

Valuation of the outcome of knowledge and skills

Knowledge and skills represent the second dimension of the learning profile; and it is determined by six elements, where each of these is described through five keywords:

- General knowledge about human affairs, where keywords are general knowledge, assessment ability, personal attitudes, disseminating skills, and acting capacity in relation to interpersonal situations.
- General knowledge about society, where keywords are general knowledge, assessment ability, personal attitudes, disseminating skills, and acting capacity in relation to societal situations.

- General knowledge about the culture, where keywords are general knowledge, assessment ability, personal attitudes, disseminating skills, and acting capacity in relation to intercultural situations.
- Specific knowledge of your area of interest (academic topic), where keywords are knowledge about the subject's area, disciplines, methods, history, application and quality standards.
- Specific skills in your area of interest (academic topic), where keywords are quality assessment, performance; technical skills, methodological skills, dissemination, and overall application of the skills.
- Didactical insight in your area of interest (academic topic), where keywords are insight in pedagogical methods for the topic, practical teaching and learning forms, professional ethics; didactic self-awareness, insight in own personal learning style.

The first three elements refer to general academic knowledge, while the last three refer to specific academic knowledge about a particular area of interest. In this questionnaire for learning providers, the five key words for each element were converted to three key words and corresponding key questions about the outcome of knowledge and skills in the current learning activities.

Table 16: Valuation of the learning outcome regarding Knowledge & Skills								
Question: <i>Indicate the effect or degree of learning outcome by participating in your organization's activities.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	General K & S on human conditions	General K & S on societal conditions	General K & S on cultural conditions	Specific knowledge in your area of interest	Specific Skills in your area of interest	Didactical insight in your area of interest	Average
All	19	0,59	0,50	0,66	0,62	0,57	0,53	0,58
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,54	0,48	0,62	0,49	0,47	0,45	0,51
JSKD (SI)	4	0,73	0,65	0,71	0,73	0,63	0,67	0,68
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,50	0,38	0,65	0,65	0,62	0,48	0,55

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: No effect (0,0), Low effect (0,25), Moderately effect (0,50), High effect (0,75), Decisive effect (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".

The total average value of the elements of knowledge & skills is 0.58, which as mentioned above is the same as competence and lower than the value of personal formation on 0.64.

There are only minor differences in the valuation of the six elements; however the general knowledge of culture and the specific knowledge of the area of interest get the highest value (0.66 and 0.62), while the general knowledge about society and the didactical knowledge of the topic of interest get the lowest value (0.50 and 0.53).

It may be surprising that the general knowledge of culture as well as of human conditions and society get such a relatively high value, despite the fact that the learning activities typically focus on specific topics of amateur culture. This indicates that the learning in amateur culture and the voluntary cultural area have a strong dimension of general academic knowledge.

Valuation of the outcome of competences

Competences represent the third dimension of the learning profile; and it is determined by six elements, where each of these is described through five keywords:

- Social competence, where the keywords are empathic and inclusive, responsible and accountable, participatory and engaged, tolerant and respectful, and insight in diversity.
- Communicative competence, where the keywords are enjoy to communicate, clear and distinct; can use different communication forms, conscious of communication styles, can change style of communication.
- Creative and innovative competences, where the keywords are reliable intuition, openness for new opportunities, imaginative and inventive, unorthodox, and experimental.
- Self-Management competence, where the keywords are self-propelled, entrepreneurial, goal-oriented planning, self-awareness of weak and strong points, and risk-oriented.
- Intercultural competence, where the keywords are curiosity, insight into your own culture, insight into other cultures, tolerance and respect for diversity, and intercultural capacity.
- General learning competence, where the keywords are joy of learning, perseverance, self-discipline, awareness of own learning style, and responsibility for own learning.

In this questionnaire for learning providers, the five key words for each competence element were converted to three key words and corresponding key questions about the outcome of competences in the current learning activities.

Table 17: Valuation of the learning outcome regarding competences								
Question: <i>Indicate the effect or degree of learning outcome by participating in your organization's activities.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Social	Communi- cative	Creative & innovative	Self- managem.	Inter- cultural	Learning ability	Average
All	19	0,64	0,57	0,61	0,49	0,63	0,57	0,58
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,60	0,53	0,50	0,40	0,50	0,44	0,50
JSKD (SI)	4	0,67	0,69	0,69	0,69	0,71	0,71	0,69
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,65	0,50	0,65	0,38	0,67	0,55	0,57
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: No effect (0,0), Low effect (0,25), Moderately effect (0,50), High effect (0,75), Decisive effect (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".								

The total average value of the elements of competence is 0.58, which as mentioned above is the same as knowledge and skills and lower than the value of personal formation on 0.64.

The differences in the valuation of the six elements are not big; but it is the outcome in relation to social, intercultural and creative competences that get the highest value, while the competence of self-management gets the distinct lowest value (0.49).

12.3 Priorities for the future learning

The previous section presented the learning providers' valuation of the actual learning outcome of the current activities in their organisations. This section presents on the other hand, the learning providers' priorities for their organisation's future learning activities and thereby the elements of learning they find most important or valuable to promote.

Overall priorities for the learning

Table 18 below presents the respondents' overall priorities for the future learning outcome in their organisations. The priorities are shown as an average of the priorities for the elements of the three learning dimensions.

Table 18: Learning providers priorities for the future learning activities					
Question: <i>Here you must prioritize which elements of your organisation's learning outcome, you find most important and wish to promote. What degree of importance should each element have in your organisations future activities?</i>					
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Personal Formation	Knowledge & Skills	Competences	Average
All	19	0,67	0,67	0,64	0,66
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,72	0,67	0,68	0,69
JSKD (SI)	4	0,71	0,77	0,65	0,71
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,58	0,58	0,61	0,59

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive. Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".

In relation to the learning outcome of the future learning activities of their organisations, the learning providers indicate nearly the same priority to the three dimension, though a slightly less priority to the dimension of competence.

It can be noticed that competence in average gets the lowest priority, even though it is the main concept in the mainstream discourse of lifelong learning. It may also be a surprise that the dimension of knowledge and skills related to a specific area of interest in amateur culture only gets the same priority as personal formation.

Priorities for the elements of personal formation

Table 19 presents the learning providers' priorities of the elements of personal formation.

Table 19: Learning providers priorities regarding elements of Personal Formation								
Question: <i>Here you must prioritize which elements of your organisation's learning outcome, you find most important and wish to promote. What degree of importance should each element have in your organisations future activities?</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Authen- ticity	Auto- nomy	Reflexive knowledge	Moral sense	Aesthetic sense	Whole person	Average
All	19	0,75	0,62	0,60	0,67	0,70	0,68	0,67
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,88	0,68	0,68	0,80	0,63	0,68	0,72
JSKD (SI)	4	0,69	0,69	0,69	0,75	0,69	0,75	0,71
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,70	0,50	0,45	0,45	0,80	0,60	0,58

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".

The six elements are all prioritized as important, but “authenticity” gets the highest average value (0.75), while “reflexive knowledge” and “autonomy” get the lowest (0.60 and 0.62).

Cultural Councils works within the wider area of voluntary culture and gives the highest value to “authenticity” (0.88) and “moral sense” (0.80), while JSKD that works within amateur arts as well as the broader area of culture, gives the highest value to “moral sense” and “the whole person” (both 0.75); and Kunstfactor that works most specific in the area of art and amateur art clearly gives the highest value to “aesthetic sense” (0.80) and then to “authenticity” (0.70).

It may be interesting that “authenticity” in average gets a higher value than “autonomy” and “moral sense”, which usually are the key concepts in modern pedagogical thinking, where “aesthetic sense” has a low status and “authenticity” is typically a foreign word in the pedagogical theory, except from the life-philosophical (and Grundtvigian) traditions. However, the concepts of “authenticity” and “aesthetic sense” have according to this survey a strong resonance among learning providers from the voluntary culture.

Priorities for the elements of knowledge and skills

Table 20 presents the learning providers’ priorities of the elements of knowledge and skills.

Table 20: Learning providers priorities regarding elements of Knowledge & Skills								
Question: Here you must prioritize which elements of your organisation's learning outcome, you find most important and wish to promote. What degree of importance should each element have in your organisations future activities?								
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	General K & S on human conditions	General K & S on societal conditions	General K & S on cultural conditions	Specific knowledge in your area of interest	Specific Skills in your area of interest	Didactical insight in your area of interest	Average
All	19	0,66	0,68	0,72	0,63	0,69	0,65	0,67
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,78	0,83	0,70	0,55	0,63	0,55	0,67
JSKD (SI)	4	0,75	0,75	0,81	0,75	0,75	0,81	0,77
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,45	0,45	0,65	0,60	0,70	0,60	0,58
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose “Don’t know”.								

The overall priority of the elements of knowledge and skills are 0.67, which is the same as for personal formation, and slightly higher than the priority of competence on 0.64.

The six elements of competence get a quite equal priority with an interval from 0.63 to 0.72, but the general knowledge of man, society and culture get a higher priority than the specific knowledge of a concrete cultural topic. There are interesting differences between the respondents from the three organisations. KSD gives as an umbrella for cultural policy the highest priority to the general knowledge and here most value to the knowledge about society. JSKD gives equal priority to the general and specific knowledge, but here highest value to general knowledge about culture and didactical skills. Kunstfactor gives highest priority to the specific skills in an art-based topic, although the general knowledge about culture also gets a high score.

Priorities for the elements of transverse competence

Table 21 presents the learning providers’ priorities of the elements of the competence dimension.

Table 21: Learning providers priorities regarding elements of transverse competence								
Question: <i>Here you must prioritize which elements of your organisation's learning outcome, you find most important and wish to promote. What degree of importance should each element have in your organisations future activities?</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learning providers from the project consortium	N	Social	Communi- cative	Creative & innovative	Self- managem.	Inter- cultural	Learning ability	Average
All	19	0,69	0,61	0,71	0,51	0,66	0,67	0,64
Cultural Councils (DK)	10	0,85	0,65	0,75	0,53	0,65	0,63	0,68
JSKD (SI)	4	0,63	0,69	0,63	0,56	0,69	0,69	0,65
Kunstfactor (NL)	5	0,60	0,50	0,75	0,45	0,65	0,70	0,61

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".

The overall priority of the elements of competence is 0.64, which is a little lower than the priorities for personal formation and knowledge & skills, which both get 0.67.

The six elements of competence get varied priorities in an interval from 0.51 to 0.71, but the highest priority is indicated for the creative competence (0.71), and the lowest for the competence of self-management (0.51), which may suggest the importance of community learning in amateur culture.

Comparison of actual outcome with future priorities

Table 22 on the next page presents a summary of the learning providers 'assessment of the current learning outcome in their organisations, and compares it with their priorities for the future learning outcome.

The respondents indicate in general a priority, where the future overall learning outcome will be higher than the actual outcome (with an increase from 0.60 to 0.66). The degree of improvement is highest for the dimension of knowledge (from 0.58 to 0.64), while the dimension of personal formation get the lowest degree of improvement (from 0.64 to 0.67). The differences between the three learning dimensions are not significant, but it is worth mentioning that it is the dimension of competence, which gets the currently lowest value (0.58) and the lowest future priority (0.64).

Within each dimension, it can be mentioned for personal formation, that "authenticity" gets the highest priority (0.75), and "aesthetic sense" gets the next highest (0.70). For the dimension of knowledge, the highest priority is given to "general knowledge of culture" (0.72); and for competences, the highest priority is given to "creative and innovative competences" (0.71). It may be a surprise, that the learning providers do not value the knowledge-related learning higher or highest in the art-based learning and cultural activities, because they typically focus on a specific topic such as music, choir, theatre, and it is a specific cultural area of interest, they highlight in their profiling and marketing of their associations.

However, in reality they do not seem to think that the professional learning in a specific cultural topic is more important than the general knowledge on man, society and culture and the general development of personal formation.

Table 22: Comparison of actual outcome with future priorities						
Dimensions	Elements		Valuation of actual learning		Priority of future learning	
			Value	AVG	Value	AVG
Personal Formation	1.1	Authenticity (self-esteem, spontaneity, vitality, joy of life)	0,68	0,64	0,75	0,67
	1.2	Autonomy (self-confidence, self-determination, civil courage)	0,68		0,62	
	1.3	Reflexive knowledge (interdisciplinary, critical reflexion, personal world view)	0,61		0,60	
	1.4	Moral sense (ethic of reciprocity, democratic culture, active citizenship)	0,60		0,67	
	1.5	Aesthetic sense (artistic sensitivity, emotional, poetic imagination)	0,66		0,70	
	1.6	A whole person (integrate reason and feeling; combine knowledge, moral and aesthetic rationality; interact control and spontaneity)	0,62		0,68	
Knowledge & Skills	2.1	Human conditions and values (knowledge, critical reflexion, valuation)	0,59	0,58	0,66	0,67
	2.2	Social conditions and values (knowledge, critical reflexion, valuation)	0,66		0,68	
	2.3	Cultural conditions and values (knowledge, critical reflexion, valuation)	0,50		0,72	
	2.4	Knowledge of main topic of activities (theory, methods, quality standards)	0,62		0,63	
	2.5	Skills in main topic of activities assessment, application, performance)	0,57		0,69	
	2.6	Didactical insight (pedagogical methods, prof. ethics, ways of self-learning)	0,53		0,65	
Competences	3.1	Social competence (cooperative, responsible, involvement)	0,64	0,58	0,69	0,64
	3.2	Communicative (clarity, variation, confidence)	0,57		0,61	
	3.3	Creative and innovative (unorthodox, intuitive, imaginative, experimental)	0,61		0,71	
	3.4	Self-management (autonomous, entrepreneurial, risk-willing)	0,49		0,51	
	3.5	Intercultural competence (sensitive, flexible, openness)	0,63		0,66	
	3.6	Learning (desire to learn, persistent, conscious of own learning style)	0,57		0,67	
	Average			0,60		0,66
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Not important (0,0), Low importance (0,25), Moderately important (0,50), High importance (0,75), Of decisive Importance (1,0). Possible to choose "Don't know".						

It may be an obvious question, whether the assessments and priorities of the learning providers (leaders, teachers, and board members) correspond to assessments and priorities of the learners (students and participants). These questions will be explored in the next chapters.

13. Questionnaire for the learners

The following three chapters present the questionnaire¹ for learners from the organisations of the partnership circle, which will have focus on the learners' valuation of the importance of the three dimensions of learning and the influences of the organisations' learning activities on the development of their learning profile.

13.1 Valuation of the learning profile

The learners valuation of their own learning profile

The respondent group, a group of participants and students from the partner organisations, was presented for the project's view on learning as consisting of three dimensions: personal formation, knowledge and skills, and competences, where each dimension is determined by six learning elements, and each element is described by five key words.

Table 23 presents the respondents' overall assessment of their current learning profile, where the three dimensions of learning are measured as an average of their six elements.

Table 23: Learners valuation of their own learning profile					
Question: <i>Here you must assess your own actual learning profile. Indicate in which degree the statements regarding your learning profile apply to you.</i>					
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	Personal Formation	Knowledge & Skills	Competences	Average
All	17	0,73	0,65	0,73	0,70
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,72	0,67	0,72	0,70
JSKD (SI)	9	0,68	0,62	0,68	0,66
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,78	0,68	0,77	0,74

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values:
Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).

The answers from the learners indicate the same value to personal formation and competences (both get 0.73), and the lowest value to knowledge and skills (0.65). The average for each organisation shows the same tendency.

The learners valuation of their own personal formation

The framework of the learning questionnaire for the learners has the same structure as the questionnaire for the learning providers, using three dimensions and six elements for each dimension, and furthermore it used five keywords and corresponding five key questions for each element. This basic framework for personal formation was presented above in chapter 12.2.

Table 24 on next page presents the overall result of the learners' assessment of their current elements of personal formation.

¹ The questionnaire WP 2.3 can be downloaded at the project website: www.interfolk.dk/loac

Table 24: Learners valuation of elements in their own personal formation								
Question: <i>Here you must assess your own actual learning profile. Indicate in which degree the statements regarding your learning profile apply to you.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	Authen- ticity	Auto- nomy	Reflexive knowledge	Moral sense	Aesthetic sense	Whole person	Aver- age
All	17	0,73	0,76	0,70	0,74	0,70	0,70	0,73
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,75	0,83	0,63	0,73	0,66	0,70	0,72
JSKD (SI)	9	0,70	0,65	0,70	0,73	0,66	0,61	0,68
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,73	0,80	0,78	0,78	0,78	0,80	0,78
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).								

The difference in the overall valuation of the six elements is insignificant with an interval from 0.70 to 0.76. The element "autonomy" gets the highest value (0.76), followed by "moral sense" and "authenticity", and it may be noted that the last-mentioned element get a high assessment, even though it is a quite unknown concept in the mainstream learning discourses.

It may be a surprise that the moral form of reason gets a higher value than the aesthetic form of reason, given that the respondents are participants in amateur culture. The reason could be, that the respondents here must describe their profile as a result of their overall learning, and arts and the aesthetic sense have in the normal educational system a marginal position.

The learners valuation of their own knowledge and skills

The framework of the learning questionnaire for the learners has the same structure as the questionnaire for the learning providers, using three dimensions and six elements for each dimension, and furthermore it used five keywords and corresponding five key questions for each element. This basic framework for the dimension of "knowledge and skills" was presented in chapter 12.2.

Table 25 below presents the overall result of the learners' assessment of their current elements of knowledge and skills.

Table 25: Learners valuation of elements in their own Knowledge & Skills								
Question: <i>Here you must assess your own actual learning profile. Indicate in which degree the statements regarding your learning profile apply to you.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	General K & S on human conditions	General K & S on societal conditions	General K & S on cultural conditions	Specific knowledge in your area of interest	Specific Skills in your area of interest	Didactical insight in your area of interest	Average
All	17	0,67	0,60	0,67	0,72	0,66	0,60	0,65
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,61	0,54	0,75	0,80	0,65	0,64	0,67
JSKD (SI)	9	0,66	0,54	0,66	0,64	0,63	0,59	0,62
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,75	0,70	0,60	0,73	0,70	0,58	0,68
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).								

The difference in the overall valuation of the six elements is quite insignificant with an interval from 0.60 to 0.72. The specific knowledge in the cultural area of interest get in average the highest value (0.72) followed by the general knowledge of culture and man (both 0.67).

The average of the three elements of general knowledge of man, society and culture is 0.65, while the average of the three specific elements in relation to the cultural area of interest is 0.66, and it may be noticed that the general and specific area of knowledge thus get nearly the same value, even though the respondents are active in the a specific area of voluntary culture.

The learners valuation of their own competences

The framework of the learning questionnaire for the learners has the same structure as the questionnaire for the learning providers, using three dimensions and six elements for each dimension, and furthermore it used five keywords and corresponding five key questions for each element. This basic framework for the dimension of “competence” was presented in chapter 12.2.

Table 26 below presents the overall result of the learners’ assessment of their current elements of competence.

Table 26: Learners valuation of elements in their own Competences								
<i>Question: Here you must assess your own actual learning profile. Indicate in which degree the statements regarding your learning profile apply to you.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	Social	Communi- cative	Creative & innovative	Self- managem.	Inter- cultural	Learning ability	Average
All	17	0,68	0,71	0,73	0,76	0,78	0,70	0,73
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,64	0,67	0,64	0,83	0,78	0,77	0,72
JSKD (SI)	9	0,63	0,73	0,72	0,62	0,78	0,62	0,68
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,75	0,73	0,83	0,83	0,78	0,73	0,77

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values:
Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).

The difference in the overall valuation of the six elements is insignificant with an interval from 0.68 to 0.78. The intercultural competence gets the highest average value (0.78), followed by “self-management” (0.76), which may be noticed, because the learners here give a clearly higher value to this element than the learning providers (only 0.49, cf. Table 22). The learners clearly assess their ability to self-management higher than their learning providers.

13.2 Valuation of the influence of the cultural activity

Overall valuation of the influence of the cultural activities

The framework of the questionnaire was comprised of three dimensions, where each dimension was determined by six learning elements, and each described by five key statements.

After the respondents had described the status of each learning element in their current learning profile, they were asked to assess by one single question, how much influence their cultural

activities have had on the development of this learning profile. Below in table 27, we present the overall results of the respondents' assessments.

Table 27: Learners indicate the influence of the cultural activity on their learning profile					
<i>Question: Here you must assess the influence of your organisations learning activities on the development of your learning profile. Indicate in which degree the cultural activity/art based learning in your association has developed your learning profile.</i>					
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	Personal Formation	Knowledge & Skills	Competences	Average
All	17	0,66	0,58	0,60	0,61
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,61	0,57	0,54	0,57
JSKD (SI)	9	0,60	0,61	0,64	0,62
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,75	0,56	0,63	0,65
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).					

The learners overall assessment of the influence of the cultural activities is high with an average of 0.61. The highest degree of influence is on personal formation (0.66), while the lowest is on knowledge and skills (0.58).

The respondents from the organisations give varying assessments. Learners from Cultural Councils and Kunstfactor assess the influence on personal formation highest, while the learners from JSKD assess the influence on competences highest.

The cultural activities influence on personal formation

Table 28 below presents the learners' assessment of the influence of their cultural activities on the different elements of personal formation.

Table 28: Learners indicate the influence of the cultural activity on their personal formation								
<i>Question: Here you must assess the influence of your organisations learning activities on the development of your learning profile. Indicate in which degree the cultural activity/art based learning in your association has developed the elements of personal formation.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	Authen- ticity	Auto- nomy	Reflexive knowledge	Moral sense	Aesthetic sense	Whole person	Aver- age
All	17	0,66	0,62	0,68	0,64	0,74	0,59	0,66
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,58	0,58	0,63	0,63	0,67	0,58	0,61
JSKD (SI)	9	0,66	0,53	0,66	0,53	0,69	0,56	0,60
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,88	0,63	0,75
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).								

The learners overall assess that the cultural activities in their organisations have had an important influence on the development of their personal formation with an average of 0.66, which is more than "some degree" and less than "high degree".

The differences of influence on the six elements are relatively small with an interval of 0.59 - 0.74. It is not surprisingly the "aesthetic sense" that gets the highest overall value (0.74). Furthermore, it can be seen that the learners indicate a higher influence on the three forms of reason - the cognitive, the moral and aesthetic reason - with an average of 0.69; than the influence on the three parts of personality - authenticity, autonomy and integration -, which is slightly lower with an average of 0.65.

The differences are not significant, and one should not conclude too much from it, but it can be emphasized that the participants not only could relate to the perhaps somewhat "unfamiliar statements" about their authenticity, but also to the statements about their degree of integration as a whole person.

The influence of cultural activities on knowledge and skills

Table 29 presents the learners' assessment of the influence of their cultural activities on the development of the elements of knowledge and skills.

Table 29: Learners indicate the influence of the cultural activity on their knowledge and skills								
<i>Question: Here you must assess the influence of your organisations learning activities on the development of your learning profile. Indicate in which degree the cultural activity/art based learning in your association has developed the elements of your knowledge and skills.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	General K & S on human conditions	General K & S on societal conditions	General K & S on cultural conditions	Specific knowledge in your area of interest	Specific Skills in your area of interest	Didactical insight in your area of interest	Average
All	17	0,51	0,53	0,54	0,67	0,61	0,63	0,58
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,50	0,42	0,50	0,71	0,67	0,63	0,57
JSKD (SI)	9	0,53	0,56	0,63	0,69	0,66	0,63	0,61
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,50	0,63	0,50	0,63	0,50	0,63	0,56
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).								

The learners overall assess that the cultural activities in their organisations have had an influence on the development of the dimension of knowledge and skills with an average of 0.58, which is more than "some degree" and less than "high degree".

The differences of influence on the six elements are relatively small with an interval of 0.51 - 0.67. The specific topic-related skills get the highest influence (0.67) followed by the didactical insight in the topic (0.63), but the influence on the general knowledge of man, society and culture is also recognized in more than some degree.

Anyhow, there is a clear difference in the impact on participants' specific and general knowledge. This tendency can be seen for the learners from all three organisations as illustrated in the next table 30.

Table 30: The influence on general and specific knowledge and skills			
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	N	Average for General Knowledge & Skills regarding human, societal and cultural conditions	Average for specific Knowledge & Skills regarding your area of interest
All	17	0,53	0,64
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,47	0,67
JSKD (SI)	9	0,57	0,66
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,54	0,58

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values:
Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).

The cultural activities influence on competences

Table 31 presents the learners' assessment of the influence of their cultural activities on the development of the elements of competence.

Table 31: Learners indicate the influence of the cultural activity on their competences								
Question: <i>Here you must assess the influence of your organisations learning activities on the development of your learning profile. Indicate in which degree the cultural activity/art based learning in your association has developed the elements of competence.</i>								
Respondent Groups: Learners from organisations of the project consortium	(N)	Social	Communi- cative	Creative & innovative	Self- managem.	Inter- cultural	Learning ability	Aver- age
All	17	0,63	0,59	0,61	0,56	0,55	0,66	0,60
Cultural Councils (DK)	6	0,58	0,46	0,54	0,50	0,50	0,67	0,54
JSKD (SI)	9	0,69	0,69	0,66	0,56	0,66	0,56	0,64
Kunstfactor (NL)	2	0,63	0,63	0,63	0,63	0,50	0,75	0,63

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values:
Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).

The learners overall assess that the cultural activities in their organisations have had an influence on the development of the dimension of competence with an average of 0.60, which is more than "some degree" and less than "high degree".

The differences of influence on the six elements are relatively small with an interval of 0.55 - 0.66. It is, according to the participants, the general learning ability, which overall has been affected the most (0.66), closely followed by social competence (0.63), while the intercultural competence and self management are affected least.

It may be noticed that the influence on the creative and innovative competence is in the middle (0.61), because we talk about learning activities in cultural activities and even art-based learning. The reason may be that the learners think that they had such competences before they started in amateur culture, and this was one of the reasons why they started to be active in voluntary art and culture.

14. Relations between aims and outcome

This chapter compares the learning providers' assessment of the learning outcome for their learners with the learners' own assessments of the outcome.

14.1 Relations between aims and outcome, in general

Table 32 compares the two respondent groups' overall assessment of the influence of the cultural learning activities on the development of the participants' learning profiles.

Table 32: Comparison of learning providers and learners valuation of the learning outcome					
Question for learning providers: <i>Indicate the influence of the learning activities in your organisations on the development of the learners (students) learning profile.</i>					
Question for learners: <i>Indicate the influence of your learning activities in your cultural organisation on the development of your own learning profile.</i>					
Respondents	N	Personal Formation	Knowledge & Skills	Competences	Average
Learning providers	19	0,64	0,58	0,58	0,60
Learners	17	0,66	0,58	0,60	0,61
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: No effect (0,0), Low effect (0,25), Moderately effect (0,50), High effect (0,75), Decisive effect (1,0).					

The two respondent groups have very similar assessments of the influence of the cultural learning activities, which means that the learning providers seem to have a realistic assessment of the influence of their learning activities. It may be noticed that both groups agree that the highest influence is on the dimension of personal formation. The following sections will present the two groups' assessments of the influence on the different elements in each dimension.

14.2 Relations between aims and outcome, specified

Aims and outcome for the elements of personal formation

Table 33 presents the two groups' assessments of the influence of the cultural activities on the different elements of personal formation.

Table 33: Learning providers and learners valuation of the benefits for personal formation								
Respondents	N	Authenticity	Autonomy	Reflexive knowledge	Moral sense	Aesthetic sense	Whole person	Average
Learning providers	19	0,68	0,68	0,61	0,60	0,66	0,62	0,64
Learners	17	0,66	0,62	0,68	0,64	0,74	0,59	0,66
Difference		0,02	0,06	- 0,07	- 0,04	- 0,08	0,03	- 0,02
Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values: Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).								

The differences in the two groups' assessments are negligible, both overall and for each element. It may be mentioned that the group of students/participants assess the highest outcome to the aesthetic sense and somewhat higher than the group of leaders/teachers.

Generally, it can be noted that the two groups not only can assess the impact on these elements (with very few "don't know answers"), but they also assess a higher impact than on the elements of the two other learning dimensions.

Aims and outcome for the elements of knowledge and skills

Table 34 presents the two groups' assessments of the influence of the cultural activities on the different elements of knowledge and skills.

Table 34: Learning providers and learners valuation of the benefits for Knowledge & Skills								
Respondents	N	General K & S on human conditions	General K & S on societal conditions	General K & S on cultural conditions	Specific knowledge in your area of interest	Specific Skills in your area of interest	Didactical insight in your area of interest	Average
Learning providers	19	0,59	0,66	0,50	0,62	0,57	0,53	0,58
Learners	17	0,51	0,53	0,54	0,67	0,61	0,63	0,58
Difference		0,08	0,13	- 0,04	- 0,05	0,04	- 0,10	0,0

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values:
Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).

The two groups have the same overall assessment of the influence, but there are some differences for the range of elements. The teachers underestimate (or the students overestimate) for example the influence on the didactical ability, but overestimates the influence on the general knowledge about man and society

The overall trend is that the teachers overestimate the influence on the general knowledge about man, society and culture, and conversely underestimate the influence on the specific knowledge, skills and didactical ability of the concrete cultural topic or cultural area of interest.

Aims and outcome for the elements of competence

Table 35 presents the two groups' assessments of the influence of the cultural activities on the different elements of competence.

Table 35: Learning providers and learners valuation of the benefits for Competences								
Respondents	N	Social	Communi- cative	Creative & innovative	Self- managem.	Inter- cultural	Learning ability	Average
Learning providers	19	0,64	0,57	0,61	0,49	0,63	0,57	0,58
Learners	17	0,63	0,59	0,61	0,56	0,55	0,66	0,60
Difference		0,01	- 0,02	0,0	- 0,07	0,08	- 0,09	- 0,02

Note: Valuated from a Likert 5-point scale with the following values:
Very low degree (0,0), Low degree (0,25), Some degree (0,50), High degree (0,75), Very high degree (1,0).

The differences in the two groups' assessments are negligible, both overall and for most elements, even though the students assess the influence on the learning ability and self-management higher than their teachers.

When we compare the differences between the assessments of the influence of the cultural learning activities, it can be noticed that the assessments of the learners and the learning providers differ most for the elements of knowledge and skills.

The reason could be that the questions in relation to this dimension is too vague or difficult to answer, but the reason could also be that it is the dimension of knowledge and skills, where there is most need to work with quality assurance. However, the data amount is too small to make any firm conclusions.

But, as previously emphasised in the theoretical main section, the dominant learning discourse focuses so one-sided on the soft competence concept, that it may imply a downgrading of the needed development work with the hard qualifications of knowledge and skills. The over-exposed competence discourse may have implied that the aims of ensuring personal formation as well as knowledge and skills have been overlooked.

15. The interview guide

The previous chapters highlighted the learning in the organisations of the partnership circle through questionnaires for respectively the project leaders and representatives for the learning providers as well as the learners

The survey included furthermore qualitative interviews with groups of learners and learning providers from the same organisations. These interviews were conducted by the project leaders with reference to a common interview guide prepared by the project coordinator.

The goals of the interviews were to illuminate the respondents' views on respectively EU's five main aims for lifelong learning, the project methodology of three learning dimensions and their elements, and to clarify the application perspective of the learning in amateur art and voluntary culture.

15.1 A common frame of the interviews

The series of interview were conducted in relation to a common guideline,¹ which could improve the possibility to compare and classify the results.

The frame of the interviews was to conduct a group interview with 2-3 learners (students or participants) and 1-2 learning providers (leaders or teachers) from the organisations. It was a possibility to divide the interview into two sections, one with the learners and one with the learning providers. The main sessions of the interviews should include:

- An introduction, where the interviewer gives a short introduction to the background and aims of the interview.
- A presentation round, where the participants briefly present themselves and their area of activity in the cultural organisation.
- Questions about the perspective of application, where the participants focus on which spheres of life, they mainly will use the learning outcome.
- Questions about the dimensions of learning, where the participants explain their priorities of the learning dimensions and their elements.
- Final recommendations, where the participants give their recommendations on the future priorities of the learning in their organisations.

The participants received before the interviews a presentation of the learning concept and terminology used in the project. The participants had also before the interview filled out one of the questionnaires, either as learning providers or as learners, and they were all to some degree familiar with this terminology.

15.2 Presentation of the learning terminology

Learning dimensions

The applied learning terminology is based on an understanding of learning as consisting of three main dimensions: Personal formation, knowledge & skills, and competence, and each dimension is determined by six or less elements, and each element is defined by five key words (and five corre-

¹ The interview guideline WP 2.4 can be downloaded at the project website: www.interfolk.dk/loac

sponding key questions). The total frame of this learning terminology has been presented in chapter 9 of this report.

Elements from all three dimensions are a part of all learning processes, but their weight and qualities can and may vary a lot depending on the learning arena and the application perspective.

The application perspective

The application perspective of a learning activity can be determined in relation to the four main spheres of life, we as people in modern societies live in, namely

- as modern man in the personal existential sphere (in the inner personal relation to one-self);
- as fellow human being in the private and civil sphere of close relationships (in the leisure time);
- as an active citizen in civil society and the public sphere (especially in leisure time, but also in work time); and
- as an employee in the work life (or as a student in a vocational qualifying education).

Learning in context

The non-formal adult education and the informal adult learning in amateur culture are characterized by formation as well as education. Guidelines for an appropriate learning strategy could be to find a balance of learning for the different spheres of life and to achieve the different learning qualities, which is needed in these various contexts of learning for the human life, the societal life and the work life.

The main aim of the interview must be to draw attention to the different qualities and perspectives of the cultural learning activities, and to clarify the learning context and application perspective.

16. Interviews

This chapter includes the three interviews from the National Associations of Cultural Councils in Denmark (KSD); the Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities (JSKD); and Kunstfactor, Sectorinstituut Amateurlkunst in Holland (Kunstfactor). They are here presented without any change of the content of the text, except for some minor formal changes to get a common structure for the three interviews.

16.1 Interviews by KSD

Interviewer: Project leader Bente von Schindel, General Secretary for the National Association of Cultural Councils in Denmark.

Presentation of interviewees: The learning provider, Carina is 64 years. She is educated as a violinist at The Academy of Music. She has been a violin-teacher most of her professional life – and has among others taught children after the Suzuki method. She has also been instructing adult amateur strings - violins and violas - in different contexts.

The learner Lise (female) is a working consultant, 52 years. She is educated as an occupational therapist and has a master degree in learning processes. Has played the flute since her eighth years and has played in various orchestras as a child and young and in an amateur symphony orchestra as an adult. She also plays chamber music and participates annually in a summer course of one week, where she plays symphonic music and chamber music together with 300 other amateurs.

The learner Sara (female) is 27 years. She has a BSC in International Business from Copenhagen Business School. She does a lot of sports and has played the cello since her sixth year and has been active in a orchestra for children. Every summer she takes part in a course for amateur orchestras. She plays every week in an amateur symphony orchestra.

First question: How does the learning outcome benefit the different life spheres?

Carina, the teacher: The adults, she teaches, are amateurs who wish to improve their level by participation in an amateur orchestra. They do so, she believes, because they get a personal satisfaction by delivering as good a performance as possible. Carina believes however, that there may be a built-in desire for social community when playing in an orchestra and not on your own, but it is difficult to distinguish one thing from another. She points out, that all participants are very democratic in relation to their given circumstances (support, preparation of samples, sheet music), but it obviously is not the primary driving force for participation, however. She can well imagine that it has an influence on their position in society as such.

Lisa: For me, participation in amateur music is important in order to develop identity and social skills. But I cannot divide my musical activities from everything else, I do. The music is always there and it is everywhere, it is inside me and outside me - an integrated part of me. I use the music in everything I make: Work, leisure, togetherness with others, etc.

Sarah: For me, music is "extra" like whipped cream on a cake. But the cake is nothing worth without it. The music is a necessary part of life; it means something to me as a person. But it also has significance for me as a second dimension of life in relation to my study, which is very specific and far from the artistic; to do both means that I increasingly feel like a whole person.

Lisa and Sara do not point out directly in which sphere they use the music, but as I interpret it, for Lise it means "modern man" and for Sarah "modern man" as well as "employee and student".

Second question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding personal formation?

The interviewees here assess the importance of the six elements of personal formation, which are authenticity, autonomy, reflexive knowledge, moral sense, aesthetic sense, and versatile personal development (the whole person).

Authenticity

Carina: As a teacher one cannot avoid noticing the changes that occur with the participants during the season. When they play and learn new things their confidence and their self-esteem grows.

Lisa: No doubt in my mind: You get a great personal satisfaction, improved self-esteem and a great joy through participation in amateur music.

Sara: It's a great satisfaction to play music. The self-esteem to achieve here is essential for everything else, I make.

Autonomy

Carina: When you dare to unfold in a group in a difficult piece of classical music, you will certainly also be able to do so in other places.

Lisa: When you get a higher self-esteem it also means something on the way you treat others. One dares better stand by yourself and your opinions.

Sara: You feel much more confident and you can better stand up by yourself when you are good at something such as playing.

Reflexive knowledge

Carina: I do not know whether this is a result of participating in amateur music ensembles.

Lisa: I think you will be more able to distinguish essential things from unimportant things. If I stopped playing music, I would probably soon find out how much I missed it.

Sara: The fact that I can play music beside my studies makes me feel whole. I do not know what I would have done if I could not have both. So I'm very aware of music's importance to the consistency of my life.

Moral Sense

Carina: When participants in a group are so dependent on one another, as they are, it is important that you talk to their moral sense when they cooperate. If they don't take moral responsibility for each other in the interaction, the result will be bad.

Lisa: In amateur orchestras it is simply immoral for example not to come to a rehearsal when you know there's a group waiting for you trusting you'll be there. It makes you realize the obligations they have towards others - even in other contexts.

Sara: As a cellist you sit in a group where everyone plays the same part, so it is not acceptable if you come unprepared and play false and wrong. The transfer is often done in other contexts.

Aesthetic sense

Carina: To develop ones aesthetic sense and taming it (if one may say so) is an important part of playing in an orchestra. Aesthetic sense should be developed gradually.

Lisa: It's the very essence of music. It is after many years in your body and becomes ones being and doing.

Sara: One cannot avoid developing aesthetic sense when playing. If so you should be totally tone deaf.

Versatile personal development

Carina: It is not entirely simple to comment this. I wonder if the participants play music because it completes their lives in a way, but there are many other things that are brought into play. But the music I think reinforces many things and enriches people's lives.

Lise: There is no doubt that music has formed me as a person. The music is always in me and it means something for my identity, so I can be spontaneous and controlled, can be myself and can reach for others.

Sara: The music helps me a lot in my personal development. But what in addition also means something to one's development, I could not say - age, perhaps?

Third question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding knowledge and skills?

The six elements here are general knowledge about man, society and culture, as well as specific knowledge, skills and didactic ability within a particular academic subject of arts or culture.

General humanistic knowledge and skills

Carina: I think it is very important to possess knowledge and understanding of your fellow man when you have to work in a music group, especially because it consists of individualists who still preferably not are allowed to stand out from the others. Therefore it is important to be able to "play along" with the "neighbour" and the rest of the group.

Lisa: Because music is a common language, gives interaction with other people an understanding of them without using words. We have a common framework of understanding in the language of music and we get in that way to understand each other better - even across generations.

Sara: The music creates another way in being together, than the daily competitive manner on the study. You learn to know some other sides of your fellow students and thereby you understand them better and you can act accordingly to that.

General societal knowledge and skills

Carina: During rehearsals the participants let their knowledge about each other's social background "wait outside the room" so to speak. But one can say that it is important to know something about the social order so it doesn't play a role during the activity. The participants learn through the interaction to communicate, taking each other into account - something they might take with them into society. But all is through participation very conscious of the conditions of amateur music in society.

Lise: Music will only give a better understanding of society if it gives a better understanding of one's fellow man. But to play in an orchestra, is to get an understanding of some of the parts within cultural policy. For instance you'll know that the politicians are not very much interested in the amateur movement.

Sara: Because music is an oasis for me compared to everything else, knowledge and skills in relation to society is not something I take with me from my musical activities.

General cultural knowledge and skills

Carina: Because they are aware of the conditions for amateur music, I think they have a general awareness of cultural aspects of life as such.

Lise: As mentioned, the activity gives me insight into culture, but music also increases my interest in other cultural areas.

Sara: Music definitely gives me interest and therefore knowledge in other cultures. Many of the things I play are from other parts of the world and are based on other cultures, so one cannot avoid knowing them.

Knowledge of a specific art-based subject

Carina: It cannot be avoided that participants have knowledge of music genres and periods. It is a prerequisite for self-expression as it comes to music, that you are familiar with this. From time to time I also use music theory in my teaching in order to explain some expressive things, it makes it sometimes easier.

Lisa: If this means, I learn from the music as such, then yes. One cannot help get an interest in general.

Sara: I have no comments - does not completely understand the question.

Skills in a specific arts-based topic

Carina: Participants will naturally improve in playing the things we rehearse. They come to master their instrument better technically and improve their expressing on the instrument.

Lise: You simply cannot play in an amateur orchestra without seeking to improve playing your instrument, but it is not only a necessity in order not to "fall through". The intention is simply to get better and better, it is important, although it is a hobby. It also has something to do with the artistic expression: It gives a greater satisfaction to express yourself artistically, if you have skills on the instrument.

Sara: To improve my performance of the instrument is extremely important to me. Although I do not plan to have a professional career, my playing and the quality of it is deadly serious to me. It becomes simply very important to me to be able to master something, I could not master a month ago.

Didactic of the art based topic

Carina: When the participants have different assumptions and are at different levels, but otherwise have to play the same, it is important that they have a certain "freedom" to find their own way of learning things. I've obviously some recommendations, but they cannot be used by everyone. But they are usually good in solving the problems themselves.

Lisa: When you play in an amateur orchestra, the ability to "go my own way" in terms of learning style is not possible. It is the hard way. But of course I have my methods in certain respects.

Sara: When I have to learn a part it is just practice and practice, so the method is often repetition, repetition.

Fourth question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding competences?

The six elements here are competences in relation to cooperation, communication, creativity and innovation, self-management, intercultural understanding and general learning ability.

Social competence

Carina: There is no doubt that the participants develop social skills. There are individuals sitting around you, playing the same as you do, so you have to join the group to make it function, this simply cannot be ignore. Participants are good in listening to each other and help each other when it comes to fingering and bowings in difficult passages. In addition, you sit at desks in pairs, and it wouldn't be a success, if you could not figure out how to deal with each other.

Lise: You simply have to develop social skills when you play in an orchestra. You should know exactly what the others are doing at all times to accommodate sound, interventions, etc.

Sara: It is no good that you sit in a cello group without being aware of the other people in the group. For although much is given through the nodes, there are many things that is not, and it can only be perceived by sensing the group.

Communicative competence

Carina: When you must work closely together like two violinists at a desk, one cannot help develop communicative skills, otherwise it will spoil the music.

Lise: Communicative skills are strongly linked with the above social skills. You register person's doings and you communicate with them on the way forward. So yes, you become very sensitive and communicative of playing in the orchestra.

Sara: I cannot imagine anything other than the language in the music is based on body language in general. I show with my body that now it is forte or piano etc. This is transmitted to my doings outside the orchestra.

Creative and innovative competence

Carina: In classical music it is not just about playing a series of notes. The music must also be interpreted, so you constantly develop your intuition and creativity.

Lise: In symphony music one cannot be creative, because everything has a foregone conclusion. But I think anyway, it develops one's imagination to play music, because there are often performances associated with the musical expression. Therefore, I also believe you get more creative and innovative by playing.

Sara: I'm not sure that we get more creative by playing; maybe we play because we are creative.

Competence of self-management

Carina: If you want to participate in the interaction, you need to work purposefully on your part, therefore you have to be able to manage yourself, otherwise you will easily fall through, and the fewest want to do so.

Lise: It would be a personal disaster if I went to an orchestral sample without having trained the part, so I simply have to be disciplined with my rehearsal, although I am busy at my work.

Sara: The cello group one may well be able to "hide" behind some of the other cellos unlike the wind. But I do not like to arrive unprepared either to lecture or to an orchestral sample. So I need to show self-restraint - even when it comes to rehearsal.

Intercultural competence

Carina: As you "put your social background away" when you go into the rehearsal room, I think that you more or less put your cultural background away as well. Therefore I don't think you'll develop intercultural competence while participating.

Lise: Music language is very international, so it is not difficult to "talk" with others through this. Maybe therefore it is not so difficult to be in contact with other peoples.

Sara: I do not think music in itself provides intercultural skills - but perhaps it infects the social and communicative skills so you easier develop these.

Learning competence

Carina: I think the participants are very motivated to learn because they constantly hear that it sounds better and better if they practice. I therefore believe that discipline and accountability of learning grow along.

Lise: When I look back on how much improvement within music has meant to me, I also know how the joy of learning - not only in relation to ones professional work, but also other things you deal with in life. I think mainly I've learned to work through my disciplined work with music.

Sara: If my playing did not represent a desire to improve all the time, I would not spend my time doing it. Playing should primarily be for the benefit of one self, but to learn - to become better is a very big part of it.

Fifth question: Which final recommendations do you have?

The teacher Carina: I would recommend the organizations to maintain the view that art is important for everyone - not just professionals. Therefore they must work to make politicians aware of the fact that access to art and culture is important as a modern welfare benefit.

16.2 Interviews by JSKD (SI)

Interviewer: Project leader Marjeta Turk, Deputy Director, JSKD.

Presentation of interviewees:

The learning provider Matjaž Šmalc (33) is theatre director and advisor at JSKD. Among his professional assignments is organisation of various educational courses: from one day and weekend seminars to weekly workshops and all year long theatre schools for young and adult theatre performers (older than 15 years). He leads youth theatre school, mentors and directs young and adult theatre groups. This interview is based on his work as education organiser.

The three learners were interviewed during the festival of youth theatres Vizije/Visions 2010 in Nova Gorica, and they were members of theatre group Kriplčki. All 3 are high school students in a Gymnasium in Slovenske Konjice. Their age is from 17 to 19 years. Peter (19) and Ajda (19) have been members of this theatre group in four years since entering high school, while Vesna (17) has been in the group for one year.

First question: What is the learning perspective, what benefits do the participants seek

All three learners find it important that their work in the theatre group relate to their own personal development. Knowledge, acquired during practice in theatre group, is used in private and professional – educational fields. It is presented in higher self esteem while displaying own knowledge in school, at presentations and displays of school work, during creation and defence of own opinions in various matters.

The learning provider, Matjaž mentioned, that the reasons for attendance at workshops, organised by JSKD, are various and depend on the age group of participants. The young ones (high school students and some university students) thrive for the broadest possible non-formal knowledge and as many diverse theatre experiences, while searching for novelty in all forms. They are interested in workshops with ever new themes, testing various theatre techniques. For many these workshops are preparations for entrance exams at the Academy for Theatre, Film and Television.

Matjaž also mentioned that older participants (over 20 years) are as a rule more profiled. Theatre is also a form of free time activity for them. High school students are usually members of project or school theatre groups, while elders are organised in cultural societies that have long term projects and advanced planning. They chose courses that can be of immediate use in their forthcoming performances. Theatre education is for young participants (15 – 20 years) mostly source of fun and life experiences, while mature participants view it as an investment to enhance quality of their performances.

Mentors of theatre groups think likewise, especially the ones, working with children and youth. Our schools for mentors and directors of theatre groups are the only theatre education besides Academy for Theatre available to them. We do not know of any case that primary school teacher would graduate from Academy just to lead school theatre group. Our courses are valued as a kind of formal education, because working as a leader, mentor or teacher of theatre classes is not voluntary activity, but part of teachers' professional obligations. Investment of their time and energy is much higher than eventual remuneration for their work. This is possible only because of their personal enthusiasm and renunciations that are comparable to amateur performers. Their expectations are much higher, because they must also 'satisfy' their employer (school) – payer of admission fee.

Second question: What is the learning outcome in general?

It was the opinion of Matjaž that each participant searches for some kind of formula for creating or improving theatre character, scene, and performance. Of course we show them such 'formulas',

but I do not believe in any general or universal system. We can present participants with various theatrical approaches, but nevertheless encourage them to combine them in their creative work. Participants are informed about diverse methods and systems and also shown heterogeneous techniques and skills such as physical theatre, circus, and pantomime. It is not our aim to change their habitual working pattern, but to enrich it by implementation of newly acquired skills.

Leaders of workshops are theatre experts, also conveying to participants their own personal experiences that are as important as theatre techniques and methods. We frequently change leaders of workshops to present participants with multifarious views and approaches to selected themes. Many participants return to workshops with the same theme, but different mentor, because of his dissimilar approach and view on the art of theatre.

Our workshops have certainly even deeper dimension: they are presented as a school of life for young participants and have social implications for elders. Cultural societies, where participants come from, are important factors in the process of individual socialisation. Supplementary education enhances quality of their work, broadens awareness of wider socio-political-communal context and improves their critical self-reflexion. High quality products (performances) also increase fame of such groups in community, because it is easy to identify with groups that operate in their milieu. Higher reputation of the group is reflected in higher self-esteem of individual members. Our workshops are always in service of amateur performers, not only in carrying out of artistic goals, but also and above all as promoters of individual's role in society.

Third question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding personal formation?

This learning dimension is here defined by six elements: authenticity, autonomy, reflexive knowledge, moral sense, aesthetic sense, and a versatile personal development.

Authenticity:

All three learners find that the most important facet of theatre practice is spontaneity: to show their real feelings and reactions, resulting in greater spontaneity in other 'live' roles and more gratifying satisfaction in life.

Autonomy:

Vesna, who joined the group in the last school year, has not been convinced that theatre practice can fortify her self esteem in adequate measure to transform world around her and always rely on her opinion. She stated that on many occasions she has adopted majority opinion and is not proud of it.

Ajda has quite different opinion: her self esteem has been very fortified in those four years of group participation, her self confidence has been improved and she has learned to defend her opinions even in cases when her interlocutors do not agree with her. Acquired abilities are especially suitable during regular school activities (laughter).

Peter has, like Vesna, the same feeling that theatre practice has not enhanced his potential for 'world' transformation. His self image is independent, self-confident, and daring, when in his opinion there is possibility to change current conditions or circumstances.

Reflexive knowledge

It is interesting that Vesna is the most self confident in this question, although she is the youngest. According to her self-evaluation she has broad span of diverse skills, abilities, and very good capacity for empathy. From childhood she has been confidant for all petty troubles of her human environment, while frequently no one has noticed her presence or her problems. This was the reason for her joining the theatre group, to research and develop personal possibilities of expressing herself.

Peter and Ajda are more modest in this matter; especially Peter is not convinced that theatre could offer him any broad or general knowledge of society and culture in general. He is convinced

that he has acquired broad knowledge of special themes – in classic literature, drama, Slovenian language, and self expression, but has enough self-criticism to acknowledge that he has already made only first steps in accomplishment of knowledge.

Moral sense

It has been already mentioned that Vesna stressed her emphatic nature and care for other people. For her is very important nature of society, where she lives, how people treat each other, conservation of nature, and responsible treatment of environment. She does not see her future in politics.

Ajda has told that during preparations for performance and in-depth analysis of various theatre texts lively debate has often developed in the group. Deliberations on main characters of performed or studied play have helped her to form opinion on selected topic or problem of society, where we live. For her it is important that surrounding world is also tolerant to the people, differing from normality or societal norms. Theatre processes have enabled her capacity for reception of diversity. She described the case of a boy, growing in socially problematic family (alcoholism), who joined the group: he was left alone at first, but was soon equal member of the group. During rehearsals he perceived their positive response thus becoming very reliable and conscientious – group raised his self esteem that was lacking in his home.

Aesthetic sense

All three agreed that aesthetics is essential part of theatre. It is not necessary that everything is beautiful to touch somebody; aesthetics of ugly, evil, and diabolical is equally important.

For Vesna and Ajda it is equally important to learn how to present certain experiences and emotions with body. Body language is for them even more important than text itself. Of course text and body must become one, if we wish to create functional performance, but physical preparations for the show are harder and more difficult to learn. Body response is often automatic and one needs a lot of practice to 'unlearn' it.

Peter jokingly mentioned that his aesthetic sense remained limited to cars and girls, but nevertheless improved his appreciation of aesthetic points of the performance.

Versatile personal development

Ajda and Peter think in the same manner: self-confidence is important for them, their judgement is based on knowledge, morality, and aesthetics, while Vesna perceives herself as quite self-confident, but not enough competent to successfully employ her emotions and mind, resulting in dissatisfaction with internal equilibrium.

Fourth question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding knowledge and skills?

This learning dimension is defined on the one hand by general knowledge and skills regarding human, societal and cultural conditions and values, and on the other hand by specific "professional" knowledge and skills in a cultural-artistic topic of interest, in this case theatre.

All three think in the same manner about their acquired knowledge and skills: they are at the very beginning of their theatre journey and learning process, acquiring only bare essentials of theatre language. Anyway they are planning to continue studying in the field of art. Ajda is preparing for entrance exams at the Academy for Theatre, Film and, Television, while Peter will further his studies at Humanities, where he plans to put his acquired skills to good use. Vesna has not made any plans for future yet, because she has two more years of high school in front of her, but will without doubt remain in the theatre group till the graduation.

All are of the same opinion that work in theatre group enhances some particular and general human values, forcing oneself to delve into one's own depth, to search for answers to social problems, to raise sensitivity for injustice in community. On the other side group empowers its members to think in a positive way while most of youth has nowadays quite a negative outlook on real-

ity. Responsible world outlook is reflected in the field of ecology, because clean environment is one of major concerns that will impact our future.

Vesna says that role of consoler and adviser to her friends and acquaintances fits her well. She is greatly added by the talent for observation and empathy for another's feelings. Theatre rehearsals enabled her to express her opinions and reactions in many different ways, adapting response to current interlocutor and improve comprehension of information.

Ajda is of the same opinion. For her it is more important to learn critical and concise expression in communications that does not insult interlocutors or put them in defensive position. Both, Ajda and Vesna, evaluates themselves as non-conflict personalities that have quite good reactions in conflict situations. Anyhow theatre and all aspects of theatre life have strong impact on personal development. Everybody in this field of art acquires broader view of society: limited and exclusive perspective that there is only one valid and normal manner of knowledge and thinking is gone and multifarious vista opens in front of one's eyes, and everyone must find for a personal opinion in each particular case. Awareness of social injustices is enhanced during playacting of beggars, poor and homeless people. The hardest role for Ajda was character of a mother that had lost her child in traffic accident; because she did not have her own children and even today she cannot comprehend lose of a child. Actor must use all his previous experiences and emotions during character creation.

Vesna is certain that she will put to good use her developing faculty for make-believe and manipulating other people – of course in a positive way. If somebody wants to achieve his goals, he must have adequate abilities to enrapture others with his ideas. Ability for expressing one's emotions is of great help in this endeavour.

As far as knowledge of general culture is concerned, all three of them have outstanding recollections of performances on tour at national and international festivals that mean a lot to them. They are glad to show their work outside their limited local environment and share experiences with other theatre groups, encountering various people and different cultures.

Fifth question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding competences?

This learning dimension is here defined by six elements: social, communicative, creative and innovative, self-management, intercultural, and learning competences.

The discussion was held in such a way that in previous questions we already touched the abilities that participants acquired in the theatre group. Maybe we can put great stress upon enhanced communication prowess, incited creativity, innovative thinking, and ability for self-scheduling that is very important for Ajda and Peter in the graduation year from high school (they have many additional school assignments in preparation for graduation exams). Peter mentioned that even on the day of interview (at the festival) they had two school hours of Slovenian language. It is extremely important to properly schedule assignments and then stick to the agenda. Self-discipline and respect for work of others are priorities that proved very important in group activity and all members had to 'learn' them.

Sixth question: Which final recommendations do you have?

For Matjaž the major successes are realised in integrally conceived workshops and schools. Participants usually come with erroneous notion that few days long workshop will convey them the same amount of knowledge as four years of academic studies. In recent years we have conceived integral schools for actors, directors, and mentors with courses that otherwise would not be attended. These very courses (physical theatre, speech technique...) are prerequisite for creativity in theatre, because they convey to actor and director awareness of body as a vehicle of expression. Longer educational forms give participants more knowledge, awareness of complexity of theatre art, and a need for permanent life-long education and personal advancement.

For Ajda and Peter, it is important that high schools, even the ones that are not specialised in cultural activity, promote such practice of pupils and incorporate it in school curricula. Although their school gives strong support for theatre group, both feel that sport is preferred extracurricular activity. Other personal growth enhancing activities with large additional knowledge are subordinated to sport. For instance students are excused from classes for all sports competitions on various levels, while theatre festivals and meetings are often treated as a form of entertainment. This should be changed by all means.

The most important result of theatre or any other form of art is multidisciplinary approach. Practice of any artistic activity enormously improves ability for interconnectivity of various fields and application of knowledge from one field to other domains. You can simply perceive the 'entire' picture.

16.3 Interviews by Kunstfactor (NL)

Interviewer: Project member Lotte Volz, adviser for Kunstfactor

Presentation of interviewees:

The learning provider, Maike van der Vring is a 33 year old woman with a bachelor degree in theatre and education. She works with various groups and does different (education) projects. She provides basic theatre courses and makes theatre productions with young adults (15-18), students (18-30) and autistic youth. She's also participating as a coach in programs for managers and long-term unemployed to refine their presentation, regain self-esteem, etc. As the Grundtvig project is about adult education, we concentrate this interview on her teaching of (young) adults.

The learner Rens Dautzenberg (RD) is a 22 year old student (major: economics, minor: social sciences). Rens has had music lessons (drum) as a child and as a 17-year old discovered theatre (both acting and writing) by participating in a cabaret group in high school. As a student he participated in several theatre courses: basis theatre, advanced theatre and theatre sports (improvisation). He also joined a theatre sports group.

The learner Iris Deppe (ID) is a 25 year old woman who works as a receptionist at a cultural centre and has her own company in design and illustrating (has a bachelor degree in illustration). She grew up in the Netherlands Antilles where she started dancing as a child. She tried different styles but mostly did classical ballet and jazz ballet. At the moment she is participating in a street dance class.

First question: What is the learning perspective, what benefits do the participants seek?

The learning provider, Maike stated that 80 % of the participants in her theatre class join because they see theatre as a (new) hobby they'd like to try or develop more. The majority doesn't have the ambition to become a professional player. 20 % directly admits that they want to learn to present themselves in a better, less insecure way. These are mostly students who have difficulties standing 'in the spotlight' during a paper presentation or a debate. For the latter group, participation theatre classes relates to the sphere of life in the formal educational system as student and future employee. They choose theatre deliberate, to develop skills which can be used during studying or working. However, these participants have chosen the indirect way (theatre) and not a form of formal training, so there must be other spheres of life important in their application.

Maike assumes that all her participants apply for reasons in the personal sphere (like wanting to feel more comfortable in their own body, expressing themselves) and obviously for social reasons (the sphere of the fellow human being). Otherwise they wouldn't join a group of people and share intimate moments during the theatre class. Sometimes Maike thinks the sphere of life as a responsible citizen is not that obvious in the reasons for participating. Of course in theatre class

learn skills which they can use in this sphere, but this isn't a sphere in which they would probably give priority to. As a learning provider, Maike finds it very important to first establish a good and safe atmosphere in the group, where all participants respect each other, can be themselves and feel comfortable (even comfortable enough to experiment and make mistakes). Therefore she gives priority to the personal sphere of life, and the sphere of life as a fellow human being in her classes.

The participants both explain in which spheres of life they mainly use the learning outcome of their art education.

Rens: I choose the role of student/employee, because through theatre I have fewer difficulties with presenting myself and I feel comfortable to adopt certain roles. For example, when I was the chairman of the student board, I had different roles: be a manager and delegate tasks, be a fellow student, have fun and organize activities, and be professional in contact with other boards, professors, etc. I also think through theatre-sports I learned to think quick and come up with ideas. I can use that as a student/employee.

I also think that theatre is beneficial in the sphere of 'modern man'. For me it is an important outlet, it helps me express my feelings and relax. When I'm stressed for exams, I don't have much time for other things, but I won't miss a theatre class because it gives me the chance to relax and become tranquil. When I became involved in theatre at the age of 17, I found it a discovery and it made me feel really satisfied.

Iris: I definitely choose 'Modern Man', because I feel dancing as something I only do for myself. It gives me inner peace and satisfaction. Of course, dancing in a group also involves contact with others, and therefore I think that I could use the learning outcome of dance class in the sphere of life as a fellow human being as well. But the main sphere will be Modern Man / my inner self.

Second question: How do you see the dimensions of learning in general?

We went through the three dimensions of learning and discussed every element separately. The learning provider, Maike was asked to illustrate which elements are present in her course and in which way they could be seen as learning results. Finally she was asked to mark the elements she would prioritize during class.

In general, Maike stated that for her as a learning provider the most important learning goals are in the area of *personal formation* and *competences*. The majority of her pupils don't have the skills and ambition to be a professional actor and therefore to really learn the profession of theatre isn't the main goal. Theatre is an effective method to reach goals in the area of personal formation and competencies.

Third question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding personal formation?

Authenticity

Maike, learning provider: An example - where authenticity comes in - is improvisation in theatre. By learning to improvise, participants get used to being confident while trying to explore the unknown. In this process, spontaneity is vital: they have to feel free to try anything that pops into their heads. As a teacher, I'm trying to show them what beauty can spring from their spontaneous ideas, humour and vitality. Acting can sometimes be hard but I stimulate my pupils to explore their creativity. Though it's difficult to say whether theatre is giving autonomy a boost, Maike is convinced that her pupils really gain more self-esteem, etc., also outside the theatre class in work and personal relationships.

Both of the participants state this element as very important in their motivation to participate.

Rens: Theatre gives me satisfaction and contributes to my joy of life. Especially improvising during theatre sports encourages spontaneity. It makes me feel 'at home' in myself.

Iris: Authenticity is definitely a learning outcome of my dance education. I learned to have confidence in my body, feel at home in it. Dancing boosts my self-esteem and joy of life.

Autonomy

Maïke: Theatre is about working with what you got: body, voice, face, emotions. In theatre class, pupils have to deal with themselves and are learning to dare use their own power and values. In the case of a theatre production in which the narrative is composed by the participants' own experience, it is especially vital that participants dare to take their stand. In theatre class, pupils increase their confidence, e.g. by experiencing they become better actors.

Rens: Participating in theatre helped me to be confident about my own values and choices. My fellow students at the faculty of economics are mostly not really involved in cultural activities, but I feel confident to tell them about my passion. I even invite them to come to plays and a lot of them are enthusiastic.

Iris: I don't really feel this element, but I imagine that dancing makes me more self-confident and gives certain courage. When you dance you're vulnerable in a way and by dancing I'm getting more comfortable being vulnerable so you could say that gives me general courage of life.

Reflexive knowledge

Maïke: This element can be found in the different roles that participants play in theatre class. By playing various roles, participants learn to see things from different perspectives. They become aware of their own behaviour, values, etc. and the way that differs from others. As a teacher Maïke continuously stimulates pupils to reflect on their actions, by stopping the exercise or scene and look back to what happened there, in which way the pupils reacted on each other, etc.

Rens: I think that I have a different view of life thanks to theatre. I think I find a great career less important than others, because I see the richness of other things like theatre and music. I think that through creative activities, I'm more complete and balanced and have more ability to reflect on my own life.

Iris: I don't think this element is present for me. Dancing is more a way to relax and to give me joy. It's more physical than psychological. The fact that most dance courses I participated in, are about imitation rather than your own improvisation. I'm therefore not encouraged to seek for reflexion in dancing.

Moral sense

Maïke thinks this element is not very present as an outcome of theatre lessons, but certainly lies underneath. In class participants working together in a group must develop their moral sense to some extent. By working as a group, they have to make compromises and look for the best way to keep everyone satisfied. Maïke thinks this element is not a main purpose in her teaching.

Rens: This element is no priority in theatre, and I doubt if it's a learning outcome of it. Maybe theatre can be effective in 'keeping people from doing bad things', as a weapon against laziness or something. But I don't think you'll become a better citizen or person by participating. The key word solidarity however, could be present in theatre because you form a group with other individuals. You'll learn to trust the group and maybe develop empathy.

Iris: The key word solidarity is the clearest for me. In dancing class you are participating in a group, you all have the same goal. Close to stage performances I can feel our bond grow, a lot more than during rehearsals. On stage, it feels like we're one. Maybe, this feeling of being part of something bigger also occurs in other contexts (work, etc.).

Aesthetic sense

Maïke states: "*This element is constantly there, it's what theatre is about!*". In acting, one seeks an aesthetic form for the content one wants to communicate, by words, intonation, posture, expression, etc. In her classes she provokes participants to seek for the beauty, and experiment with dif-

ferent ways to communicate the beauty with the audience. Participants are asked to find different moods and feelings inside of themselves, and use that for acting.

Both the participators prioritize aesthetic sense in art education.

Rens: This element is vital in theatre! Participating in theatre asks for sensitivity for moods, images, expressions. I definitely learned to seek beauty in theatre class. Most teachers focus on this aspect by asking us what was beautiful in a dialogue or exercise. And they stimulate us to always question what we can do to make our acting more expressive. I think that I really learned to see the beauty in everyday things. When I was on a trip with fellow students economics, it seemed like I was more moved by things like a beautiful view or expressive people. I think that theatre contributed to that ability.

Iris: I think dancing reinforced my aesthetic sense. During class, we are trying to communicate and express emotions. Most of the times, the choreography is made in very close relation to the music. The teacher emphasizes that every part of our body, face and mind should express these emotions.

Versatile personal development

Maike thinks this element, about 'being a whole person', is not an obvious purpose or learning outcome of theatre. However, she sees growth in participants during class and from her own experience she knows that theatre made her life more complete. It is difficult to relate this element to theatre activities, but to enter into a part gives you a different view on your own life and society.

Both participants think this element is basically the sum of the previous elements of personal formation. In the spectre of personal formation, both of the participants state that they prioritize *authenticity* and *aesthetic sense*.

Fourth question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding personal formation?

As a teacher and director, Maike thinks this dimension is the one that triggers participants to join a theatre course. Theatre has this air of glamour and high culture, and it is attractive to be part of that. On the other hand, participants are mostly realistic and don't have the ambition to be a professional in theatre. This doesn't mean they aren't serious and set themselves learning goals in this art form.

Maike's main guideline for lessons is to be found in the dimension of knowledge and skills. Although theatre is a great way to develop other competencies and skills, it stays a theatre class in which different kinds of the profession are taught. But considering that most of the pupils are not planning on starting a professional life in theatre, she recons that the two other dimensions of learning are more important in the end. These dimensions will really be taken outside of theatre class into real life, professions, relationships, etc.

General humanistic knowledge and skills

Maike: In theatre courses the participants study other people's motives, reactions (both verbal and physical) and thereby get a better understanding of fellow human beings. It is not necessary for participants to really have experienced what they play, but they learn how to be sensitive and find fitting emotions for acting specific parts. This does not guarantee they become insightful communicators, but certainly will help developing such humanistic skills.

Rens: I could say that this element is important for me. In theatre you enter into a part and feel empathy for the character you play. To grow into a role you have to observe other people, the way they talk, move and express anger, happiness, etc. Studying this can also be used in real life. I think that theatre gave me an open manner and a good eye for human characters.

Iris: I think dancing helped me developing these skills. I experienced group dynamics: who's the cock of the walk, leader figure, the silent one, etc. In dancing classes, a lot of participants want

to be in the spotlight and you sense that. I learned to deal with that kind of tensions. Participating in dance classes made me see how groups are formed, how working in a group goes and what is expected from me. I can apply these skills to fit in other groups as well. However, for me this group thing isn't a priority at all for participation in dance education.

General societal knowledge and skills

Maïke: During theatre lessons, participants learn to present themselves, so they will be stronger in communicating their own ideas about social issues, etc. But to say that theatre activities make better citizens is too much. Learning to communicate ideas is not the same as to be more engaged to societal issues. Theatre has more effect on the personal level she thinks. Maybe socially engaged theatre could be an exception: such plays can make people think of society and politics and maybe will result in a more active role in their own environment. You could find this kind of effects in community theatre.

Rens: I think this element is more developed and prioritized in my study economics than in theatre. Maybe working on a play with a strong societal engaged subject will do something, but acting in general, no.

Iris: I don't see this element as an outcome of dance classes.

General cultural knowledge and skills

Maïke: Although there is an important social aspect in my theatre courses, I don't think that theatre evidently contributes to cultural knowledge and skills. Individual participants learn to work as a group and gain a certain knowledge and skill in cooperating with people from different backgrounds, but they can learn that in other groups as well. In some plays there is an explicit focus on cultural issues. For example, I'm directing a play for young adults, which stresses the differences between and prejudices about an upper and lower class family. By participating, my pupils will get the opportunity to develop thoughts about cultural differences, because they need to enter into their part as a member of one of the families. I've also seen plays in which women from different migrant cultures talk about universal subjects (giving labour, losing a friendship). I can imagine those actresses really learned something about the values and habits in other cultures. For me as a teacher, I find it important that each individual in my class is respected, regardless his or her cultural background. But I would be exaggerating to say that this element plays a big role in my teaching.

Rens: This element is not clearly present in theatre I think. I find this element important in general life, but don't specially prioritize this in theatre education. Nevertheless, I can imagine that theatre made me more open minded and less amazed by other cultures and different behaviour. Maybe a general skill, I developed in theatre, is the ability to see that new/strange things can grow into success or beauty.

Iris: Because I grew up in the Netherlands Antilles, it's difficult to divide this multicultural environment from the dancing lessons. Looking at the class I'm at this moment, I don't see this element present. I also don't prioritize it as a learning outcome, although I appreciate working together with people of different cultural backgrounds. The only thing, I can think of, is that through different dance styles (salsa, urban, classical ballet, jazz, etc.) you'll get to know other cultural traditions and learn to appreciate them.

Knowledge of a specific art based topic

Maïke: Theory and 'hard knowledge' play a minor role in my classes. In basic theatre classes I sometimes explain a method (like Brechtian theatre), but I deliberately try to be more practical than theoretical. Of course the amount of theory and jargon increases in a course for the advanced. A lot of them are interested, visit the theatre regularly and read the reviews, so sometimes we talk about that during or after class. But I never use books or give them homework.

Theatre is different than formal learning in schools and I'd like to keep it my participants' hobby and passion instead of an obligation.

Rens: In the theatre education, I had and have now, knowledge is of minor importance. Sometimes techniques or genres are named and explained, but always as a mean to an end. Still I think that theatre class raised my interest in theatre in general and stimulated to visit plays from other amateurs or professional theatre companies. Now that I think of it, when playing *Romeo & Juliette*, of course something about the context is explained. Thereby you're constructing knowledge of theatre.

Iris: In shorter courses this element plays no role at all. In the more intensive courses it was used as a means to an end, so only dedicated to the specific choreography we were practicing. For me this element is definitely no priority, because I dance for relaxation rather than become a theoretical dance expert.

Skills in a specific art based topic

Maïke: My pupils develop their skills in acting during class. They learn to use different techniques, like timing and *mise-en-scène*. But there certainly is a limit in learning these skills. Some of them are in my class for years but never really learn these skills and have to use tricks to 'fake'. Others have a natural talent and get these skills in theatre very quick. Seen from the outside, this element is probably the main focus in my classes. From there, theatre is the goal, the reason my pupils are gathering every week. My purpose is to let my pupils develop their skills in acting, and to recognize their talent. After finishing a course, I want to see a positive development.

Both of the participants indicate this element as the main element of importance in artistic education.

Rens: To learn the skills of theatre (and when I was a child, music) was for me the main priority to enrol in theatre courses. In my music education learning went in a closely set way, so that my progression was pretty clear. In theatre class there are also skills to learn, but they occur in a more subtle way. This makes it sometimes harder to see my capabilities improve. Although I choose to become a bachelor in economics, I still think that maybe one day I'll try to enrol in a professional drama education. Therefore developing the right skills is very important to me.

Iris: This element is of major significance! As I stated earlier, I dance for my own peace of mind (and body) but that doesn't mean I don't want to improve my skills. The course, I'm participating in now, isn't defiant enough for me and I can sense that my motivation is decreasing. So that definitely proves that learning skills is one of my main priorities.

Didactic of the art based topic

Maïke: I think this element is of some importance in class, because the didactic methods can contribute a lot to the learning outcome and the ambience for learning in the group. I think that participants in my theatre courses find out for themselves which didactic method suits them best. I'm always using different methods, situations and individuals often need another approach. Sometimes a more daring/provocative method is the thing my pupils need to rise up, although they could experience a slight uncomfortable feeling. Sometimes they are doing better when I choose an exercise they're already familiar with.

I find it important for my students to develop a certain responsibility towards their learning. Of course, for the majority it is just a hobby, but I expect them to have some ambition regarding their acting. I think participants in theatre class learn to learn what works for them and use those methods to achieve the best result. For example, some students can act in a natural way by staying close to their own emotions, while others need to think larger and imagine being somebody else.

Rens: In the different drama education I had, I learned which didactic style I preferred. It's interesting that sometimes the styles I don't really prefer lead to the best results. I think the lessons

gave me an idea of my strengths and weaknesses and pointed out clear that I'm responsible for my own development. I also did productions in which we had to come up with our own ideas and organize the whole performance (décor, sounds, and light) ourselves. This made me feel responsible for the success. I think that theatre may even help me decide whether a specific ambience/environment suits me. For example, as a student I saw a lot of company presentations (on job events etc.). I think that I can feel if these companies would suit me as an employee.

Iris: In some of the dance classes I participated in, we rehearsed a lot, so I had a certain discipline and determination to dance. There was no need to practice a lot at home, but I often did. I think dancing made me feel responsible for my own learning. Now that I have a different focus in my career, I'm more casual about dancing because it serves only my relaxation. I don't think this didactic element is a very important goal for me to achieve with dancing.

Fifth question: How do you see the learning outcome regarding competences?

Social competence

Maike states that participants are developing social competencies through theatre class for sure. To facilitate this process, Maike tries to create a respectful, stimulating ambience in the group. She sees that after the first lessons, the individual participants are more and more acting as a group: make cooperative decisions, feel responsible for each other (for example, when one isn't paying attention, others will correct this person, or if one is feeling insecure, the others are comforting him/her). Maike thinks that by learning to work together in a theatre group, participants develop social skills they can also use in other contexts, e.g. in a work environment or in friendships and other relations.

Both Rens and Iris see social competence as an important learning outcome of theatre and dance.

Rens: I believe that in theatre I developed my social competence. I sometimes was a bit timid and because theatre encouraged me to be more outgoing and good with people. As the chairman of the student board I had to work together with a lot of different people. I had to give speeches, motivate others, take the lead in decision-making, etc. It helped that I practiced a lot in different theatre roles and learned to improvise. To develop social competencies was not a reason for me to start with theatre, but now I certainly see it as a big benefit.

Iris: In dancing I learned to get along with my fellow dancers, whom of course I didn't choose myself. Dancing thereby taught me to deal with a 'given' situation, randomly composed groups. I learned how to work together in a purposeful manner. I don't dance to enhance my social competencies, but that doesn't alter the fact that I see it as a significant learning outcome.

Communicative competence

Maike stated that in theatre class the focus is constantly on communication: within yourself, with the other actors and with the audience. In class the emphasis is often on different ways to communicate, verbal, physical or through facial expression. Not only they learn using their own voice and body for communication, but also observe other people expressions and communicate with them. So Maike thinks that through theatre participants definitely learn to communicate with different sorts of people. This skill they obviously can use outside of the theatre context.

Both participants see communicative competence as a clear and useful learning outcome of their art education.

Rens: This element is certainly present in theatre. I learned to express myself in various ways and observe how other people express themselves. Communicating by theatre gives me pleasure and I can feel the same in communicating in general. I like to be with different people and reach a good level of communication.

Iris: When dancing, you communicate with your body. You have to keep your mind on the job and concentrate. Possibly, through dancing I learned to communicate using my body outside

dancing class as well. My friends say that they can ‘read’ my posture and see how I feel. I have this ability too, and think I have become more sensitive for non verbal communication because of my dance education. I see this sensitivity as a very useful learning outcome.

Creative and innovative competence

Maike: I’m teaching my pupils to make choices constantly. As their director I’m supervising, but participants can bring forward their own ideas and fantasies and are free to interact with other players. Thereby, they learn to create ideas and to trust on their creativity. This ability will be useful in other situations as well, e.g. as an outside-of-the-box thinking employee. Through theatre, people often have the guts to try new things and are willing to take the risk of failure.

Rens: I value this element highly as a learning outcome. I learned to solve problems in a creative way. In theatre-sports I am encouraged to use impulsive thoughts to make short stories. Theatre strokes a well of creativity, which I can apply in any context.

Iris: My dance education has always been about imitation, so there wasn’t a space for my own creativity really. However, dance is inspiring and I did all kinds of dances at home just for fun. I therefore think that dance enhances creativity but it’s difficult to say, if this is really transferable to the everyday life.

Competence of self-management

Maike: Self-management is certainly an element of my theatre courses, because each player has to work towards some goal. Of course, the obvious goal is the stage performance, but I teach them that acting concerns setting goals in every dialogue (or even in a monologue). Even in improvising, you have to work towards a certain point by taking different steps. I don’t think the ability of self-management will be a learning outcome which always occurs outside of the theatre context, but I think the rehearsal scheme, the smaller goals inside every dialogue, will learn participants how higher goals can be achieved.

Rens: The keyword risk-willing is applicable as a learning outcome of theatre. By putting myself in vulnerable positions in theatre, I learn to take risks and sometimes find out it’s ok to fail. I also learn to set goals and take the steps to achieve them. It’s hard to tell, if my competence in self-management is really an outcome of theatre, but I guess it did contribute.

Iris: This has never been an important learning outcome for me, because I never thought of it as a learning outcome. But when asked now, I can conclude that through dancing I learned to see how other people saw me. I developed self-awareness, because I was confronted with myself in the studio mirrors all the time. I also experienced goal oriented planning, because I got to see all the preparations for our stage performances.

Intercultural competence

Maike doesn’t really see that this competence is a learning outcome or a priority in her theatre class. Tolerance and respect are keywords in class as well, but those are more on an individual level than a cultural. However, it’s imaginable that respect of other individuals will result in respecting other cultures. This element is not given priority in Maike’s classes.

Rens: As I stated earlier, I don’t think intercultural competence is a learning outcome. Maybe I’m more open-minded and that comes in helpful in intercultural contacts.

Iris: In my experience this element isn’t present in dance education.

Learning competence

Maike thinks that through theatre participants develop learning competencies. They experience that they make progress through exercise and by trying new things. They certainly have joy in learning theatre skills, and maybe thereby learn that learning actually can be fun. For most of them, this probably is a different way of learning than what they experienced in school or work. In theatre participants carry responsibility for their own learning (and others’ as well) and this drive

could be present in other contexts too. I see for example that some students are not really gifted in theatre, but have lots of self-discipline and therefore make progress. I can imagine they have that same determination in study and work, but the question is, if this just belongs to their character or something they developed during theatre lessons.

Rens: I have enhanced my learning competence by theatre. For example, I know what I find important in life. That's not only my career but also other things I'd like to do and learn. As I said at 4.2.6, I'm more aware of my learning style and the didactic style that suits me. Responsibility, discipline and motivation are also important keywords. I don't explicitly focus on this as a learning objective in theatre, but I think it's an important competence because it takes you further in life.

Iris: I think cultural activities in general are about making choices and being responsible for the way you spend your pastime. I think dance education specifically made me more open for change and development, for trying new things. I gained enough confidence in myself and after I had one good experience, the other ones followed. I learned that trying different dance styles makes learning fun and widens my horizon.

Sixth question: Which final recommendations do you have?

Maïke: As a teacher I must say that despite all the other learning outcomes, I think the most important element to communicate and promote is the art based skill. However, it should be widely known and acknowledged that art (in my case theatre) can make you a whole person. For example, by increasing your self-esteem, feeling comfortable with one-self, communicating with others. I recommend the learning providers to pay attention to other learning outcomes (than art based skill) but not to explicitly refer to them. Teachers have to be sensitive in feeling these elements and to stimulate their pupils to develop their competencies etc.

Lotte asked the two participants, what the culture associations should prioritize in the future learning activities?

Rens: In general these activities should be easy accessible and have a 'low profile' to encourages people to enrol. People have to be persuaded to dare, and then the rest follows naturally. To reach the goal of more participation in the arts, it's important to start early. In primary education it's easy for pupils to get used to art as a fun and healthy way of spending your time. School can provide a safe environment to learn.

Iris: I think it depends on the age of the (potential) participants. Children might have more interest in social aspects, and the playfulness, but with adults I should also prioritize the skills in the specific art discipline. I think besides these skills, you could prioritize the authenticity that is stimulated by art.

Finally Lotte asked which learning outcome the cultural associations should promote.

Rens: I'm convinced that art education is making your life more complete. It gives you self confidence, improves your achievements and makes you communicate better. But promoting this message may sound a bit arrogant. You wouldn't want art education to have an air of 'therapy'. For instance, when you want to promote that theatre is great to become more confident, etc. there's the risk that it gets an image of 'hobby for insecure people'. In short: just make sure everyone gets in touch with art and the rest will follow. Promoting that you'll learn how to write, dance, act, draw, etc. is the best message.

Iris: Promoting the skills you'll learn is still the most important word to spread. I also think that to ascribe all the good things we just discussed to art, people will get sceptical. They have to find out for themselves. To the government it's of course great to have some research results on how art is good for you.

VI. Summary and perspectives

17. Summary

17.1 Answering the problem formulation

The problem

The problem formulation of this survey was based on two very different understandings of the meaning or *raison d'être* of amateur culture. On one side from those active in amateur art and voluntary cultural associations, who will emphasise that they can do something they want to do, something that rejoices them and become revived and enlightened by. On the other side from the political and administrative representatives of the state, municipalities and market, who in contrast typically will appreciate the amateur culture, when it provides useful means to solve a variety of system problems. In short we can say that cultural actives focus on the core services of the voluntary cultural associations, while politicians, administrators and businessmen focus on the peripheral services.

The overarching problem was hereby a mismatch between two very different understandings of the voluntary cultural activities and the learning that takes place here, indicating an overall contrast between a humanistic and an instrumental understanding, and derivative contradictions in the understanding of the civil society, the learning and the cultural activity, which the voluntary cultural associations are taking part in.

The lead questions were thus, how one can determine the overall discrepancy between the humanistic and instrumental discourse, and how one can determine the derivative conflicting discourses regarding voluntary culture? This report has presented theoretical and empirical answers to these lead questions, with the aim in general to produce a comprehensive conceptual frame of the meaning and *raison d'être* of the voluntary cultural activities, and in particular to clarify the guidelines for a learning methodology that can document and value the learning outcome in amateur art and voluntary cultural activities.

Guiding principles for the survey

The guiding principle for answering the problem formulation has been that we are confronted with a paradigm dispute about the key discourses contained in the provision of amateur art and voluntary cultural activities. In general we have a paradigm dispute between a humanistic and an instrumental discourse, which includes the basic understandings of man, society and culture. At the same time, this paradigm dispute also appears within the sub discourses of civil society, life-long learning and artistic activity.

The line of sights for this survey is that the theoretical analysis and empirical evidence together can support a conceptual framework with the ability to combine on the one hand the Critical Theory with its focus on the communicative rationality of the life world, and on the other hand a civil society theory that points out the value of a free and independent learning capacity, and a learning theory that incorporates the *Bildung* dimension, and a modern aesthetic theory with a humanistic reference. This combined conceptual framework can provide a provision of amateur culture as an area of societal activity that represents basic values of free human fulfilment and an aesthetical learning with a high level of personal and democratic formation.

Furthermore, this conceptual framework can generally put new light on the core services within amateur culture and offer new ways to profile the area in a wider context of cultural policy and educational policy; and it may in particular provide a basis for the development of a concep-

tual learning framework for documentation and valuation of the learning outcomes, which manages to incorporate the perspectives of a Bildung theory.

During the project, it has become ever clearer to us that there is a strong need of a research strategy in the field of amateur culture that can combine aesthetic theory, learning theory and civil society theory in a context of critical theory, and at the same time have the ability to incorporate the aims of lifelong learning, which the Council and the Parliament have adopted as supranational legislation for all Member States.¹ The survey of this project has therefore also the aim to contribute to a research strategy that can combine these different theoretical elements and goals.

The second main section outlines the theoretical framework. Chapter 3 presents the meta-theoretical approach, which is used in the subsequent surveys. This framework of understanding has reference to Critical Theory, and especially Habermasian discourses, but it is also supplemented by pedagogical theories with reference to Neo-humanistic and Grundtvigian Bildung-theory.

Chapter 4 outlines the crucial socioeconomic changes in recent decades that have paved the way for the instrumental paradigm shift in the perception of civil society, learning and culture. These underlying international changes are determined by the triumphal progress of neoliberalism and the derivative progress of New Public Management.

Chapter 5 presents the paradigm dispute about lifelong learning with the goal to promote a humanistic pedagogical discourse. The agenda of lifelong learning has been overlaid by a vocational competence thinking, which focuses on employability and economic competitiveness and human beings as employee or employer (as bourgeois). Alternatively, we wish to promote the humanistic and democratic views of the classical liberal adult education that focuses on man as a fellow human being and active citizen (as l'homme and citoyen). At the same time the aesthetic experiences and art-based learning need to get a more central position in a holistic approach of learning.

Chapter 6 presents the paradigm dispute about art and culture with the goal to promote a humanistic and democratic learning view of art and culture, including the area of amateur art and voluntary cultural activities. The agenda of art and culture has also been overlaid by an instrumental discourse where the former basic principle of arm-length is endangered. Alternatively, we wish to promote the classical Nordic (and to a large extent European) cultural model from the second half of the 20th century and supplement it with an aesthetical oriented learning theory.

Chapter 7 presents the paradigm dispute about civil society with the goal to promote the core values of civil rights and liberties and a free civil learning capacity with reference to the classical European traditions of Enlightenment and Bildung. The importance of civil society should not be reduced to its possible contributions to democratic participation, social inclusion and cultural cohesion; because civil society also constitutes a privileged area of personal fulfilment with reference to personal formation and free aesthetical experiences. Civil society provides a social sphere in which free human activity can be developed as an end in itself; and this opportunity is an essential characteristic of an autonome life and a free society.

The third main section outlines the learning methodology that is applied in the empirical surveys and developed for the web-based tools of learning valuation. Chapter 8 presents the basic learning concepts, and chapter 9 presents the applied learning terminology.

The fourth main section unfolds the empirical data of the survey that focuses on the aims of the cultural activities with particular reference to the EU's main aims for lifelong learning as well as

¹ The European Parliament and the Council: Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning, 2006/962/EC.

the learning outcome in amateur art and voluntary cultural activities with reference to a humanistic learning theory.

Chapter 10 presents the methodology of the questionnaires. Chapter 11 presents the results of the questionnaire for the members of the project consortium. Chapter 12 and 13 presents the results of the questionnaires for respectively the learning providers and learners, and chapter 14 outlines the relations between the learning providers and learners valuation of the learning aims and outcomes.

Chapter 15 and 16 presents the empirical data of the interviews with the learning providers and learners from the organisations of the partnership circle. The interviews emphasise in accordance with the results of the questionnaires that the representatives from the amateur culture give priority to humanistic learning aims and rejects instrumental views and values, while they at the same are familiar with the perspective of a learning theory that includes personal formation as well as knowledge and skills and transversal competencies.

The final fifth main section present in chapter 17 a summary of the results of the theoretical and empirical surveys, and the final chapter 18 brings perspectives on the results, where the rationale of the voluntary cultural associations may be to bring a humanistic outlook on the agenda for the general ideological political debate and especially for the cultural political debate.

17.2 Messages from the survey

The common tendencies of the questionnaires for the project leaders, the learning providers and learners as well as the interviews can be summarised as followed:

1. In relation to EUs five main goals of lifelong learning the respondent groups stated the highest priority to learning aims with reference to the communicative rationality in the lifeworld such as personal fulfilment, active citizenship and partly cultural cohesion, while the learning aim of employability and partly social inclusion with reference to the instrumental-strategic rationality in the system world get a lower priority. The respondent groups thus emphasises a more humanistic view on lifelong learning.
2. The respondent groups recognise the different learning needs in the main live spheres, and they thereby recognise the importance of a learning theory that focuses on "curriculum in context". The involved emphasise that the most important life spheres for their amateur activities are the personal and civil sphere and not the formal studies or work life.
3. The learning methodology with three dimensions and related elements with key attributes has proved to be meaningful for the respondent groups, and it must be pointed out that especially the dimension of personal formation has stayed the course, even though the European main stream learning theories don't incorporate this dimension (of Bildung).
4. Regarding the dimension of personal formation it can be seen that
 - This dimension is assessed as having the overall highest learning outcome, both by the learners and the learning providers.
 - The element of authenticity has a high priority especially for the young learners. It is interesting because this is an element, which is typical underestimated in the learning theories even in the theories with reference to Bildung, where autonomy is in focus.
 - The three elements of cognitive, moral and aesthetic judgement (with reference to the three main forms of communicative reason) make sense for the respondent groups.
 - The element of "the whole person" (versatile personal development) or better "personal integration" is seen as perhaps the most important outcome of amateur culture.

5. Regarding the dimension of knowledge and skills it can be seen that
 - This dimension is assessed as having a slightly lower learning outcome than personal formation, both by the learners and the learning providers.
 - Even though the specific artistic subject or cultural area of interest gets the highest valuation as one should expect, the general knowledge of human societal and cultural conditions also get a high valuation as an important learning outcome, both in the current learning activities and as a priority for the future learning offerings.
 - The concrete artistic knowledge and skills is important for promoting the amateur culture activity and important for the learners, when they choose this activity, but at the same time they achieve a broader learning outcome of general knowledge, when they have joined in.
6. Regarding the dimension of competencies it can be seen that
 - This dimension is assessed as having a slightly lower learning outcome than personal formation, by the learners as well as the learning providers.
 - All elements are with minor variations seen as important by all the involved. It may be a surprise that the creative and innovative competence do not get a higher score than the other elements.
 - Especially competences are recognised by the EU-system and the political decision makers and have a high priority in the main stream learning debate. Because the idea is that these transversal competencies acquired in one learning area (here by informal art activities/ non-formal art education) can be transferred to and used in other areas such as formal studies and work life.

The survey shows that the learning concept of three dimensions gives meaning for the learning providers and learners in the amateur culture or voluntary cultural sector; and it highlights other parts of the learning, than the main stream learning theory and their tools for assessments can provide. And this broader learning concept has at the same time been substantiated or supported by a learning perspective on the different life spheres and life roles (as a modern man in the personal sphere, as a fellow human being in the civil sphere, as a citizen in the public sphere and as a employee in the work life – as *l’homme, citoyen and bourgeois*).

This differentiation of the learning perspectives emphasises the needs of an effective system world as well as communicative life world that ensure a high learning capacity in civil society. The two worlds cannot do without each other. But the instrumental rationality rooted in the system worlds of the market and state has a tendency to colonize the communicative rationality of the life world, even though the system depends on a free life world, because its three main functions - to ensure cultural meaning, social solidarity and personal identity – cannot be produced commercially or administratively.

An important prerequisite for a rich life world is a civil society with a strong liberal adult education and a comprehensive sector of free voluntary associations in which people can develop their communicative reason and form themselves as humans and citizens. Because a well-functioning society has not only a need for updated employees but also for active citizens and enlightened fellow human beings. A society without a rich life world is not just a poor community in a spiritual and human sense; it is a one-dimensional society, where the foundations of a humane society - a vibrant culture, a free public and participatory democracy with free adult and educated citizens – are falling apart.

18. Perspectives

18.1 The humanistic agenda

A humanistic cultural policy must retrieve its critical foundation in the ideals of human rights and democracy that was unfolded in the modern European traditions of enlightenment and *Bildung*, where education and arts should provide a cultural basis for freedom and democracy. These ideals had a constitutive impact on the modern political constitutions, and they still represent essential values in the self-understanding of our late modern societies, even in the pedagogical thinking. A search for modern values and ideals with universal aspirations for the 21st century will find its roots here.

During the development of our modern societies, a new self-conscious man entered the stage of history and demanded the right of freedom to set goals for himself and the common life in order to gain authority over his own history. This demand was and is the core of humanism. But it soon became apparent that this modern man had to act at several stages in changing roles and with alternating use of his reason.

With modernity, society was differentiated into new relatively independent areas, where the private sphere and civil society referred to a new life-world permeated of communicative rationality, and the state and the market referred to a new system world characterized by the instrumental reason. Simultaneously, the life spheres were divided into roles as individual persons, fellow human beings rooted in the lifeworld, and as employees in the system world, and as citizens in both worlds. This differentiation has in many ways been a major civilizational progress, but it also implies that the humanistic ideals of autonomy and enlightenment become more contradictory, when they are deployed in divided spheres with different interests of maintaining an effective system world as well as a humane lifeworld.

The only theoretical tradition in our point of view, which has been able to relate to this modern challenge to the ideals of humanism, is the critical theory, especially in Habermas's theory of communicative action. The distinctive feature of his approach, following Kant and Hegel, is that he does not consider the modern differentiation of societal areas, life spheres and forms of reason as a problem, but rather as a historical progress that has created space for both a productive work life, a responsible social life and a rich personal life. The critical perspective or the concrete utopia is no longer to unify the separate spheres, but to maintain their borders and ensure their mutual balances.

Another spokesman of Critical Theory, Albrecht Wellmer, has furthermore with reference to Hegel pointed out, that the modern world with its division between state and civil society provides a fertile dualism between freedom and reason. In the state, common reason comes before individual freedom; in civil society individual freedom comes before common reason, and this creates the basis for individual emancipation. The modern concept of freedom contains an inner tension that refers to the modern division in state and civil society, where the state represents the concept of "positive freedom" in the form of the general will, while civil society represents the "negative freedom" in the form of the individuals' particulate wills. The modern civil society provides the basis for the modern "negative freedom", which is constitutive for the fundamental human rights. The judicial protection of the "negative freedom" is the necessary condition not only for personal freedom and freedom of opinion and assembly and thereby for democracy; it is also the condition for the release of science and arts from political and religious coercion in the pre-modern societies.

The free civic activities and not least the cultural activities have their own value and should not

be viewed only as means to ensure the general will of the state. These activities constitute an end in themselves as a privileged area for free human fulfilment. The role of civil society is not only to be the base for democracy and citizenship, but also to be breeding ground for our personal formation as fellow human beings and citizens in the civilian contexts. The major parts of the population, who for generations have participated in educational and cultural activities in their leisure time, will probably see the meaning of their activities as more than a contribution to the democratic public. For these activities have for many, if not most, been the main opportunity to ensure cultural interests and human needs, which they could not have achieved elsewhere.

They have learned that it was in the leisure time beyond the necessities of the working life that they could find a social space to follow a free human and cultural interest that were a goal on its own and had a meaning in itself. For them, the diverse educational and cultural activities in the voluntary associations have played an important part of the overall aim of getting a good life, which all politics ultimately are about to ensure.

18.2 Learning perspectives on a free civil society

In the last decades, "civil society" has become a key concept in the socio-political debate. Interestingly, a humanistic perspective on civil society is part of the European Commission's discourse of lifelong learning, which includes four main aims respectively of "employability" for the work life, of "active citizenship" and "cultural cohesion/social inclusion" for the social life, and furthermore "personal fulfilment" for the civic and personal life. Thus, the Commission gives an opening for the view, that free human activities in civil society can have their own value, and that the non-formal learning in liberal adult education and informal learning in voluntary associations may have a wider aim than providing learning for work and social life.

The four main aims of lifelong learning can be used for a categorization of four different learning-oriented discourses of civil society:

- The (neo-)liberalistic learning position gives priority to a learning in civil society, which can improve the learners' *employability* and business value in order to qualify their role as employee or employer (as bourgeois or private citizens).
- The communitarian learning position gives priority to a learning in civil society, which can enhance *cultural and social cohesion* and improve conservative traditions and morality, in order to qualify the learners' role as fellow human beings and citizens (as l'homme and citoyen in their local communities).
- The critical theory's learning position gives priority to a learning in civil society, which can enhance *active citizenship* in the area of public debate and democratic participation, in order to qualify their role as citizen (as state citizen in the Republic's democratic community).
- The Bildung-related position gives priority to a learning in civil society, which can develop the learners' personal formation in the sense of autonomy, authenticity and fulfilment, in order to qualify their role as human being (as l'homme in an existential sense) and then as a fellow human beings, citizens and employees.

The first three positions are in varying ways affected by an instrumental mindset, where humans are not seen as goals in themselves, but as means or resources for something else. The neoliberals have the utility for the market economy as goal, and vocational learning as means. The communitarians have the social-cultural cohesion as goal, and a morally-oriented learning as means. The Habermasians have the deliberative democracy as a goal, and citizenship learning as means. Although the first three positions in different ways stress the importance of having an independent

civil society, the reason is not that they see the free individual or joint learning activities in civil society as a goal in itself or as having an intrinsic value in human terms, but rather that they can be useful means for something else, such as economic, or cultural and democratic goals.

Only the Bildung-related position has transcended the instrumental logic, arguing that the human fulfilment through free cultural activities and personal formation processes is a goal in itself, while market economic efficiency, cultural cohesion and democratic participation on the contrary must be seen as means to ensure the human freedom. Only this position defends the value of civil society as a free area for realization of personal interests and passions, an area for the joys of the amateur, who can do something of lust and love, and where the activity is a goal in itself and holds its own meaning and reward. This desire – to do something one as amateur loves (*amare*) – may not be equally possible to fulfil in the realm of necessary, neither in the state’s rule-bound sphere nor in the market’s commercial sphere, or to fulfil in the work time or as consumer at the market.

18.3 Guidelines of a humanistic pedagogical theory

The lifelong learning must take account of both the technical-instrumental reason and communicative and aesthetic-expressive reason to ensure an effective system world as well as a culturally rich life world.

As learning provider as well as learner, it is therefore important to clarify the application and to ensure a close connection between the learning objectives and the application perspective. The form and content of the learning must be tailored to the specific learning needs of the context, because modern societies are characterized by differentiation of societal sectors, forms of rationality, and life spheres. The modern society is differentiated into state, market and civil society; the rationality is differentiated into the cognitive-instrumental, the moral-practical and the aesthetic-expressive rationality; and the life spheres is differentiated into the personal sphere with individual humans, the civic sphere with fellow human beings, the public sphere with active citizens and the commercial sphere with employees.

There are crucial differences between these life spheres and their rationality forms, and therefore also different modalities of learning qualities. The learning needs must be seen in the right context. One basic problem with the dominating discourse in lifelong learning is the reductive approach, where all learning arenas are treated the same without any differentiating between the different learning contexts. Whether you follow a vocational training course, participate in a folk high school course, or are active in amateur culture. You learn roughly the same, namely to develop your competences as they say in the commercial management theory. But this reductionism is contra-intentional, because when you make all the same, you will lose your sense of quality. This reductionism can be easier to comprehend, when we involve the application perspective and ask which sphere of life and life roles the learning outcome addresses. The form and content of the learning process will be very different if the aim is to develop your-self as human being in relation to the personal existential sphere or as a citizen in the public sphere in civil society, or as an employee in your work life, or as student in a vocational education program.

A late-modern society and its citizens need learning in several modalities. There is a need for formal education and vocational adult learning that contributes to an effective system world as well as a need for non-formal and informal learning in civic society that can enhance a rich and free life world. Learning must happen for the sake of working life as well as the personal, civic and public life. Because a well-functioning society needs not only updated employees, but also active citizens and enlightened humans, and what is more important: the people also need a broader learning, because no one can fulfil their potentials fully in the work life; an active, instructive and meaningful leisure time is a crucial part of the good life.

18.3 Guidelines of a humanistic cultural theory

In the modern lifeworld, art-based learning is a crucial area for development of personal freedom and coercion-free public communication. Spokesmen for a humanistic art discourse such as Kant and Schiller understood the human essence as being freedom, and they considered the aesthetic-expressive reason as the freest form of reason, and art represents in particular degree a free human meaning-expression. It is in the aesthetical practice of art-based learning, human freedom might be particularly experienced and unfolded.

The humanistic art discourse emphasises the ability of free art to convey human experiences, which at the same time are personal and universal. The aesthetic experience has a strong potential for personal formation (*Bildung*), because it can develop the sensual and emotional content of the perception, and thereby extend the interpretation registry as well as provide an experience with freedom to interpret and *gestalt* reality on own terms. The aesthetic practice is unlike other practice types an end in itself, as Kant pointed out. It is not a mean for something else, and in that sense it is useless by exceeding an instrumental and systemic rationality. When we relate to art or participate in artistic and cultural activities, we do it, because we want it, because we feel like it. The field of art has its own meaning, or rather; it is a place, where people can enjoy, play and learn without external reasons and intentions, a space of free humanity. For Schiller this possibility expressed the highest and most civilised form of human existence.

This discourse provides the mainstay of the modern humanistic art reception, where art was appreciated for its emancipation of the individual as a person and citizen. In the humanist agenda, art and education have transcended the instrumental logic. Here, human fulfilment through personal formation and free artistic activities is seen as an end in itself, while market economic efficiency, cultural cohesion and democratic participation rather are seen as means to ensure a richer human life. This humanistic view on art and culture gained a central place in most Western European countries after the Second World War, as a response to the historical experience of the abuse of education and art by the totalitarian states. The cultural policy confirmed the principle of *arm's length* and aimed to protect the autonomy of art against the state as well as the market. The public support to art and culture should ensure the development and dissemination of an independent art to a still larger part of the people. This policy was justified by an assumption about the free arts crucial role for enlightenment and personal formation in a humanistic and democratic community.

The cultural politics in most Western European countries referred to the inner values of art, and it had a clear orientation towards civil society. Public support should ensure free cultural experiences for the people, and this support was soon extended to new possibilities for people to achieve aesthetic experiences by being active, performing and creative and not just consuming. This allowed the amateur art and voluntary cultural associations to gain a more important place in the overall cultural policy.

18.4 Learning qualities in amateur culture

The importance of lifelong learning in amateur culture can be determined by a reference to new aesthetic experience theory and modern *Bildung* theory, where both have focus on a strong and independent learning capacity in civil society. From this conceptual viewpoint, artistic quality is related to the aesthetic experience and not to the work of art in an isolated sense. In the artistic practice or art-based learning, we relate to artefacts, artworks and other cultural works by using our aesthetic-expressive rationality. It is the encounter between the art work and the receiver, which constitutes the core of the aesthetic practice. This encounter develops a sense-based inter-

pretation of a work of art that hold a stylization or reduction of the complex life experiences with clear forms, emotions and conflicts. The unimaginable experience of modernity is presented in concentrated and tuned forms, which can open for intense experiences and focused meanings. In the artistic experience we can develop a dialogue between the aesthetic expression of the work and parts of our own life story and outlook on life.

Artistic quality may then be defined by the dialogue between the artefact and the receiver, which can unfold new unknown experiences and communications and expand the recipients' understanding of themselves and the world. Artistic quality develops in a dialogue between experience and reflection, which firstly expands the recipient's sensual, emotional and intellectual capacity, and secondly encourages the personal formation of autonomy and authenticity. The aesthetic concept of quality is thereby attached with a modern understanding of *Bildung*, and artistic quality can thus be defined through its potential for personal formation (*Bildung* potential).

Furthermore, our post-modern era is permeated by a pluralisation of the arenas' of arts and aesthetic expressions. The aesthetic practice, which was previously reserved for smaller circuits of high culture, has spread to a larger cultural area of civil society. Arts institutions still exist, but have lost their monopoly on artistic practice, and thereby no cultural forms or selections of art works or aesthetic practices have monopoly to represent a modern personal formation. The smoother transitions between high art and popular art, between professional and amateur art do not imply that aesthetic quality has lost grounding. What matters is not whether the aesthetic practice has received the seal of approval from the art institutions, or enjoy recognition from a voluntary cultural association, or whether it was created by a professional artist or an amateur, or commercial considerations have played a role; but rather if the aesthetic artefacts and activities have promoted personal formation for the creators, performers and recipients, i.e. involve a *Bildung* potential. An amateur art activity may have high quality, as far as the aesthetic process (the art-based learning) promotes an aesthetic *Bildung*.

The joint quality criterion for professional artistic activity and voluntary artistic activity is the degree of *Bildung* potential. The professional art can be judged on whether the result or work is able to initiate personal formation processes for the receivers or audience. The good amateur art can be judged on whether the processes or activities are able to initiate the personal formation for the participants or performers. Apparently, the quality assessments differ, because the professional art focuses on the result, the work of art, while the amateur culture focuses on the process, the activity. However, just as it can be difficult within learning theory to distinguish between process and result, it may be difficult in art theory to distinguish. One characteristic of much late-modern art is precisely that it seeks to transcend this difference.

18.5 Profiling the core services of amateur culture

When we wish to profile amateur culture and argue for its societal importance, we need as in other areas of ideological and political communication to change the game or the agenda of the debate. The communication becomes part of a paradigm struggle, where we must defend our matter by bringing new perspectives or by expressing hitherto silent "pre-conceptions". Often, we do not think of these silent assumptions, just as little as we think about the oxygen we breathe. It is only, when oxygen starts running out, we become aware of its value.

Oxygen for the voluntary cultural associations may in our discretion be successfully renewed by unfolding a humanistic discourse, which is able to combine Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action with a critical civil society theory, a *Bildung*-oriented learning theory and a humanistic aesthetic theory. Seen from this conceptual framework, the fundamental value of voluntary cultural associations can be that they constitute a privileged area for free human learning. The cul-

tural associations in civil society represent a societal activity that promotes aesthetic learning processes with a high potential of personal and democratic formation. Their core service is to strengthen the communicative reason of the lifeworld in the societal totality.

It may be tempting for the associations of amateur art and voluntary culture to meet and please the dominant instrumental viewpoints in the state, municipalities and business area by profiling the periphery services, which may have some relevance for systemic goals, such as promoting the experience economy and creative industries, or integration of social vulnerable and unemployed, or assimilation of immigrants. However, this strategy of pleasing the current political agenda and its representatives may be counterproductive. When the voluntary cultural associations accept the play on the instrumental half, they will weaken their own identity internally and properly also loose influence and attractiveness externally.

If the amateur culture associations try to legitimize their existence by reference to some possible contributions to the system-world, they have lost the agenda and the ideological initiative. Because, seen from the perspective of the instrumental agenda, their contributions have no real use or particular quality. A relevant lifelong learning for a competitive business sector can, in the optic of the system, be better provided by other learning arenas, such as adult vocational education, formal education and work training. Amateur culture will never be as good as the social sector to solve social problems or as the sport to solve health problems, they will never be as good as the vocational training system to promote employability, and they will never be as productive for the new knowledge economy as new global symbol-analyst,¹ it-specialists and other groups of the creative class.² Art-based learning and cultural activities will never pay off in the eye of New Public Management, no matter how much they will try to change their nature and profile their “outer” instead of “inner” values. They will only pay off by disappearing.

The performative systemic agenda is a common challenge for the professional art and the amateur culture, but it is especially a problem for the amateur culture in relation to public support and private donations. Because a public cultural funding and private sponsorship that is dominated by the performative agenda will primarily support the artistic activities and cultural institutions, which can strengthen the branding and competitiveness of the national culture industry or contribute to marketing of the municipality or regional economic development. In the light of such market-related quality standards, amateur culture cannot compare with the professional arts, and the comparatively small sums of the total cultural subsidies, which amateur culture receives, will be reduced further. This tendency creates a new pressure on the voluntary cultural activities in the local communities, and they may be further marginalized economically with fewer facilities and resources and receive less cultural awareness and recognition. The local cultural associations will lose further fascination and appeal, and people’s motivation for being cultural active withers away.

18.6 A new focus

Therefore it can be important to emphasise that lifelong learning also can be used in the personal, civil and public sphere outside the work life as humans, fellow human beings and active citizens. The reproduction of a good society not only needs work life with a high instrumental reason but also a personal, civil and public life with a high communicative reason. We can with reference to Jürgen Habermas and the Critical Theory emphasise, that the importance of lifelong learning is

¹ Reich, Robert. *The Work of the Nations, Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992

² Richard Florida; *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Basic Books, 2002.

not only to support an effective system world but also to support a rich lifeworld with a high level of communicative and expressive reason.

The recommendation of this report to maintain focus on the core services of amateur art and voluntary culture is hardly big news for the active in these areas, but the novelty may be the attempt to determine the core services from a more comprehensive conceptual framework; that refers to the ideals of the modern European enlightenment and *Bildung* tradition and seeks to combine the critical theory of communicative action with a freedom-oriented civil society theory, a *Bildung*-oriented learning theory and a humanistic aesthetic theory.

This conceptual framework substantiates the *raison d'être* of amateur arts and voluntary cultural activities in the societal totality by their ability to

- To secure a modern lifeworld with a comprehensive communicative action that includes the aesthetic-expressive rationality and thus contributes to an enhanced personal and democratic formation.
- To promote an independent civil society with a high learning capacity for free human development and fulfilment, which constitute essential characteristics of the good life and the good society.
- To provide an expanded concept of learning, which shows the close relationship between the liberal adult education and the art-based learning, especially in relation to their potential for personal formation.
- To clarify a humanistic culture concept that may justify a common quality criterion for the professional art and amateur culture, based on their *Bildung*-potential.

This conceptual framework furthermore intends to promote a new learning-oriented cultural policy that has reference to the Nordic culture model and its strategy from the '60s of "democratization of culture" and from the 70s of "cultural democracy", and at the same time seeks to extend it with critical humanistic discourses of civil society, lifelong learning and aesthetic experience. Such a cultural policy wishes to appreciate and support an active cultural leisure time for the citizens beyond public control and economic commercialization as an essential part of a democratic welfare policy.

We believe, there may be more responsiveness for a new culture policy that denounces the last decade's trends to instrumentalize and commercialise culture and learning; because the financial crises and the fall of the equities herald a change in the *zeitgeist*. The neoliberal agenda, also within education and culture, is under pressure, and many people are looking for other priorities in the daily life and leisure time activities.

The time can be more open for the active in amateur culture and voluntary cultural associations to profile their core services, and to put forward a humanistic cultural policy with a clear perspective of personal and democratic formation.

Links and bibliography

Links

The website of the LOAC Project: www.interfolk.dk/nova

The website of the online tools for learning validation: <http://grundtvig.netschooltools.com>

Website of National Associations of Cultural Councils in Denmark: www.kulturellesamraad.dk

Website of Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities: www.jskd.si

Website of Kunstfactor, Sectorinstituut Amateurkunst: www.kunstfactor.nl

Website of Interfolk, Institute for Civil Society: www.interfolk.dk

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