

# Cultural Heritage, Democracy and the Labour Market

Cecilia Rodéhn

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**Cecilia Rodéhn**

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## Swedish Abstract

Projektet syftar till att undersöka om systemet med lönebidragsanställda på museer och arkiv, kopplat med Livslångt Lärande, kan leda till en ökad demokratisering av institutionerna. Undersökning baseras på arkivstudier och etnografiska fältstudier. Kvalitativa intervjuer utfördes med anställda vid Jamtli och Landsarkivet Östersund under perioden februari till maj 2010. Lönebidragsanställda och personer i ledningsnivå intervjuades, frågorna centrerades kring Livslångt Lärande, lärande och lönebidragssystemet. Det etnografiska materialet analyserades med hjälp av teorier kopplade till Livslångt Lärande och arbetsplats lärande. Studien kontextualiserar lärande till arbetsplatsen, museet och arkivets pedagogiska profil, informellt lärande och rehabilitering vilket belyses från lönebidragsanställdas situation. Detta sätts i perspektiv med EUs och Sveriges sysselsättningspolitik och dess mål med Livslångt Lärande, jag belyser detta från ett demokratiskt och kulturarvs perspektiv.

Undersökningen kommer till slutsatsen att kulturarvsinstitutionerna är avhängiga av lönebidragsarbetare för att kunna uppfylla statens krav för ett demokratiskt kulturarv. Vidare menar jag att Livslångt Lärande måste definieras bättre inom kulturarvsektorn om det ska kunna användas som en åtgärd för att demokratisera institutionernas arbete med kulturarv och sysselsättningsåtgärder. Museer och arkiv måste även definiera vad de avser vara målen med Livslångt Lärande för sina anställda, speciellt de inom arbetsmarknadsåtgärder, om de önskar att det ska fungera som en resurs för personlig utveckling. Jag kommer även till slutsatsen att Livslångt Lärande bäst används som en metod för att, bland anställda, komma åt samhällsattityder snarare än lärande. Metoder för denna aspekt kan därför användas för att utvärdera institutionens kulturarvsnarrativ.

Nyckelord: Livslångt Lärande, Demokrati, Lönebidrag, EU, Kulturarv, Jamtli, Landsarkivet.

## **English Abstract**

This project aims to investigate if the system of 'wage subsidy' coupled with Lifelong Learning can result in more democratic museums and archives. The study is based on archive studies and field studies and qualitative interviews. Interviews were conducted with people in 'wage subsidy' programmes and people in management positions at Jamtli and the Regional Archives in Östersund and questions centres around Lifelong Learning, learning in general and the 'wage subsidy' system. The ethnographic material was analysed using theories on Lifelong Learning and workplace learning. I argue in this paper that learning is situated to certain contexts, e.g., the museum and archive, to the pedagogical profile, to the social and political context. I discuss these contexts in terms of Lifelong Learning and EU and Swedish labour market and cultural policies.

I come to the conclusion that heritage institution is dependent on people in 'wage subsidy' programmes to continue to exist and to further a democratic heritage. I argue, furthermore, that Lifelong Learning needs to better define within the heritage sector if it is to be utilised in terms of labour market measures and democratisation of heritage. If museums and archives want to use Lifelong Learning as a method for personal development among people in labour market measures they need to better define the goals with Lifelong Learning. I therefore come to the conclusion that Lifelong Learning is best used as a method to approach attitudes to the society rather than investigate learning, as learning is assumed within this theory. If museums and archives are approached from this angle, Lifelong Learning can be used as a method to evaluate the heritage production.

**Keywords:** Lifelong Learning, Democracy, 'Wage Subsidy', EU, Cultural Heritage, Jamtli, the Regional Archive.

## **Table of Content**

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>Introduction</b>                         | <b>1</b>  |
| <b>The Field</b>                            | <b>1</b>  |
| <b>Labour Market Policies</b>               | <b>3</b>  |
| <b>Learning and Lifelong Learning</b>       | <b>6</b>  |
| <b>The Politics of Lifelong Learning</b>    | <b>7</b>  |
| <b>Workplace Learning</b>                   | <b>10</b> |
| <b>Learning and the Pedagogical Profile</b> | <b>12</b> |
| <b>Learning During the Coffee-Break</b>     | <b>14</b> |
| <b>Rehabilitation and Lifelong Learning</b> | <b>15</b> |
| <b>A Question of Democracy</b>              | <b>17</b> |
| <b>Concluding Remarks</b>                   | <b>19</b> |
| <b>References</b>                           |           |

## **Introduction**

Swedish heritage has for the past 70 years been depended on disabled, immigrants and unemployed. Although this is poorly acknowledged they have been the centre of cultural political debates and played a role in the democratisation of heritage. Therefore, this paper seeks to investigate the labour market measure known as 'wage subsidy' at Landsarkivet Östersund (The Provincial Archive, Östersund) and Jamtli (The Regional Museum of Jämtland), hereafter referred to as Landsarkivet and Jamtli. I want to explore if an investigation of Lifelong Learning among this group of people can result in new approaches to an increased democratic heritage production at museums and archives.

I argue that learning and knowledge is not free-floating but situated. In this context it is situated to the physical location of the museum and archive, to the structural context of labour market measures, the workplace ideology, and to the social and political spaces of the workplace. Therefore to investigate if labour market measure and Lifelong Learning can result in more democratic institutions I have positioned learning in terms of these contexts.

I will begin this paper with a presentation of the ethnographic field followed by a detailed introduction to the politics and ethnography of 'wage subsidy'. The reason for doing this is that the development has a specific connection to Jamtli and that it has not been brought to light before. I will continue to discuss Lifelong Learning in terms of theory, politics and ethnography to position my informants learning in a political context. The paper will continue with a discussion on situated learning in terms of work, coffee-breaks, workplace ideology and rehabilitation. I conclude with a discussion if Lifelong Learning and labour market policies can be regarded as a way to reach more democratic heritage production.

## **The Field**

In February 2010 I was given the opportunity to conduct a four month study funded and initiated by the Nordiskt Centrum för Kulturarvspedagogik (NCK) (Nordic Centre for Heritage Learning). My task was to find an appropriate group placed in a labour market measure, interview them and analyse the material using theories concerning Lifelong Learning. I choose the group of people in 'wage subsidy' programmes. These people have an occupational disability, in a heritage context this is interesting as it exist few texts on the subject. It is only Sivesind (1981) that deals with disabled employees in museum other literature on the topic of disabilities deals with; collections (Sandell, Delin, Dodd & Gay 2005), displays (Cox 1990, Pearson 1984) and access (Jablensky 1981, Kaushik 1999, Artymowosky 1986, Rix 2005). So, an enquiry into the circumstances concerning this group is of importance, especially as Leymann (1992) and Holmquist (2006) has shed light on the social vulnerability and discomfort this kind of employment entailed for some. This was something that I also found in my ethnographic material and in an interview with curator Sten Gauffin I was told that there exists a tradition to speak condescending about people on 'wage subsidy' and that there exist feelings among those in 'wage subsidy' programmes that they are second-class employees. He added that this is something that Jamtli, as far as possible, try to avoid.

Occupational disabled, however, should not be considered as a group for special measures, but as citizens with rights and obligations (Budgetpropositionen 1999/2000: 79), but as work

is regarded as a democratic right there are support systems to help these people and to prohibit discrimination (SFS 1999:132, SFS 2000: 630). Although 'wage subsidy' is regarded as a temporary solution it often results in permanent situations due to the person's handicap (Trygged 1996: 56, 73, 164). Moreover, the term occupational disabled have lately been misused in Sweden. People with problems finding a position is now being classified as disabled by the Swedish Employment Service resulting in an increased of occupational disabled with 350 percent during 1991-2004 (Holmqvist 2006). However the reorganisation of labour market measures has decreased the number of people in 'wage subsidy' programmes (Budgetpropositionen 2009/2010:34). There is therefore many reasons for why interest should be paid this group; the group is sparsely represented in heritage representations and writings, and they are current issues in policy and media debates. Moreover the system has been crucial for the survival of museums and archives.

At the initial stage of the research I distributed a questionnaire among the selected group at Landsarkivet and Jamtli. At Landsarkivet the questioner was handed directly to the selected persons. At Jamtli it was distributed through the Human Resource Manager as the question was deemed sensitive. Five people are appointed in 'wage subsidy' at Landsarkivet, four male and one female. Four people choose to participate and all were male. At Jamtli there are 32 people in 'wage-subsidy' programmes, 15 females and 17 males. Nine people choose to participate, two females and seven male. Twelve persons choose not to participate leaving a number of 15 that did not answer at all although they were reminded three times through the Human Resource Manager. The reasons why so few people wanted to participate is unclear but it could be due to the sensitive circumstances concerning the employment. The high number of respondents at Landsarkivet could be due to that I interacted with them on a daily basis. In terms of respondents there was also a gender discrepancy as only two females choose to participate in the study. It is possible that there could be a trend that females are less likely to participate in the study, but to draw any substantial conclusion a similar study must be conducted among all the employees in the two institutions. Nevertheless it is possible that the heteronormative distribution of power combined with the social vulnerability affects the willingness to participate in the study.

The purpose of the questioner was to map the participants and I wanted to know their: name, age, gender, education, time of employment. I also asked questions such as; how do you experience the employment? Do you experience that you have developed during the time that you have been employed? Have you started any after work activities or ended any after you were employed in the institution? The questionnaire gave me possibilities to familiarise myself with the attitudes of the respondent and it also availed the participants to contemplate on what I sought to know of their experience of Lifelong Learning.

The respondents were in the ages 47 to 63, and from diverse educational and vocational backgrounds. They had been employed at Jamtli and Landsarkivet in between three to 16 years and there were diverse reasons why they had been placed in labour market measures. Nevertheless they had in common that they were overall optimistic to the employment as it had a positive effect in their life and contributed to that they learned something new.

Methodologically qualitative interviews were used, the respondents were called to a conversation with me where I asked them to define Lifelong Learning and from there the conversation continued focusing on learning at the workplace. I deliberately did not ask why they were placed in labour market measures, but as the conversation continued these issues

were raised voluntarily. The conversations lasted between 30 minutes to over an hour and was characterised by semi structured open ended questions.

I also interviewed four people in management positions: Director emeritus of Jamtli Sten Rentzhog, the Director of Jamtli Henrik Zipsane, The director of Landsarkivet Eva Sjöberg-Zipsane and curator Sten Gauffin. The conversations were structured in similar ways and centred on the people on 'wage subsidy' role at the institutions and on aspects of Lifelong Learning.

## **Labour Market Policies**

Since 1934 museums and archives have been subject to labour market measures. This group came to be known as 'arkivarbetare' or 'archive worker' and entailed mainly older persons and to persons with physical or mental disabilities that had problems finding a position (Trygged 1996: 18-21). 'Archive work' was part of the Swedish labour market policies that entailed active measures to employ workers where labour was needed and availed them at the same time to retain their competences (SOU 1997b: 15). The town Östersund has since long been targets of governmental measures, e.g., Landsarkivet received two male archive-worker in 1937 (Landsarkivet i Östersund, ämbetsarkiv, Vol F:9, Frykman & Hansen undated: 7-8). The arrangement was mainly addressed to men as the social system was based on the ideal of the male bread-winner. After World War II the labour market was transformed and this kind of work was given humanistic connotations directed at disabled veterans and refugees with an academic background and Jamtli was in 1945 suggested to host an Estonian refugee. Many of the refugees were prominent scholars resulting in that the Swedish government instituted scholarships in 1947 for research (Letter from Statens arbetsmarknadskommision 1945, Trygged 1996: 21, 28, Englebretsson 1997: 7-9, Junestav & Forslund 2009).

Overall 'archive work' was mainly reserved for older people with difficulties accessing the labour market and continued as such to the 1970s (SFS 1971: 202). Sten Rentzhog stated that during this time many County Museums had about 40 percent of the staff hired as 'archive workers'. Jamtli, due to an active relation to the Unemployment Service, managed to appoint qualified people that they regarded as ordinary staff. In the larger towns, e.g., in Stockholm 'archive workers' was however regarded as supplementary staff. The definition of 'archive worker' changed in 1974 (SFS 1974: 13) to address those with decreased work ability and came to be included in the law of employment protection (SFS 1974, revised in SFS 1982: 80). The system changed in 1980 and was replaced with the system of 'wage subsidy' (Budgetpropositionen 1978/79: 73, Englebretsson 1997: 4). Until this point the government had been liable to the worker, but the responsibility was handed over to the institutions and subsidy was given to cover parts of the salaries.

The County Museums in Sweden protested against this reform and Rentzhog and Hagberg (1978)<sup>1</sup> write in a letter that they hoped to secure governmental subsidy, but that it required addressing the Ministers of Parliament so that they understood the situation. A year later

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<sup>1</sup> 'Det bör finnas vissa möjligheter att trygga läns museernas möjligheter att även i framtiden får oförändrade statsbidragsvilkor för denna arbetskraft (...) det förutsätter att samtliga bearbetar sina riksdagsmän och styrelser, så att politikerna förstår vilken prekär situation som hotar för museerna (...)' (Rentzog & Hagberg 1978).

Rentzhog (1979)<sup>2</sup> writes that several museums were going to find themselves in a difficult situation and that the museum activities would be considerably limited if the Governmental Bill was passed. Documents from the Committee of Cultural Affairs (KrU 1978/79: 2y) and Organisation of County Museums (Länsmuseernas samarbetsråd 1981) show that the Governmental Bill resulted in that the museums had to cut back on the number of employees. This resulted in that the people in 'wage subsidy' programs, that were fundamental for the museums activities, were not employed at all. The system also affected the Regional Archives where employment were dramatically decreased (AMS 1992).

In 1984 the definition of 'wage subsidy' changed to address those with a documented disability. However, Sten Rentzhog and Sten Gauffin told me that despite this Jamtli continued to appoint the same kind of people as before. Soon after the system was about to change again. Rentzhog writes that it was necessary to act and secure funding otherwise the museums would find themselves in a setback. The issue was discussed in Parliament and museums were given special attention (Rentzhog 1988a, b).

'Flexible wage subsidy' was instituted in 1991 and subsidy was based on the person's degree of disability and the definition of who qualified was changed to occupational disabled. This referred to people with physical, psychological, social and intellectual problems and handicap (SFS 1991: 333). Due to economical reasons the museum sector did not welcome the system and it created debates in the media (Von Berger 1991, Sidenbladh 1991, Modin 1992). Archive material shows that it was regarded as having catastrophic consequences (Johansson 1990), and as a dismantling of the museum and archive sector (Rentzhog 1991). At Jamtli they feared that it would destroy the regular activities and have serious implication for the mission operation (Gauffin 1992, Rentzhog 1997). Eva Sjögren-Zipsane said that one of the consequences of the reform was that the ability to employ people in terms of labour market policies was limited whereas previously they had been encouraged to hire people. Yet the Governmental Bill (Budgetpropositionen 1990/91:100) stated that the transition would not change anything immediately for the institutions, but admitted to long-term effects.

From archive material it is clear that the then director of Jamtli Sten Rentzhog played an instrumental role in the political circumstances when struggling to retain the system. The system was important as the continuance of the institutions and the ability to remain open to the public depended on this subsidy system. Hence it also formed an important base for the cultural political debate considering the democratic objectives of access and mediation of heritage, especially in areas of depopulation and economic regression.

Due to protest from the County Museums it was decided that the heritage sector would not be charged with the new regulations, but that the system would be evaluated to investigate how it might affect the museums and archives. This resulted in an intense political activity among the County Museums. Sten Rentzhog told me, and archive material has showed, that the County Museums waited on the Ministers of Parliament and managed to state the case so clearly that the Government passed the Bill but made an exception for the County Museums and provided supplementary subsidy (Kulturdepartementet 1993-06-10, Budgetpropositionen 1992/93: 100, 1993/94: 100, Länsmuseernas samarbetsråd 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, SOU 2003: 55). Institutions with more than 30 percent employees in 'wage subsidy' programmes received supplementary subsidy from The Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency from 1994, but from 1995 it was redirected from the

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<sup>2</sup> 'flertalet museer skulle hamna i en mycket svår situation om förslaget genomförs. En kraftig begränsning av den nuvarande verksamheten torde bli ofrånkomlig. Ofta berörs bortåt halva museets personal' (Rentzhog 1979).

Swedish Arts Council (Lannegren 1997). Rentzhog's efforts had succeeded and Jamtli was the institution that received the largest funding (Rentzhog 2002: 145). The government acknowledged that the institutions lacked finances and that 'wage subsidy' was fundamental for the continuation of the institutions and played a determining role in the future of Swedish cultural politics (SOU 1997b: 187, 202-204).

Henrik Zipsane like his predecessor Sten Rentzhog admitted to the economical benefits of 'wage subsidy'. Henrik Zipsane said quite frankly that 'wage subsidy' was labour to a cheaper price. While at the same time Henrik Zipsane, Sten Rentzog and Sten Gauffain admitted that parts of the museum could not function without the system. This is complicated as in 2010 the funding to County Museums has been channelled into operational management instead of being allocated to 'wage subsidy' (Kulturrådet 2009-10-01, Budgetpropositionen 2009/10:1). This can result in that museums may not necessarily allocate funding to salaries but channel it into other areas that need attention. In the long run this can result in that the museum has to downscale employment in 'wage subsidy' programmes. Henrik Zipsane said that it was tempting to employ people without disabilities; however he prefers to keep the system as he regards it to contribute to social cohesion and regional development something that also Eva Sjögren-Zipsane agrees on. Henrik Zipsane said that instead of these people being unemployed and confined to their homes they are now part of a social context. Zipsane regards this as contributing to Lifelong Learning.

During my research I was told by various people that Jamtli had a positive attitude to labour market measures. It is otherwise common at institutions that the terms 'archive worker' and 'wage subsidy' is given negative connotations. Eva Sjögren-Zipsane said that the word 'wage subsidy' was tainted and that she preferred not to speak in those terms. Like the word 'archive worker' it created an impression that something was wrong with the person, it was important to her not to point the disability out. Sten Rentzhog and Sten Gauffin said that they did not make any difference between employees and Eva Sjögren-Zipsane said that she preferred to focus on the positive aspects such as new skills that the employees brought to the workplace.

Jamtli and Landsarkivet receive several people a year on different labour market measure and there is an accepting culture within these institutions to different work abilities. All my informants had positive attitudes to the employment. Sara and Rupert said that they always felt included in the work and Sara expressed that she was never addressed as a person in a 'wage subsidy' programme. She articulated a positive difference to the employment at Jamtli compared to other places. Sara continued stating that due to the high amount of people in 'wage subsidy' programmes she did not feel odd as she would at other places. This may be due to that Henrik Zipsane preferred to think of everyone in equal terms and as participants in the labour process, but that people participated in different ways. Although not dominant for Jamtli, Henrik Zipsane said, that he sometimes encountered that people in 'wage subsidy' programmes guarded their position as being of a lower kind in the workplace. He said that they sometimes alienated themselves. Therefore how people experience themselves in relation to the system of 'wage subsidy' and in relation to others also stipulates the learning process.

## Learning and Lifelong Learning

Lifelong learning has become a popular catchphrase, Jarvis (2007:123) writes that it has almost become a social movement and Nijhof (2005: 409) goes as far as calling it a cult or a religion. Yet the advocates of Lifelong Learning have very different motives. I will, therefore, begin with explaining the theoretical approach to learning, continue with the ethnographic association and explain the political implication to learning while giving museums and archives special attention.

Learning is here understood as participation in social practices and as a process of socialisation and enculturation. It is a permanent or semi-permanent change in how individuals think or act where individuals engage in a process validating the worth of the experience and how they might learn from it (Billette 2004: 314-316). When it came to learning my informants associated it to formal settings such as schools. The contextualisation of learning to a designated place determined how my informants considered participation in the learning process. Some regarded themselves as being too old to learn new things and that learning was better suited for the younger. I compare this to Barnett's argumentation that learning is usually associated with being young and in personal development. Barnett writes that learning can be unsettling as the self-image of maturity or authority suddenly contrasts with those of depending and lack of understanding (Barnett 1999: 35). My informant Daniel on the other hand said that one should never feel too old to learn new things. My informants that regarded themselves not being too old to learn regarded it as a personal development. This was also the group of people that had gained new skills at Jamtli and Landsarkivet. My informants that regarded themselves as too old to learn something new associated learning to the work at either Jamtli or Landsarkivet.

Lifelong Learning can easiest be defined as learning from the cradle to the grave and learning takes place in various contexts (Gram 2002: 10, Gustavsson 1996: 50). When I asked my informants to define Lifelong Learning, they all in the beginning hesitated as if there was a catch to it, but then answered with a question suggesting learning throughout life and in a daily context. The definitions were similar – William explained that he understood it as that one is *supposed* to learn something everyday and Rupert, Lisa, Sara, John, Daniel and Ken stated *that* they learned something new everyday.

All of my informants stated that it was unavoidable that they would learn something new. Therefore I come to the same conclusion as Gustavsson (1996: 53) that it is obvious for most people that some kind of learning takes place through out life and that the definition of Lifelong Learning is too generic. I also agree with Olivier (1999) and Hallqvist (2005: 31) that write that the terms needs to be better defined to be utilised in a meaningful way. This was even reflected on by my informant Alexander. He said that this *thing* with Lifelong Learning was nothing so special, but it was about giving and taking. Alexander considered it as a process that he was not aware of, but just happened.

I remain critical to the term Lifelong Learning and call for a better definition and utilisation of the concept. In this paper, therefore, I adhere to Jarvis' definition of Lifelong learning as:

(...) the combination of processes throughout a lifetime whereby the whole person – body (genetic, physical and biological) and mind (knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, beliefs and senses) – experiences social situations, the perceived content of which is then transformed cognitively, emotively or practically (or throughout any combination) and integrated into the

individual persons biography resulting in a continually changing (or more experienced) person. (Jarvis 2007:1).

Jarvis definition is all-encompassing, and it becomes apparent how multifaceted, vague, and difficult to explain Lifelong Learning is. The definition is open-ended and as such it can be employed as preferred in any social analysis. Lifelong Learning is at the same time everything and nothing, it can be utilised in all ways possible and it is exactly this that is the pitfall of Lifelong Learning. Jarvis definition, however, positions Lifelong Learning in terms of personal and interpersonal experiences. I will, in this investigation, focus on the personal learning experience of my informants, but position this within the political discourse of Lifelong Learning.

## **The Politics of Lifelong Learning**

The idea of Lifelong Learning within the political context of EU is that everyone is capable to learn and should do so throughout life (Nijhof 2005:403). Lifelong Learning has therewith become a resource in human capital theory and Jarvis (2007: 100) and Gustavsson (1996: 48) hold that it has become a metaphor for learning in terms of vocational purposes, something which reduces individuals to economical beings. Yet Boud argues that Lifelong Learning has been promoted as playing a part in citizenship and fuller participation in society (Boud 1999: 5). Boud's approach is present at Jamtli and Landsarkivet and similar to the political argumentation for retaining the system of 'wage subsidy'. Garrick argues that the management of intellectual and cultural capital is most likely to be driven by political imperatives and production demands, efficiency requirements and cost-effectiveness issues (Garrick 1999. 219). In this sense are the politics of Swedish labour market measures and the politics of Lifelong Learning are intertwined as in both cases policy makers face what Rankema (2005: 385) calls the challenge to encourage working adults to stay employed and have a longer and active working life.

In an article the director of Jamtli Henrik Zipsane (2008) states that heritage organisations form integral part of Lifelong Learning provision. I therefore asked him in an interview to define Lifelong Learning. He answered that he used EUs definition of the term and acknowledged that it was a tool to make Jamtli Europeanised. He has worked for this goal since strategic plan 2003/2006 (Jamtli 2002), but it is more visible in Jamtli's Strategic Plan 2007-1010 (Jamtli 2006), where Lifelong Learning is one of the main objectives. The working document for the Strategic Plan 2011-2014 (Jamtli 2010) states that Jamtli follows in all lines European policies on Lifelong Learning, social cohesion, and sustainable development.<sup>3</sup> The European agenda is not subaltern at Jamtli, but clearly present and it is within this context learning and the pursuit for democratisation must be understood. Landsarkivet forms part of a much larger organisation and they follow the strategic plan of the National Archives. Although the European agenda for Lifelong Learning can be found within the strategic plan from 2007 (Riksarkivet 2007), it is not as clearly stipulated as at Jamtli. Landsarkivet appears to follow more national objectives of official governmental documents such as *SOU 2002:78*. As Lifelong Learning policy-wise infuses the work of these institutions I find it important to include an outline of the politics of Lifelong Learning with a reference to Swedish educational policies to understand the objectives of Lifelong Learning.

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<sup>3</sup> 'Jamtli's verksamhet följer i alla led europeiska policys kring klimatmedvetenhet, hållbar tillväxt, social sammanhållning och livslångt lärande' (Jamtli's 2010)

Learning as a way to a democratic society has its root in the 1800s Scandinavian Community Education ('folkbildning') and can also be found in the 1950s effort to eradicate unemployment (Junestav & Forslund 2009). Common for these periods is what Garrick refers to as investing in human capital as a way to prepare the workers to meet the labour requirements of a market economy (Garrick 199: 217). It is also within this context that Lifelong Learning must be understood. The politics of Lifelong learning was introduced in the 1960s by UNESCO and during the 1970s the term was adopted by OECD that developed a strategy for its implementation (Ellerström 1997: 1-2, Edwards 2000, Bengtsson 2009:2-3, Andersson & Bergstedt 1996: 106, Dehmel 2006). In the beginning Lifelong Learning was given democratic values, but in the 1980s and 1990s it became a strategy to achieve economical and technological development and it was given more attention in labour market policies and vocational learning (Bengtsson 2009: 2-3, Ellerström 1997: 1-2, 1996: 42). Part of this discourse is the Swedish effort *Kunskapslyftet* (SOU 1997a:158) that aimed to encourage further education in times of unemployment, but it did not give any sufficient results (Junestav & Forslund 2009).

The *European Year of Lifelong Learning* (1996) aimed to raise public awareness about Lifelong Learning (Dehmel 2006: 53). Two years later (1998) UNESCO developed an action plan for cultural institutions making them centres of Lifelong Learning (Gram 2002: 10). At the time the term was practically unknown in Sweden (SOU 2000: 60), but has since then become integral in the argumentation for education and training. Lifelong Learning has come to play a large part in European educational policies and political rhetoric and this laid ground for the Lisbon Strategy. In 2000 the Lisbon European Council and the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* declared that Lifelong Learning was a method for the EU to become a competitive knowledge-based economy to be capable of sustainable economical growth, with more jobs and social cohesion (EU 2000a, EU 2000b, EU 2006a, EU 2006c, Pépin 2007: 126-127). The human capital approach to learning aims at producing an active person, which is problematic as learning in this context make individuals economically active but politically passive (Nijhof 2005: 403, Hartman 1993).

EU acknowledged this critique and Lifelong Learning was also promoted as a way to build a democratic society (EU 2001b). Sweden already at the time appropriated education as a way to solve problems in terms of democracy, inequality and integration (SOU 2000: 60, 67, 86, 191, 292). Notwithstanding the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* was regarded as inconsistent and there was an uncertainty if Lifelong Learning could be implemented on a governmental level or if they should just encourage learning (Utbildningsdepartementet 2001: 12-16). The Stockholm and Barcelona European Council tried to give concrete future objectives of European educational and vocational programmes which contrasted the previous more visionary objectives. Although the focus was put on democratic values and social cohesion, the Brussels European Council (2003) shifted perspective back to Lifelong Learning as a preventive measure for unemployed and inactive persons (EU 2006a). Eva Sjögren-Zipsane raised concerns about the focus on employability and stresses the more humanistic values of Lifelong Learning.

Access to learning was specified as important within EU policies (EU 2001a) and the Barcelona European Council (2002) introduced the basic skills: literacy, numeracy, basic competences in mathematics science and technology, ICT, Learning to learn, social skills and general culture (EU 2002, EU 2006a). This was further developed in 2004 at the same time the deficits with implementing Lifelong Learning was acknowledged and action was called

for (EU 2004b: 5). This resulted in the formulation of eight key-competences. When appropriated they would create fulfilment, employability and social cohesion. The eight Key Competences are: communication in the mother tongue and in foreign languages, mathematical and basic competences in science and technology, Digital competences, learning to learn, social and civic competences, sense of initiative and entrepreneurship, cultural awareness and expression (EU 2004a, EU 2006b, EU 2007b,c).

The aim of these competences is to enhance the European competitiveness in a 'new economy' where active citizenship and employability is dependent on 'adequate' and 'up to date' knowledge to contribute to an economic and social life (EU 2000b: 5). Competences are nevertheless strongly value dependent, and embedded in the dominant social discourses where certain learning is prioritized over the other. This suggests a preferred outcome when competences are utilised and this is how the contemporary society execute power (Hoskins and Crick 2010: 122-123, Andersson & Bergstedt 1996: 118). The EU objective has to date not been as successful as desired. The action plan for adult education from 2007 (EU 2007b, c) and the evaluation of the Lisbon Strategy (EU 2010a) shows that the participation in adult learning and Lifelong Learning has decreased. Therefore EU policies is now striving to, in the aegis of Lifelong Learning, find solutions for a sustainable development to create a democratic knowledge society (EU 2010b).

It is within this political space that learning at Landsarkivet and Jamtli is situated. It is especially apparent at Jamtli where Henrik Zipsanes approach learning at heritage institutions as a way to fulfil the key competences (c.f. Zipsane 2008). Eva Sjögren-Zipsane said that for her Lifelong Learning was a tool to make the archive a more democratic place and a way to be more useful in society. In this sense Lifelong Learning was directed to the visitors and not the employees. Although Eva Sjögren-Zipsane stresses the humanistic values of Lifelong Learning it situates my informants learning process within a powerful political discourse where the economic perspective cannot be avoided.

Jamtli and Landsarkivet use the term Lifelong Learning as a key-word when they seek funding. This can be noted in that Jamtli has been granted funding from European funds such as Grundtvig, Leonardo Da Vinci, Erasmus, European Structural Fund and the European Social Fund to support a competitive, interregional development in areas with structural problems to stimulate growth, sustainable development, social cohesion and Lifelong Learning. Henrik Zipsane regarded Lifelong Learning as a keyword with high social status bringing important expectations on a high European and Nordic level. Eva Sjögren-Zipsane has similar ways of utilising Lifelong Learning although she only referred to learning. Sjögren-Zipsane could, when applying for funding, more easily argue her case base on an already established European framework.

Furthermore, Jamtli is deeply involved in organisations such as Lifelong Learning in Open Air Museums (LLOAM), Pascal Observatory, European Association of Regional and Local Authorities on Lifelong Learning (EARLALL) (Zipsane 2010). Jamtli is also engaged in several international projects dealing with Lifelong Learning with other European universities and museums (Jamtli 2009b) as well as lobby organisations (EU undated). A possible conclusion is that Lifelong Learning follows in line with the theoretical discourse at Landsarkivet whereas Jamtli is more in tune with the political discourse.

There is, however, a discrepancy between the management perspective of Lifelong Learning and the employees. In an interview with Sten Gauffin I was told that Lifelong Learning was

not something that was infused in the daily work environment, but something that was referred to in an EU context. Sara said that Lifelong Learning was not something that she neither would hear nor talk about on a daily basis. I was given the impression that the EU context was regarded as something separate from the museum and that feed money into the institution. For my informants Lifelong Learning was something that they had encountered at the workplace, but it was not something that they felt was an overarching agenda. *If* Lifelong Learning was discussed at the institutions it was something that was directed to the visitors.

Because there is a discrepancy between the staff-members and the management understanding of Lifelong Learning, I call critical assessment of the political discourse and its effect on the institutions. The political idea of Lifelong Learning cannot be regarded as something apart from the institution. It must be acknowledged as infused in the working agenda with all the political and theoretical implications that it carries. When appropriated it must also be understood as such. To regard it as a tool to access funding is dangerous as it hides the political power from where it originates. Heritage institutions should encourage critical assessment of society, and that includes the areas from where funding is accessed.

## **Workplace Learning**

Workplaces as learning environments are defined as arenas of activities where socio-culturally goal-directed requirement and determined practices of the workplace shape the knowledge of the individuals (Marsick & Watkins 1999, Bilette 1999). Boud and Garrick (1999:2) argues that there is no single approach to understanding learning at work, and that there should not be one. Hager (1999: 71), nevertheless, identifies two main directions; learning in economical terms of human capital, or in terms of personal growth.

There is a reciprocal relationship between workplace learning and labour market policies, where the latter permeate the theories on workplace learning (Garrick 1999: 217, Boud and Garrick 1999: 4, Field 2005: 330). My ethnographic material showed this clearly where my informants connected learning to employability. For instance my informant Lisa, when discussing Lifelong Learning, told me that to retain a position one needs to acquire further training. This can be compared to Boud (1999: 5) that writes that learning at the workplace is not about the immediate work competences, but about future ones and it is about utilisation of skills and competences. Lisa's statement can also be regarded in connection to Nijhof (2005: 404, 409, 414) that is critical to workplace learning and its connection to employability as he rejects the idea of knowledge being a commodity that can be bought or sold.

Edwards and Miller (2000) and Edwards, Ranson and Strain (2002), argue that Lifelong Learning is not about gaining work excellence, but about self fulfilment and reflexivity to the learning process. Barnett (1999: 32), however, argues that work is supposed to present opportunities for growth and learning, but as work is built on set of routines learning occur less often. Learning theories and EU document presents learning as positive and lead to democracy, but Nijhof (2005: 409, 404, 414) writes that knowledge has always been distributed unequally and cannot be combined with the ideas of a society on equal opportunities. The unequal distribution of knowledge was preset in my ethnographic material that shows that most of my informants that previously participated in formal learning activities are those that were the most interested in learning something new, they were also reflexive to the learning process.

My informants associated learning with acquiring theoretical knowledge and as something that they needed to know to perform work. Although the majority associated to learning this way, my informants that performed manual labour articulated clearly that this was not the only way to learn. The working experience, as working together on a project, was often referred to by those with manual labour as occasions where they learned. Here it was the tactile experience of doing something that triggered the learning process. At the same time there were also voices raised that the staff with office work did not recognize the knowledge the manual labourer communicated. I hold that knowledge is hierarchal positioned in the institutions and that theoretic knowledge was designated a higher status than tactile knowledge, so were also the case with people with formal theoretical education. Thus Jamtli needs to re-evaluate how knowledge is validated and take into account the socio-economical class perspectives if they want to create a beneficial learning environment.

Jamtli and Landsarkivet encourage staff-members to acquire new skills and avail ten percent of the work hours to do research (free of choice). Most of my informants, however, experienced that they could not find the time to do this research due to the work load. Furthermore some of my informants working with manual labour questioned the purpose of doing research as it was not connected to their work. They experience the research, and it is also promoted as such, as having a theoretical character. As I have implied before so was also learning in general, thus suggesting that my informants understanding was that certain kind of knowledge was favoured. Craftsmanship and similar knowledge was not something that my informants' experience that they were encouraged to do. As this is the overarching structure of learning at these institutions it limits the opportunities for all the employees to have the same opportunities to learn or abilities to excel at the workplace. To become a fully democratic heritage environment the scope of learning should therefore be communicated as to include both tactile and theoretical knowledge and research. Furthermore the institutions could utilise this in their pedagogical programs to benefit visitors and staff-members alike. There is a socio-economical class difference at play when it comes to validating learning and knowledge and the desired reciprocal distribution of knowledge is hampered by social expectations on learning. This is something that the institutions need to identify because it is at the core of knowledge acquisition.

Barnett (1999: 41) argues that learning takes collective responsibilities and my informants regarded the social context of the work environment as something that contributed to their personal development. I hold that to create active learning environments knowledge needs to be understood as a reciprocal distribution. I therefore asked my informants how they contributed to the work environment to understand the exchange of knowledge. The answers were very diverse, most of my informants regarded their previous work experience, education, or there present work effort as something that they contributed with. Some of them did not think they contributed with anything special, but being asked again they said that they contributed to the social environment. Alexander spoke of the aspect of giving and taking in terms of learning, and Daniel said that the knowledge that he acquired needed at the workplace was also something that he tried to convey to others. Alexander and Daniel regarded learning as a reciprocal process, something that was unique at the institutions. Knowledge was not something that was given to them, but they regarded themselves as part of a knowledge distribution. These informants have a different attitude to learning which should be encouraged if the institutions wish to develop a strategy for reflexive learning among their employees. There were tendencies to this approach in what the people in

management positions articulated, but knowledge was overall understood as distributed to the staff-members when being in the institutional context, not as a reciprocal process.

It is however important to remember that people in ‘wage subsidy’ programmes add to the working environment – that it is not just beneficial for them to be in the heritage environment. Holmqvist (2006) writes that occupational disabled have qualifications that the system may not realise and can benefit from. Eva Sjögren-Zipsane, Henrik Zipsane, Sten Gauffin and Sten Rentzhog held that people in ‘wage subsidy’ programmes add to the institution as they arrive with different skills. They all held that the work might be done in a different way, but the person’s competences biography enhance and diversified the working environment. An interesting study for the future could be what ordinary staff-members learn from being in an environment of various labour market measures and how this contributes to Lifelong Learning in terms of social development and competences enhancement.

## **Learning and the Pedagogical Profile**

Workplace learning is regulated by the social norms and practices and upheld by certain regulating power structures (Billette 2004: 12-13, 316-320). A part from the dominant EU profile the Jamtli and Landsarkivet have clear pedagogical profiles. I will show here, by giving examples from the ethnographic material, how the workplace continuity at Jamtli and Landsarkivet are regulated by these ideals and what possibilities for learning emerges.

Eva Sjögren-Zipsane has since long argued for a pedagogical profile at archives (e.g. Sjögren & Lundström 2004). At Landsarkivet it varies from activities directed to visitors from preschool to postretirement age. Prominent is a programme that gives retired a platform to socialise and learn (Sjögren-Zipsane 2008) and together with Jamtli they are driving a program to encourage dropouts to reengage in school activities, this program is also funded by the EU. Landsarkivets programmes are overall in line with the government’s idea that the archives should be accessible to all and play a role for democracy (SOU 2002: 162-166 c.f. SOU 2009a, b, c).

The pedagogical profile is mainly directed to the visitors, but has come to infuse the work environment. This is apparent in how work is expected to be performed. Barnett (1999: 34) writes that employees may find themselves in a position where work is relative routine and workers may not cease every learning opportunity that comes their way. This is not the case at Landsarkivet where the pedagogical model has considerably changed how they work within the institution. Eva Sjögren-Zipsane holds that she encourages the archivist, when organising an archive, to reflect on the documents and consider if it could be beneficial to the pedagogical programmes. In this way the work becomes less monotonous and routine. She admits that the process of organising archives may take longer, but she considers the pedagogical programmes, more important than aspects of preservation. Sjögren-Zipsane argues that this approach to work has also resulted in a larger participation among the staff-members in the overall pedagogical objectives. Rankema (2005: 384) writes that this kind of approach assumes that the employees are an entrepreneur of his or her knowledge and that the motivation of the worker in this kind of work environment is more important than the corporate strategy.

In this sense, I argue, is Eva Sjögren-Zipsane trying to promote learning through the process of working and encourage the employees to actively engage in the material available. This is also in line with the governmental agenda proposing that engagement with old documents makes people inquisitive and desire to acquire knowledge (SOU 2002: 165). My informant, Daniel, reflected on this as he regarded Landsarkivet an exciting place to work at because he never knew what he would encounter while working. Garrick (1999: 220) writes that an individual is most productive when he/she feels that work is meaningful. Daniel is a clear example of how the pedagogical model brings joy to the work process in its exploring objective. Daniel has a personal interest in music and was placed to organise an archive with music sheet. This triggered an idea to organise a concert with his orchestra at Landsarkivet performing the music 'hidden in the archives', which has now turned into an annual event. Landsarkivets pedagogical profile, as encouraging reflexive work performance, results in personal initiatives that feed back in to the organisation.

Not everyone, however, reflected on the pedagogical profile in this way probably having to do with what task they performed at Landsarkivet. The majority of my informants had not reflected on the pedagogical profile as they regarded themselves not involved in it. When I asked if the pedagogical profile had changed the way of working, the first thing to come to mind was that it had increased the workload or that it was more open to the public. Therefore to utilise the benefits of a pedagogical profile, Landsarkivet needs to stipulate more clearly how it can be incorporated into the work and how this can contribute to Lifelong Learning among the employees at all levels of the institution. Furthermore if learning is to occur, the staff-members need to be encouraged to reflect and evaluate their learning experiences.

Jamtli has since the 1970s tried to develop new methods in heritage learning and in 1984 the concept of a time-travel as a pedagogical method emerged. It aimed to enhance the visitors understanding of the conditions of the past in terms of e.g. race, class and gender (c.f Borgström 2003). During Sten Rentzhogs directorship the museum had a clear regional profile trying to install pride of province, and a positive outlook of the future (Rentzhog 2000: 7-12). During Henrik Zipsane's directorship the pedagogical profile has been maintained, but Jamtli has gained a European profile with an increased focus on regional development and social inclusion. These ideas are best visualised through the pedagogical programs such as the ones to promote education and employability among unemployed young adults (Augustén 2006) and among long term unemployed immigrants (Åkerström 2006), a programme to enhance the reminiscence among people at the early stages of dementia (Jamtli 2009a), and pedagogical program that familiarises students with the problematic of being a refugee (Berglund 2004). Zipsane (2007a,b,c ) argues that cultural heritage productions is beneficial for the society and regional development because the visitors are stimulated to learn and acquire competence, at the same time as the community saves resources.

Although Jamtli has a clear pedagogical profile it does not permeates the working environment to the same degree as at Landsarkivet and an explanation could be that the organisation is much larger at Jamtli. At some occasions staff-members are drawn in to the museum's educational programmes through different events. Although not appreciated by all, many regarded it as enjoyable to learn and to work with new things. My informant Alexander is an example of learning in conjuncture with the museums pedagogical profile. He said that interacting with visitors was a large part of learning at the workplace as they had much knowledge that they also communicated.

The pedagogical profile at Jamtli and Landsarkivet can benefit the working environment but can be better appropriated when encouraging learning at the workplace. Jamtli, especially, needs to be aware of what Rankema refers to as the mutual activeness between employee and labour organisation (Rankema 2005: 384). Learning in this sense should be channelled within the institution more clearly and not just to the visitors. The management needs therefore to encourage the staff-members to actively reflect on the learning process on all levels both theoretically and practically.

### **Learning During the Coffee-Break**

Nilsson (1996: 206) writes that learning always takes place within a specific social context and this affects the individuals' possibility to learn. My ethnographic material has shown that most of my informants, when talking about learning, associated it to formal settings and formal occasions such as school. Learning contexts vary, and Boud and Garrick write that work and learning previously used to belong in two separate categories, learning was about education and work about earning a living but hold that this is not valid anymore (Boud Garrick 1999:2). There are great learning qualities to participation in work and this is compromised by individual's engagement, interests and goals. The learning outcome cannot be anticipated in advanced, but staff-members decide on what they want to participate in and how they learn from it (Billette 2004: 12-13, 316, 320, Barnett 1999). When I talked to my informants not about learning but spaces where learning occurred they referred to the working process. Sten Gauffin experienced that it was in this context that people in 'wage subsidy' programmes developed. Furthermore they all spoke about the relationship to family and colleagues and my informants' statement can be connected to Field (2006a, b) that regards the social context as being the basis for learning and social cohesion. Moreover my informants talked about internet and books, but what they all had in common was that they regarded the coffee-break as an important space for learning.

Coffee-breaks are institutionalised at Jamtli and Landsarkivet. The management encourage participation in coffee-breaks that take place twice a day. Sara said that these occasions are regarded as important times to meet staff-members that she did not socialise with during the labour process. She continued stating that during the coffee-breaks problems could be solved quickly that could otherwise take days. At Landsarkivet John and Daniel spoke about the different educations people had. John spoke about the Landsarkivet as an environment with diverse knowledge something that he experienced as positive and different to other places where he had worked. Daniel and Ken said that this was interesting because there was always an answer to questions brought up in conversations. At Jamtli Sara also experienced the setting as add value to her life but said that it was up to the individual to learn from the environment.

The coffee-break was not the only place where knowledge and experiences were shared. From my field observation and interviews I have observed that problems are shared in between the staff-members. An informant told me that there were other forums for sharing more personal experiences. He exemplified the walks that the project 'Växtkraft' at Landsarkivet instituted. The project 'Växtkraft' was funded by the European Social Fund that aims to renew and develop work life through competence development and increase work opportunities (EU 1999a). The aim with 'Växtkraft' was to enhance the staff-members competences at work and raise awareness on health issues such as diets and exercise. This resulted in more healthy

coffee-breaks and exercise programmes in forms of walks. To my informant, as I interpret it, these walks contributed to a more positive outlook on his life. This became apparent through a promotion outside the institution. Learning in this context is dependent on the values that EU stipulates with Lifelong Learning. Moreover as 'Växtkraft' was instituted within the EU discourse of labour market strategies and Lifelong Learning (EU 1999a, b), the ideas permeate the learning outcome. The outcome of the project; competence development, social cohesion and wellbeing must therefore be understood in terms of these ideas.

At Jamtli and Landsarkivet exchange of knowledge, experiences and learning happens predominantly when taking a break from work. This can be connected to Barnett that argues that learning at work is not about an inward experience, rather about confronting multiple expectations, challenges and a change of thinking (Barnett 1999: 37-38). It is apparent that learning in this context is multifaceted and operates on both professional and personal levels and are intertwined with the personal biography. This kind of learning cannot be anticipated or measured, only experienced.

## **Rehabilitation and Lifelong Learning**

Almost 30 years ago Sivesind (1981) came to the conclusion that cultural institutions are well suited for rehabilitating people suffering from stress. Although he shares important experiences there is, to my knowledge, not one that has followed up on his research.

In an interview with Eva Sjögren-Zipsane she touched on similar aspects and connected the environment at Landsarkivet to contribute to rehabilitation. She said that many people in labour market measures that had worked in the institution hoped to continue there. She held that the work empowered them. Being in this context was also expressed by Ken as a way of rehabilitation. He explained to me that being in a context of work and being able to talk to other people was a way to gain better self confidence that was easily lost when on long-term sick-leave. Eva Sjögren-Zipsane mentioned that archive work triggered a sense of wanting to discover, it stimulated the intellect and the employees constantly learned something new at work. Eva Sjögren-Zipsane regarded the joy of discovery as an important part of learning. This can be compared to a statement made by Daniel that talked about the amazing world of archives and said that it was 'thanks' to his illness that he finally found the right place in life.

When I asked my informant if there was a difference working at a cultural institution compared to any other place; Bob said that the environment was much calmer and Sara and Daniel said that Jamtli and Landsarkivet were not places where results were demanded resulting in a peaceful work environment. William stated that he could actually work as the work environment at Jamtli allowed him to perform tasks according to his ability. He said that this had not been possible at any other workplace and for him this was life-changing. Rupert had also experienced a change in life since he started working at Jamtli. He was now able to perform 25 percent more work than previously, something that he was very proud of.

Alexander told me that the work environment at Jamtli was well suited for rehabilitation as working with animals had a peaceful quality. Sara also reflected on this and said that during her illness, before being placed at Jamtli, she would often come to the Open Air Museum and knew of others that would do the same. Sara said that she found peace there. She compared working in the museum to rehabilitation work at gardens. To her the cultural institution

brought a quality to life that could not be found elsewhere. Although most of my informants regarded it as work was contributing to new experiences it was not shared by everyone and John said that there was no difference to any other place.

Henrik Zipsane stressed aspects of social cohesion when discussing what Jamtli could contribute to these people; he suggested that Jamtli contributed to a sense of belonging. It also entailed that people were helped to learn how to respect each other. To the community, he added, it showed that Jamtli was a place where people from all walks of life worked. He said that this entailed that the visitor could experience that the institution reflected them and Eva Sjögren-Zipsane concurred to this and stated that the mission of the archive was to show solidarity and to open up cultural institutions to people that were excluded in the society. Henrik Zipsane and Eva Sjögren-Zipsane's argumentation follows in line with the Governmental Bill (Budgetpropositionen 1999/2000: 79) that state that the public sector should reflect the diversity of society.

Occupational disabled people are helped by these institutions to continue a normal life and are not in the risk of being socialised into the role of unemployed or disabled. They are at the same time exposed to cultural values that might trigger new learning experiences. Nevertheless all of my informants were comfortable at the institution and only two of my informants hoped to have a future outside the labour market measure. Sara said that working at Jamtli taught her to approach work from a different angle and she regarded this quality as crucial for a continuing career outside Jamtli. The positions are supposed to be a temporary solution helping people out on the labour market, but have resulted in more or less permanent positions. Reasons for this could be that some faced retirement; their age, physical or mental disability would be a disadvantage finding a position.

Lifelong Learning can be promoted as a method to achieve rehabilitation and Field (2009: 3) regards Lifelong Learning as taking steps towards improving one's health. To Nilssons (1996: 206) and Jarvis (2007: 123) Lifelong Learning entails elements of change, intellectually or behaviourally in terms of emotions, attitudes and thoughts. However promoting Lifelong Learning as a way to rehabilitate people requires more active measures. My ethnographic material has shown change in terms of personal and intellectual development. My informants have learned to be more at peace, learned new skills, and other approaches to work. Moreover they learn how much they can work, not how limited they are at work. However, apart from one person, none of them have found work outside the institutions. Cultural institutions appear to be constructive places to promote learning to rehabilitate that have a considerable effect in people's life. Nevertheless as only one person could imagine a life outside the labour market measure it is possible that the negative effects of learning is reflected in the institution. People learn to be comfortable with having a workplace and do not seek other employments. There must therefore be a way to encourage these people to continue the career outside the labour market measure so that they are not socialised into the role of a 'wage subsidy' holder at the cultural institutions.

As I implied previously, the institutions benefit from appointing this group as it reduces costs. Therefore in encouraging Landsarkivet and Jamtli to develop programmes to help this group back to the labour market could hamper the institutions work continuation. The economical and socio-political objectives of the institutions may limit the opportunities for learning to rehabilitate. To put it frankly, if they invested in a learning programme for rehabilitation they would lose important competences, as these people would leave for other appointments. The cultural institution depends on this group as they do not have the finances to employ them on

a regular basis. There may therefore be a conflict of interest in what kind of learning for rehabilitation is promoted. On the other hand it must be mentioned that during my time at the institutions I found that management and staff-members encourage people in 'wage-subsidy' programmes to find work outside the institution.

## **A Question of Democracy**

Can 'wage subsidy' and Lifelong Learning be regarded as ways to make heritage institutions more democratic? To answer the question, a definition of what democratic heritage institutions are, is needed. I will therefore explore the political and theoretical discourses of democracy relevant to the heritage sector.

The process of making heritage institutions democratic has multitudes of explanations. It is explained as representing the diversity of society and neglected ethnic groups (Galla 2003, Pal 1998). It is also about representing values in line with the community (Simpson 2006), introducing new and equal representations of social memory (McGee 2005, Witcomb 2006) and making people feel welcome at the heritage institutions (Mason & McCarthy 2005). McGee (2005) suggests that democratic museums should reflect national values, but Cameron (2005) and Maguire (1998) hold that they should challenge the political environment and encourage critical thinking. Reddy (2007), Rodéhn (2008) and Gable (2005) hold that the transition to democracy is more complex than usually acknowledged and intertwined with past and present political powers that is at the same time rejected and affirmed. It is therefore safe to say that there is not one definition of a democratic heritage expression, but many.

The process of making museums and archives more democratic has many similarities with EUs objectives with Lifelong Learning. The term is promoted to build a democratic society (EU 2001b). EU documents hold that Lifelong Learning is a tool to achieve social cohesion (EU 2000b, EU 2001b), to furtherer tolerance and respect (EU 2006a), help eradicate racism and xenophobia (EU 2006c), to change attitudes (EU 2005), a method to help disadvantaged groups (EU 2006c), to promote gender equality (EU 2006c), to promote equality and understanding between different religions and sexual orientations (EU 2006c) and to bridge class differences (EU 2006a).

Democracy is also at the heart of Swedish cultural policies where culture is regarded as having an affirmative force in achieving social cohesion, sustainable development, multiculturalism and fulfilling the needs of the citizens (SOU 2009a 16-19, 234, 2009b: 21, 33, 85, 2009c: 81). To reach a democratic heritage focus has been put on the utilisation, mediation, and accessibility of heritage. Moreover cultural creativity and competences are articulated as to contribute to a social, environmental and economic sustainable development (SOU 2009a:17). It is therefore interesting to note that these are the exact values that are listed in the working document for a Strategic Plan of Jamtli 2011-2014 (Jamtli 2010) and in the Strategic Plan of Landsarkivet (Riksarkivet 2007). It is possible to conclude that Jamtli and Landsarkivet infuse both the national values of democratic heritage and the democratic objectives of Lifelong Learning into their institutional agenda. It is therefore within this discourse that Jamtli and Landsarkivet as democratic and educational institutions must be understood.

As I have showed above the objective for a democratic Swedish heritage is accessibility, meditation, preservation and utilisation. Yet the ethnographic and archive material shows that the institutions cannot, due to economic restrains, continue to fulfil these requirements without the system of ‘wage-subsidy’. This system is necessary if the institutions want to realize the democratic objectives stipulated by the government. Yet the heritage institutions are constantly faced with subsidy cuts that threaten the democratic expression of heritage

The discussion on democratic heritage institutions is shaped by post-modernist and post-colonial discussions that have come to influence the heritage sector. Ideas such as multiculturalism, social inclusion and responsibility, multivocality, gender and power dominate the discourse. Yet, the dominant narratives articulated by heritage institutions have been questioned and so also the role of heritage officials as experts and authorities. This centres on discussions that museums and archives cannot, if they want to be significant in a social context, function in their own right. The role of experts/authorities as official mediators of heritage has been mistrusted and the call for a more inclusive narrative has come to embrace the perspective of laymen.

People in ‘wage subsidy’ programmes have been placed at the institution; they are therefore the same kind of people that the museums and archives desire as visitors. Therefore while working in the institution they are also accessing material and at the same time the institutions are mediating heritage. While they are accessing material they also contribute to the preservation of heritage. Their work experience also results in that knowledge is distributed, something that these institutions regard as a democratic quality. People in ‘wage subsidy’ programmes are normally laymen. In times when institutions struggles to deconstruct the dominant heritage narrative they represent a way for museums and archives to reflect on the ‘histories’ that they mediate. The personal biography, skills and competences belonging to people in ‘wage subsidy’ programmes are stressed by these institutions as to enhance the heritage environment. I argue, however, that Jamtli and Lansarkivet can better utilise it, the perspective these people have of being disabled or occupationally disabled could be an asset when deconstructing the dominant narrative in heritage productions. The system of ‘wage subsidy’ therefore assists the museums and archives to become, not only a place for experts, but a place that represent the heritage and memories of the general public.

Museums and archives have great educative functions that can lead to democratisations of heritage, something that Landsarkivet and Jamtli have understood in terms of their socially conscious programs directed to visitors. This is also something that they could utilise when it comes to labour market measures. The educative role of the archive and museum should entail and active encouragement of staff-members to reflect on learning processes. Encouragement to a reflexive learning process could result in a more reciprocal distribution of knowledge and a more interconnected working environment. If heritage institutions actively encourage the employees to reflect on learning it can result in that people with low skilled jobs acquire further training and result in a decreased socio-economic class difference, something that the EU (EU 2006a) has identified as a problem.

The EU objectives of Lifelong Learning and the Swedish cultural policies both put regional and sustainable development in centre of a democratisation process. The system of ‘wage subsidy’ contributes to this as local people are employed, gain competences and are active citizens. Furthermore this system avails the museums and archives to continue to exist and find creative implementation of heritage beyond maintaining the basic functions of the institutions. Seen in this perspective the EU approach to human capital, the Swedish labour

market policies and the Swedish democratic objectives for heritage institutions are in tune with each other.

Nevertheless, it is possible to question if Lifelong Learning is an appropriate method to enhance the democratic outlook of heritage institutions as Lifelong Learning is a tool to promote employability and therefore excludes a large part of the population. Jarvis (2007: 101) writes that a learning society is an unequal one where the possibilities for learning depend on the execution of power and the socio-economic differentiation between people. Moreover Andersson and Bergstedt (1996:118) and Nijhof (2005: 411) argue that Lifelong Learning imprisons the person to uphold certain power structures and can result in marginalisation.

The management at Jamtli and Landsakivet are aware of this and call for a wider definition of Lifelong Learning that encompasses everyone. Thus, the kind of people appointed at the institutions bridges this problem. The fact that they employ older people in 'wage subsidy' programmes and that they have an active Lifelong Learning approach can result in an encouragement to knowledge acquisition even after retirement. However the institutions need to take a more active approach and develop action plans for this.

The museums and archives need to develop methods, specific to the institutions, so that the approach to Lifelong Learning combined with 'wage subsidy' can be better utilised as a democratic method. As Lifelong Learning is appropriated at present it has become a political tool used when seeking funding and for networking. Lifelong Learning is not used to its fullest potential and the institutions need to more critically assess the term and to move beyond the mere political rhetoric. As Lifelong Learning is appropriated at present at the institutions it lacks a sustainable foundation among the staff-members and functions as a free-floating term applied when handy. For a better contextualisation and implementation in the working environment the management needs to inform the staff-members of the political and theoretical implications of Lifelong Learning, especially since it is an overarching agenda at Jamtli.

## **Concluding Remarks**

This paper explores if the system of 'wage subsidy' combined with Lifelong Learning can result in more democratic heritage institutions. I have highlighted how learning is bound to the context of the place (the museum and archive), to the structural organisation of the workplace (e.g. the pedagogical profile, coffee-breaks), the political context, the social system in which the learner is situated in (e.g. 'wage subsidy'), and the expected outcome of learning (e.g. rehabilitation). Learning at the workplace needs to be positioned to the institutions work profile, strategic plans, objectives and relation to political discourses. Analysing this enables a penetration of the socially and politically situated learning and possible discrepancies.

My ethnographic material shows that all my informants experienced that some kind of learning at the workplace occurred, but that learning was taken for granted and not something that they reflected on. Learning was overall understood by my informants as having theoretical character and something that would contribute to employment. However management evoked other learning spaces. I believe that the management's role is therefore to encourage reflexivity to other learning space and to personal development, learning and

exchange of knowledge. My material also demonstrates other learning outcomes, e.g., my informants stressed that the environment at the institutions was calming and brought an extra quality to life and to that they could work, rehabilitate and in some case could take on more workload. Heritage institutions, as work environment, can therefore contribute in real change for people suffering from occupational disabilities. Yet, if Jamtli and Landsarkivet want to use the benefits of Lifelong Learning they need to better introduce and inform the staff-members of the concept. If this is channelled efficiently it can result in a transformation of staff-members life and also result in resource efficient programmes beneficial to the larger society.

Investigating workplace learning highlighted socio-economical class differences and hierarchal distribution of knowledge. This is something that the institutions need to acknowledge for a reciprocal knowledge acquisition and for an improvement of the mediation of heritage to the public. Ways to achieve this is by learning from the pedagogical profile at Landsarkivet that promotes a working process that includes exploration, reflexivity and knowledge distribution. Other ways are to create awareness of learning by promoting informal learning spaces and the benefit of working in a multidisciplinary environment. This kind of attitude to work can lead to rehabilitation and help fulfilling the democratic values stipulated by the government.

I come to the conclusion that Lifelong Learning as a theoretical approach is indistinct in its all-encompassing way – learning is expected in all occasions and therefore a result is always anticipated. I argue that the term Lifelong Learning needs to be made more distinct when utilised at heritage institutions. My experience working on this project is that Lifelong Learning is best used as a method to approach attitudes among staff-members. I argue that an investigation of learning among staff-members revealed more about attitudes to the society and related issues concerning disabilities, class, race and gender and how this was acted out at the institutions and consequently filtered through to the public. Discussing learning with the employees can therefore be a way to access and evaluate methods to alter, evaluate and improve representations and mediation of heritage and furthermore consider the dominant narrative. So, Lifelong Learning should not be considered a way to investigate if learning occurs, as learning is assumed, but a tool to approach and investigate socio-political problems in the heritage environment.

The ethnographic material showed that learning is politically situated at Jamtli and Landsarkivet. It is positioned in relation to the powerful political discourses of EU and Swedish policies on learning, culture and the labour market. When discussing politically situated learning it is important to have in mind that there is a reciprocal relation and communication between the institutions, agent and the discourse. This can be seen in funding seeking processes, lobby activities, membership in organisations and general management at the institutions. The institutions alter their activities, documents and values to be more in line with the discourses and can hence access subsidy.

Therefore learning at Landsarkivet and Jamtli is attached to the political objectives of employability, access and mediation of heritage. There is a need to further deconstruct this, otherwise learning is endangered of being mainstreamed and certain knowledge is prioritised in line with these objectives. The undercurrent political powers and the financial benefactors needs to be deconstructed to fully understand how museums and archives become democratic.

It is important for the institutions to develop and maintain a workplace learning that are specific and beneficial to the institutions. Consequently the potentials of learning can be

utilised as a democratic resource of benefit to the larger society and learning turn into more than a rhetorical tool and is not left free-floating. A more critical stance to Lifelong Learning is of need if museums and archives want to promote learning to help citizens, staff-members and visitors alike, to acquire new knowledge, help break social stigmas, socio-economical class barriers, to develop interpersonal and work related competences and give opportunities for a different life.

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