



**Nordic Baltic Meeting,
Folkevirke, 22 Nov 2012**

Democracy

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Disposition of presentation

1. Modern democracy In general
2. The Danish democracy
3. Current challenges for democratic values in general
4. Special challenges in the area of
 - Liberal adult education,
 - Voluntary culture
 - NGO activities
5. Debate on challenges for democracy in everyday life



Initial definitions of democracy

Democracy = demos (people) + kratia (rule/control)
= sovereignty of the people

A narrow formal understanding focuses on:

- the political form of governance
- means to influence/control the state power
- representative democracy – majority rule

The Danish word “folke-styre” (people-rule) includes also

- Free citizens with a high degree of autonomy (self-rule)
- Voluntary associations in a strong civil society
- Liberal adult education and a free public debate
- Respect for opponents and minorities
- Seek the common good by rational discussions and consensus
- Egalitarian culture and high degree of social cohesion

A way of life (Hal Koch)

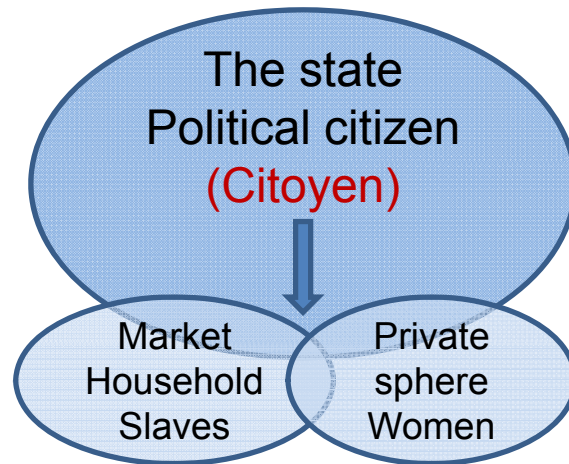
Deliberation / communicative rationality (Jürgen Habermas)



Initial models of democracy

Pre-modern democracy

– Athenian republic, 507 – 322 B.C.

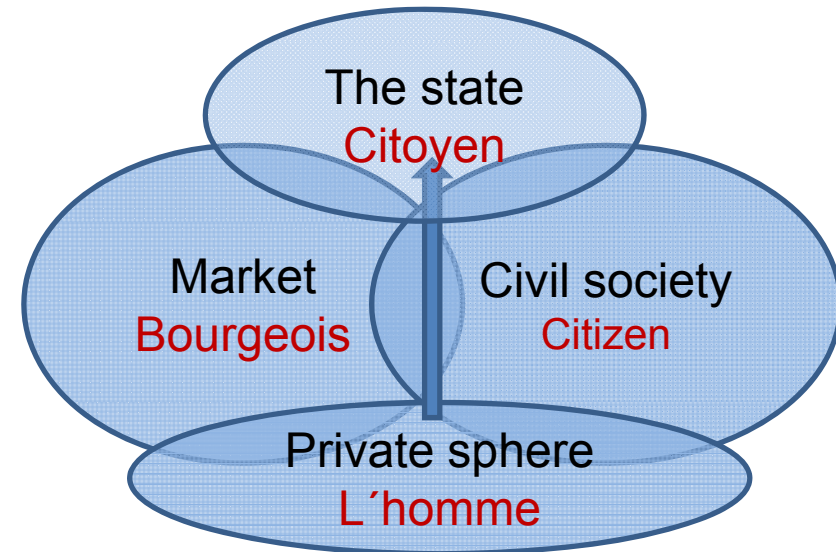


- The state was everything,
- The civil society and market nothing

Main life role as political citizen

- Citoyen

Modern liberal democracy



- The personal autonomy is primary
- Market and civil society main activity.
- The state is secondary

Differentiated life roles as

- homme, citizen, bourgeois, citoyen,



Modern core values

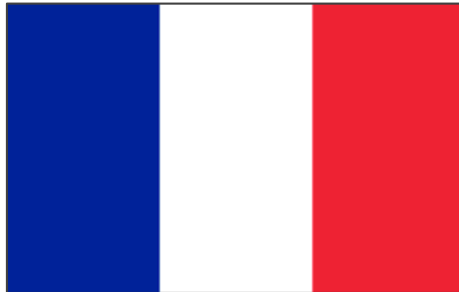
United States Declaration of Independence, 1776

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness".

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789

The slogan from the French Revolution, 1789

"Liberty, equality, fraternity" (Liberté, égalité, fraternité)



**The French Tricolore from 1790
Left and right wing (at the First National Assembly)**

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 by United Nations General Assembly

The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom.,1950
by the Council of Europe.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, 2000
by the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers and the European Commission

NB: They all include civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights.



The transition to modern democracy

New state

- rule of law, no legal privileges and corruption
- protection of the free competition at the market

Society

- a free civil society

Economy

- market economy and towns

classes

- new bourgeois class
- state bureaucracy / civil servants
- independent peasants

Culture

- secularization, science, enlightenment
- free thinking and public critic
- free associations in civil society

First step:

- The free person - personal autonomy
- Man as sovereign to decide meaning and goals of life
- Humanism – Fundamental civil rights

Second step:

- The free people – autonomy in community
- The community of men as sovereign of their common history
- Democracy – fundamental political rights



The chain of fundamental rights (ideal model)

1700's - Enlightenment / opinion-governed absolutism

- Civil rights / humanism

1800's - Democratic constitutions

- Political rights / democracy

1900's – Welfare State

- Social and cultural rights / welfare policy

2000's – The competitive State (Financial absolutism)

- Employment duties / adaptation to world market



Danish history - main steps

Background

A long political continuity (Gorm the Old 936, the flag 1219, killed king 1286)
Village communes (1300 - 1800), 90 pct of farming soil / weak aristocracy
The Reformation (1523) - stronger state and stronger local communities
Absolute monarchy / absolutism (1660)

The break trough of democracy

Enlightened / Opinion-governed absolutism (1770, 1788, 1814)
The advisory assemblies of the Estates, 1831
The democratic constitution, 1849 (during the 1st patriotic Schleswig War)
The constitutional amendment, 1866 (after the 2nd national Schleswig War)
The small nation state – one state, one nation

Development of strong civil society

The voluntary associations (1742-) - Grundtvigian movement (1844-)
The peasant cooperative movement (1866, 1882)
Labour market agreement (1899) (after Battle on Fælleden, 1872)
The labour movement and the labour cooperatives

Towards the welfare State

The Social Democrats formed government, 1924
The Kanslergade Agreement, 1933 (main Welfare State reforms)
Coalition government, 1940
After the war – “constitutional patriotism” (demos strategy)
The Youth revolts 1968 (grass roots and women movement in 1970's)



Different concepts of "People"

	People as DEMOS	People as ETHNOS
Reference	French model Enlightenment / Rousseau	German model National romantic / Herder
Love of country	Patriotism Loyalty of legal constitution	Nationalism Fidelity of ethnic nationality
The context	Legal-Political	Cultural
Core values	Civil rights & democracy as guaranty of freedom	The ethnic identity "Blut und Boden"
Societal idea	A chosen community (social contract by individuals)	Organic ethnic community Corporative outlook
Identity	Active – As a free choice Pluralistic open norms Dialogic values	Passive – as Inherited Essential closed norms Monologic values
Ideals	Universal human values Civilisation to unite nations	Particular "Danish" values Culture to separate nations

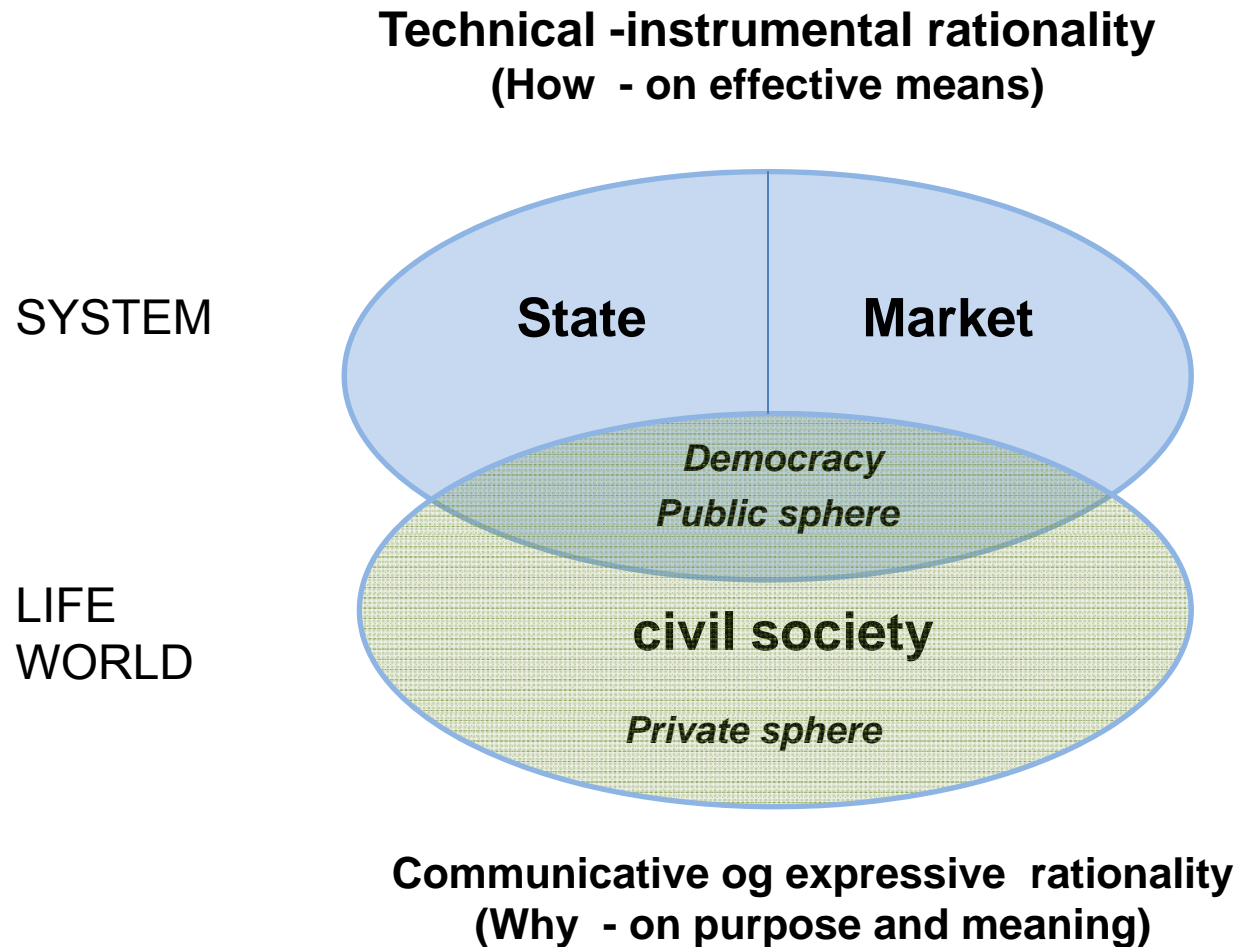


Danish model: concepts of people and democracy

	Danish characteristic	Comparative demos-ethnos
Historical background	Reformation & village community Enlightened Absolutism Strong multinational state Patriotism as core value	Local demos Like French situation (German nation divided)
The moment 1848	The King and elite wanted reforms The 1 st Schleswig war with common military service Progressive 1 st constitution	Patriotic and nationalistic passions were blended
The defeat 1864	The 2 nd Schleswig war Aggressive nationalism lost The national-liberal elite lost	Result was the nation state - one nation, one state - one ethnos, one demos
The survival	People enlightenment and democratic self-organisation	Demos and ethnos together
Danish model	Strong state – rule of law (1700's) Strong civil society (1800*s) Organised labour market (1900's) Welfare society	Primarily people as demos Hal Koch: Danishness refers to humanistic & democratic culture
Danish democracy	Free debate and education Participatory democracy Deliberative democracy Consensus oriented	Grundtvig: Love and community Hal Koch: Way of life (Habermas: Communicative rationality)
New challenges (After 2000)	From Welfare State to Competitive State (knowledge society)	People as labour force Financial absolutism All countries adapt to world market



Habermas – Model of Modern Society



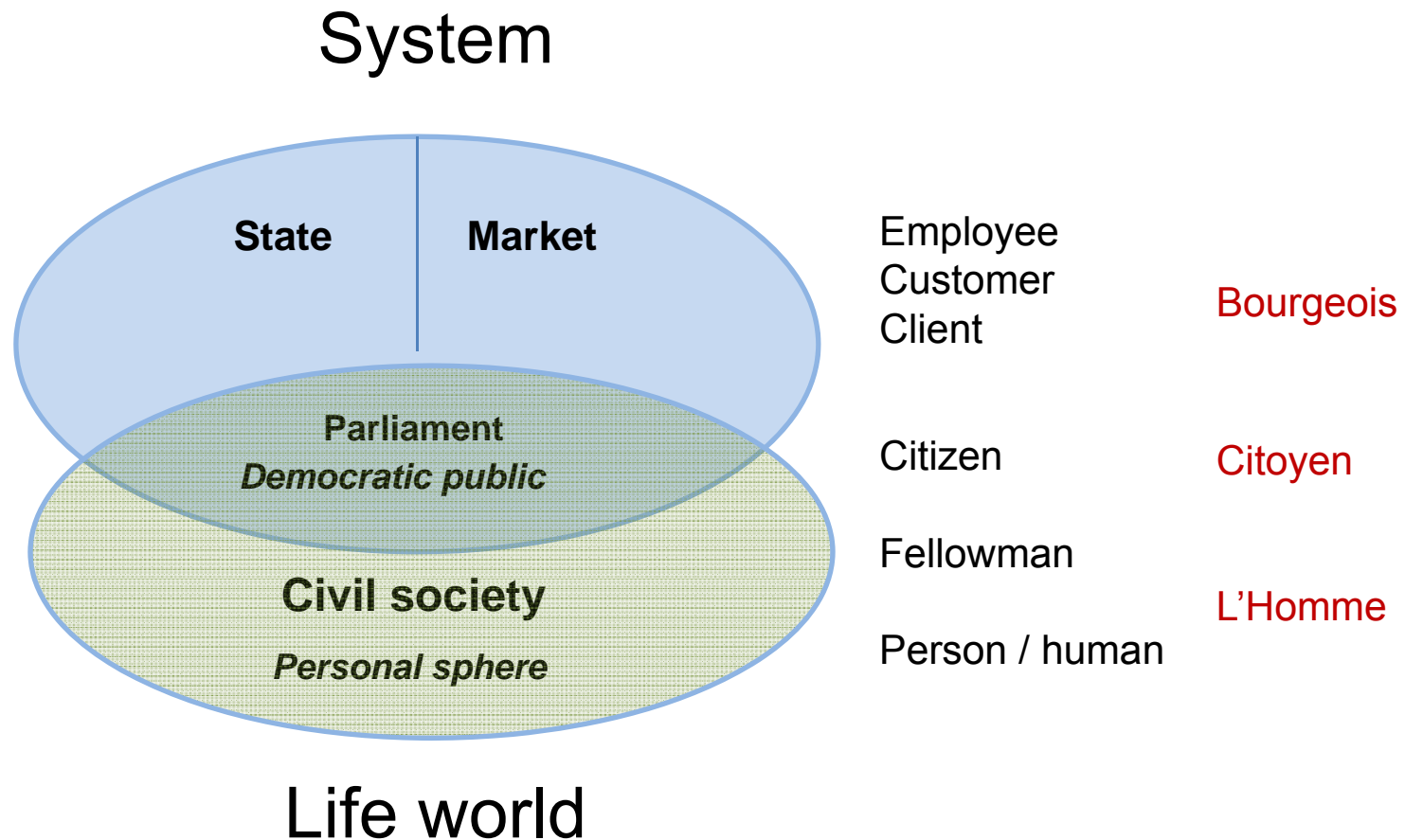
The good society has ‘

- an effective system world as well as a strong life world
- a balance between instrumental and communicative rationality

Features of modern Nordic countries



Habermas – Life spheres and life roles



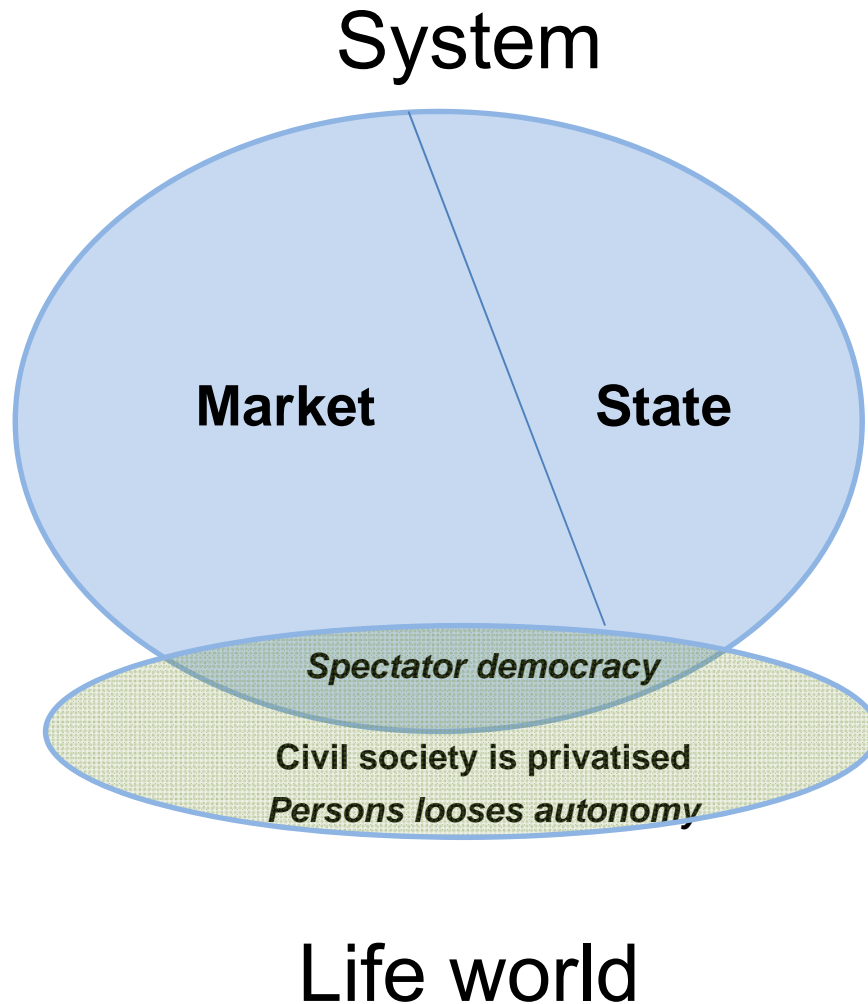
The good life implies

- A balance between the roles as bourgeois, citoyen and homme

Features of modern Nordic lifes



Habermas – The system colonises the life world



The neoliberal system

- The competitive state
- New public management
- Commercialization
- Instrumentalisation

The colonised life world

- Media: Public service to Infotainment
- University: Free thinking to Invoices
- Education: Bildung to competences
- Culture: Experience economy
- NGO's: private volunteering

Key words:

- One-dimensional society
- Civil society loses learning capacity
- Citizens loses autonomy

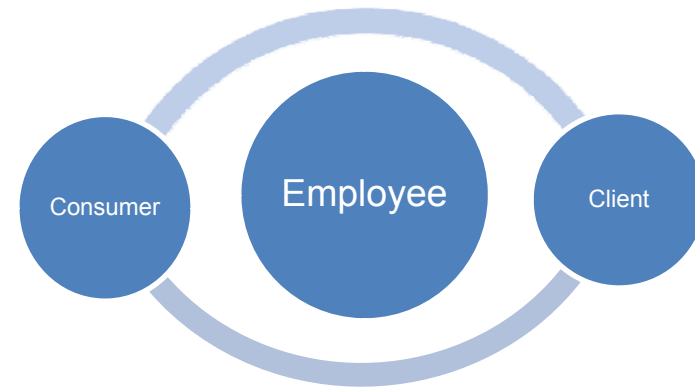
Less "Liberty, equality, fraternity"



Modern man – Neoliberal man



*Freedom of man (autonomy)
People as political sovereign
Keyword – active citizenship*



*Human capital (usefulness)
People as economic work force
Keyword - employability*



Paradigm of learning and culture

The humanistic agenda for education and culture

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

Article 26.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms

Article 27

Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits



Lifelong learning - paradigm struggle

Lifelong: from cradle to grave – **Life wide:** formal, non-formal and informal learning

UNESCO introduced "lifelong learning" i 1970's

- Access to knowledge and culture as a human right
- Learning for human and democratic development
- A humanistic paradigm

OECD promoted "lifelong learning" i 1980's

- Qualification for competitiveness on the global market
- Learning as an investment in "human capital"
- A economic-instrumental paradigm

Edgar Fauré: Learning to be, 1972

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development



Lifelong Learning on EU's agenda

The new meta-narrative

EU Commission: White Paper, 1993

Growth, Competitiveness and Employment. Challenges and Pathways to the 21st Century.

EU Commission: White paper, 1996

Teaching and Learning. Towards the Learning Society

Council: Luxemburg declaration, 1997

The European employment strategy included the definition of lifelong learning,

Council: Lisbon strategy, March 2000

European Union shall become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based society in the world.

EU Commission,

Memorandum on Lifelong Learning, Nov 2000

Communication: Making a European area for lifelong learning, Nov 2001

The Parliament and the Council, December 2006

The European reference framework on key competences for lifelong learning,



Inner tensions in EU's aims of lifelong learning

Memorandum, 2000

- employability contra active citizenship

Communication, 2001

- employability contra active citizenship
personal fulfilment
social inclusion
cultural cohesion

Opposite aims

- the instrumental economic aim of the system world
- the humanistic and democratic aims of the life world



Culture - paradigm struggle

The humanistic agenda after Second World War

- The totalitarian experiences - abuse of art and culture
- John Maynard Keynes - the arm's length principle

The Nordic Cultural model

Purpose

- Art and culture essential for personal formation (Bildung)
- Free and enlightened individuals the basis for a democratic culture

Means

- Art and culture - a welfare benefit and a right for all citizens
- Public support to inner values of art and culture
- Secure freedom from the state and the market

Phases

- 60s democratization of culture (high art to the people)
- 70s cultural democracy (amateur culture / own activities)



The new instrumental culture agenda from the 90s

The competitive Nation State

- will use the art and culture to solve systemic goals
- The focus on civil society disappear

The Neoliberal model

Purpose

- Use art and culture to solve social problems
- Use art and culture to improve economic competitiveness

Means

- Experience economy and business development
- Creative workers for cultural industry
- Event culture and branding
- Mayor-culture (pavarottisation)

Phases

- 90s quantitative regulations
- 00s qualitative regulations



Civil society – paradigm struggle

Double pressure: Neoliberal market and New Public Management

- New instrumental agenda / make the free resources economic useful
- From arm-lengths to control

Purpose

- Civil society as a servant for the market and the state
- Integrate the free resources in systemic goals

Means

- Political control – contracts, project funding, evaluation culture, selective operating grant
- Market control - outsourcing and privatization of welfare services (NGO's compete on getting the services)
- From voluntary associations to single volunteering (EUs year of volunteering 2011)
- The municipalities establish own counselling centres and recruiting offices for volunteers

Phases

- 00's lots of quantitative and qualitative initiatives of regulations



Conclusions on Danish democracy

22

Current challenges

- The dominance of the world market - Global Financial Absolutism
- From Welfare State to Competitive State
- From human autonomy to human capital - from active citizenship to employability

Consequence in general

- Pressure on the Danish Welfare State and democracy as "a way of life"

Consequence particularly for

Liberal adult education

- Still less public support to general adult education
- New role as subcontractor for vocational training or formal education

Voluntary culture and amateur art

- Resources moved to event culture
- New role as volunteers for experience economy

Voluntary associations / NGOs

- More political control and new market demands
- From voluntary associations to individual volunteering

Results

- The free learning capacity in civil society crumbles
- Democratic initiatives in local everyday life become more difficult



Dates of democracy

Pre-modern republican democracy

- Athenian republic, 507 – 322 B.C. (only upper-class of men)

The modern liberal democracy

- English Glorious Revolution, 1688 (women 1928)
- American Declaration of Independence, 1776 (women 1920)
- Dutch Patriot Revolution, 1785 (1830) (women 1919)
- French Revolution, 1789 (1848, 1870, 1946, 1959) (women 1946)
- Norway's Eidsvoll Constitution, 1814 (1918) (women 1913)
- Belgium Independence, 1830 (women 1948)
- Danish democracy, 1848 (parlamentarism 1901) (women 1915)
- Switzerland, 1848 (women 1971)
- Sweden 1866 (parl. 1917) (women 1921)
- Finland, 1919 (women 1906!)

- Estonia, 1921 - 1934, Konstantin Päts, 1991 (women 1918)
- Latvia, 1920 - 1934, Kārlis Ulmanis, 1991 (women 1918)
- Lithuania, 1921 (women 1921)
- Poland, 1918 (women 1918)

Dates of democracy

Modern unstable democracies

- Germany, Weimar Republic, 1918 - 1933 (women 1918)
- Spain, 1931, Franco 1939 – 1975, 1978 (women 1931)
- Portugal, 1910, Salazar 1932-1968, 1976 (women 1976)
- Greece, 1924 -1935, military junta 1967–1974 (women 1949)
- Italy, 1861, Mussolini 1922 (women 1945)

- Hungary , Admiral Horthy 1920 – 44, 1989 (women 1945)
- Rumania , 1989 (women 1945)
- Bulgaria, Boris III, 1918–1943, 1989 (women 1944)
- Russia, 1918, 1991 (women 1918)

Most modern democracies born in conflict after fights:

- Fight for national independence against occupation
- Fight with neighbour countries on national border issues
- Civil wars between left and right
- Liberation from tyranny after warm or cold wars

