



MUSEUMS *and* EDUCATION *in the* NORTH

edited by
TINE FRISTRUP



Fornvårdaren 39

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MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION IN THE NORTH

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INTRODUCTION

TINE FRISTRUP

The project **Museums and Education in the North** sat out to compare the different national initiatives taken in the Nordic countries in order to promote collaboration between the educational and the cultural sector concerning compulsory education and museums. This publication starts with a presentation from the four Nordic countries: Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland.

The four articles with the titles “*Museums and Education in Norway*” by **Lasse Sonne**, “*Museums and Education in Sweden*” by **Thomas Risan**; “*Museums and Education in Denmark*” by **Marie Bonde Olesen**; “*Museums and Education in Finland*” by **Kimmo Levä** - encompass the first phase of the project funded by the **Nordic Culture Fund**. In the project’s second and third phases funded by the **Nordic Culture Point**, we have taken a step further in elaborating a point of reference to configure *the possibilities for* and *the barriers to* collaboration between **Museums and Education in the North**.

In order to contextualise these four collaborative efforts between culture and education, we have created cases from the Nordic countries based in the political, scientific, professional and practical landscapes of collaboration between culture and education. We have modelled these efforts into the workings of scenarios on the collaborative and conflicting aspects between the educational and cultural sector elaborated as the social orderings of *creativity regimes* in Art, Pedagogy, Science and Industry inspired by the works of Fiewel Kupferberg. The framework, including the modelling, has deepened the comparison in the first phase between the different collaborative initiatives in the four Nordic countries. During the project period and all three phases, we have been able to dive into the conflicting aspects of the collaborative efforts, which depart from the shifts in both educational and cultural policies in the Nordic countries that impact the collaboration between the educational and the cultural sectors in the Nordic countries on a sectoral, institutional, and pedagogical level.

In the article, with the title *Museums and Education in the North - Possibilities for and Barriers to Collaboration*, **Tine Fristrup** presents the project in correspondence with the framework in the article with the title *Reshaping Education for the 21st Century, Transitions in Nordic Cultural Policies and Modelling Creativity Regimes*, where **Tine Fristrup** develops a framing for the project and publication in pointing towards the shifts and turns in both educational and cultural policies in the Nordics countries and on a transnational level. The article presents a model on *Creativity Regimes* that aims at easing the orientation in the battlefield, in order to understand the collaborative and conflicting aspects between culture and education in regard to the social ordering in the domains of Art, Pedagogy, Science and Industry according to the (work-in-progress) modelling on creativity regimes.

The conflicting aspects of the different forms of resistance in both the educational and the cultural sector can be traced back in history as struggles for control over identities. This approach is elaborated in the article by **Henrik Zipsane** with the title *The Struggle for Control over Identities – Education, History and Local Communities in Scandinavia*: “Since the 19th Century the nation-state and therefore the national organising of things – of identities – has been the ultimate reference structure until the breakthrough of internationalisation in the second half of the 20th Century and globalisation in the 21st Century. For national governments, it has been their control over education and history, which has been the cornerstone

for also controlling the construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of identities. In its own way, this method is parallel to the role of Christianity in Europe before the 19th Century and how control over religious practise made it possible to construct identities of loyal subjects for the crown” (p. 120 in this publication)

In order to overcome the barriers to co-production, you have to dive into an understanding of co-production. According to Kershaw et al. (2018), the collaborative efforts in museums correspond to “lower-order forms” of co-production as the traditional and accepted forms of museums co-production, which require minimal change to the work of public sector organisations and professionals. In contrast, you will seldom find “higher-order forms” of co-production, also known as co-creation in museums, because it requires that the educationally engaged practices can be conducted jointly with the participants. Co-creation is a full co-production, co-construction or co-innovation (Kershaw et al. 2018, p. 22), where the participants or the community as a whole becomes involved in the design of services at the museum. Both *co-production* and *co-creation* have been a frame of reference in the unfolding of cases from Denmark and Norway. In particular, the article by **Marie Bonde Olesen** with the title *Implementing Co-production between the Educational and Cultural Sector in Denmark - Three Cases*, sees to present the barriers to co-production in the collaboration between museums and education in Denmark under the umbrella of the phenomenon *Open School* in Danish *Åben Skole*. According to Bovaird (2007), the critical obstacle to co-production and co-creation is the lack of skills required to work with users and communities among professionals in the public sector in general and in ‘the art of relevance’ in particular. Olesen elaborate cases from Denmark that demonstrates how professionals in both schools and day-care facilities seek to overcome the barriers to co-production through education at a university college level. In her article, she documents that the professionals’ approach to co-production in their assignments in the educational programme can be said to range from lower to higher forms of co-production, and some even to a lesser extent in only focusing on communicating with the museum about the lessons at the museum.

The Danish phenomenon *Open School* is also taken into considerations by **Nicki Madsen** in his article with the title *Open School and Co-production - Translation and Implementation of Open School as an (Organizational) Recipe for Co-production*, and elaborated in an analysis of the Open School

as an “organizational recipe” that has to be implemented in the Danish educational sector in accordance with the implementation of the educational reform in 2014: “*Open School* is one component of the Danish primary and lower secondary school (public school) reform from 2014. Open School stipulates a closer cooperation between schools and their local communities in educating students (Folkeskoleloven, 2020). I argue in this article that Open School can be viewed as an outcome of the broader societal trend of co-producing welfare services between professionals and citizens (Tortzen, 2019). *Co-production* has in recent years received an increasing amount of attention from a variety of actors (Brandsen, Steen, & Verschuere, 2018; Fogsgaard & Jongh, 2018; National Bevægelse for Samskabelse, 2017). Co-production is seen by many stakeholders as the solution to many of the *wicked problems* (Rittel & Webber, 1973) that our societies face these years such as democratic deficits, demographic change, the climate crises, and the production of welfare in austere economic times (Brandsen et al., 2018; Fogsgaard & Jongh, 2018; Pestoff, 2019; Tortzen, 2019)” (p. 149-150 in this publication).

Lasse Sonne and **Geir Sigvard Salvesen** elaborate in their article with the title *Creating and Implementing Space between Museums and Schools. The New Core Curriculum in Norway and the Escape Box*: “In the fall of 2020, a new core curriculum for the school years 1-13 was implemented in Norway, which will have a considerable impact on the collaboration between museums and schools. In Norway, formal collaboration between museums and schools is organised through The Cultural Schoolbag (TCS) – also known as *Den Kulturelle Skolesekken* (DKS) in Norwegian. TCS is a cooperation project between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education, and is aimed at education around art and culture. The public organisation known as the *Kulturtanken* (formerly *Rikskonsertene*) has had the national responsibility for TCS since 2016. The Norwegian TCS is an ambitious arrangement, also seen in the wider Nordic context, for example in the Swedish *Skapande Skola* (The Creative School), the Danish *Skoletjenesten* (The Danish School Service) and in Finland, where no central organisation exists. Building a bridge between museums and schools is necessary for meeting Norwegian school guidelines. Collaboration between museums and schools however needs to be useful for both. Learning outcomes from TCS should be measured and evaluated so that also museums can contribute to formal learning outside the classrooms.

In this article, we discuss the relation between the 21st century skills framework and the new core curriculum in Norway. We discuss the challenges with implementing a new core curriculum. We furthermore discuss possibilities to develop new collaboration between museums and schools through the escape-box method. An escape room is a problem-based and time-constrained game, requiring active and collaborative participation from participants (Veldkamp et al. 2020). In addition, we discuss how to assess a new learning method for both museums and schools. The article is based on various methodological approaches, with document analysis being key. Public studies and reports, as well as the new Norwegian core curriculum, have been important documents for this study. Based on Goodlad's dimensions for curriculum practice (Goodlad, 1979), these are ideological and formal plans that provide insight into the thinking behind the changes and the national guidelines. One of the authors of this article has been engaged by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training in the work with the new core curriculum from when the work started in 2017 until the finished curriculum was adopted in 2020. The perspectives and knowledge from this work are also used for the article. Furthermore, the article is based on observations and focus group interviews during the escape box project in Norway. In addition, we have used research on 21st century skills and policy-implementation" (p. 179-180 in this publication).

The Norwegian track is further elaborated by **Bente Aster** in her article with the title *Cultural Heritage and the Museums in The Cultural Schoolbag*, where she "discuss how cultural heritage is rooted in and integrated with children's and youth's everyday school life, using The Cultural Schoolbag (TCS) in Norway as an example. With this perspective as a backdrop, I present a historic outline of the TCS, including an outline of the status of cultural heritage as an expression of the TCS, and challenges and opportunities in connection with the dissemination of cultural heritage in the education sector, in addition to presenting a selection of various actors' initiatives and projects related to these challenges and opportunities. Furthermore, I comment on future processes, topics, and solutions as these relate to the TCS, cultural heritage, and its stakeholders" (p. 203 in this publication). Aster points towards a necessary *professionalisation* of the collaborative efforts in order to overcome the barriers to co-production.

Since the outbreak of the covid-19 pandemic early this year, the global impact have to be taken into into considerations, and the *pandemic* might

be relevant to add as a major historical trend that will encompass Nordic cultural policies in the future as social distancing enrolls the development of technological solutions to, i.e. museum visits. **Henrik Zipsane** presents what has happened in this case in his article with the title *The Challenges of Digitisation in Museum Visits and Learning Experiences*, which will finalise the publication, and open the perspective on “museums and education in the North” towards a future that needs to unlock the potential to dive into the wild solving wicked problems.

In this case, we need to dive further into the modelling of Creativity Regimes and examine the hybridisations of the domains because of the “unfortunate tendency to overestimate the importance of scientifically grounded knowledge and underestimate other forms of relevant knowledge and experience. In order to conceptualize such an alternative view of analyzing professional education and learning, I suggest the concepts of ‘creativity regimes’ and ‘hybrid modernity.’ Whereas the former concept helps us to clarify how professional education can help students to cope with new situations in a creative manner within their own profession, the concept of hybrid modernity suggests that the professional education of teachers can also gain from studying other types of professional education, as this could broaden the creative competence of future teachers. What I am suggesting is thus that rather than trying to prepare teachers for a career as researchers – which represents a particular creativity regime where critique is the dominant norm in which students are professionally socialized – the education of teachers should be organized around the dominant norm of the pedagogical creativity regime, which is dialogue. Teaching has its own role expectations, norms and identity, but in a society which is increasingly hybridized, being inspired by other models is both a virtue and necessity. This role-modeling should not drive out the core competence of teaching but rather supplement it” (Kupferberg 2006e, p. 52).

We encourage our readers to follow this path and tune into a reading of this publication in favour of an invitation to further conversations on the subject matter: **Museums and Education in the North.**

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The project would not have been a reality without the pioneering work from Henrik Zipsane, PhD in Educational Studies, and former CEO at the Jamtli Foundation, and Co-Founder of and Senior Researcher at The Nordic Centre of Heritage Learning and Creativity in Östersund, Sweden. Lately, he has been appointed Director at the European Museum Academy.

I have had the opportunity to be part of this project due to my position as “researcher in residence” at NCK from 2013 to 2020. I would like to take the opportunity to express my gratitude and appreciation to both Eva Sjögren Zipsane and Henrik Zipsane for their encouragement and generosity in having me on board the NCK.

I have been involved in the project in different ways and under the influence of three different vice-directors at NCK during the project period from 2017 to 2020: Anna Hansen, Ulrica Löfstedt and Kristina Jonsson. Through difficulties, we managed to set sails for the project and sail the project in port. Thank you all for your contributions to this achievement.

Thank you to all the partners in this project: Lasse, Marie and Kimmo and to Thomas Risan who worked as a project manager at the NCK on this project in the first phase.

Thank you to all the participants at the Joint Nordic Conference in Copenhagen last November, especially those of you who have chosen to contribute to this publication as a collaborative endeavour. It would not have been possible to sail the project safely in port without your efforts.

Most of all, I want to thank my son, Aksel Fristrup, for his enormous engagement in this publication’s production line. It is due to his long working hours ‘con amore’ that this publication’s design and layout have sailed us all safely in port.

I wish you all a pleasant reading experience and encourage all of you to participate in the ongoing discussions on the collaborative efforts between culture and education.

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MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION IN NORWAY

LASSE SONNE

The Cultural Schoolbag (TCS) – also known as Den Kulturelle Skolesekken (DKS) is a national initiative in Norway¹, which helps all school students in Norway to meet professional arts and culture of all kinds. The TCS is a cooperation project between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education. The public unit known as the Kulturtanken (formerly Rikskonsertene) has had the national responsibility for the scheme in 2016. Through the arrangements, the pupils and schools are given the opportunity to experience, become acquainted with and develop an understanding of professional art and cultural expressions of all kinds. The cultural offerings must be of high quality and show the full range of cultural expressions:

- Performing arts

1 Information for this presentation is collected from the official site of the Norwegian government about the Cultural Schoolbag.

- Visual art
- Music
- Film
- Literature
- Cultural heritage

The cultural school bag has been part of the government's cultural policy initiative for elementary school since 2001, and has gradually expanded to secondary school. This means that all students - from the 1st to the 10th grade of the primary school, and from the 1st to 3rd grade of the upper secondary school are incorporated into the scheme.

ORGANISATION

The cultural school bag is a collaborative project between the culture and education sector at national, regional and local level, and includes all schools in Norway. The county municipality is responsible for coordinating regionally, but municipalities also have the opportunity to develop their own programs. There is a big variation in how schoolbags are organized at regional and local level.

The Culture Tank is a national agency responsible for managing, quality assuring and developing the scheme at the national level, and distributes gaming funds. The mandate for the Culture Tank can be read here: <http://www.kulturtanken.no/mandat>

ECONOMY

The cultural schoolbag is funded by gaming funds after the Norwegian gaming surplus is distributed. In 2017 the sum was 270 million Norwegian kroner (NOK).

Funds are distributed by the Culture Tank to county counties after a distribution key that takes into account geography, demographics and infrastructure. One third of the funds go directly to the municipalities, one third is managed by county counties, and the last third is free to be distributed by the county municipality.

In some counties, there are also large municipalities that receive the entire funding without distribution via the county municipality. These are called

direct municipalities. These are municipalities that have chosen to take full responsibility for the administration of the schoolbag. Today, there are twelve such municipalities in Norway.

All game surpluses must go to art and culture. Governments and municipalities therefore take care of the administration, in addition to the fact that many also add extra funds to the production of art and culture. The overall economy of the cultural schoolbag is therefore far greater than the gaming funds.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTENTS?

In Norway, there are national, regional and local producers involved in the booking of the TCS programs in counties and municipalities. National mediators, such as the Performing Arts Factory (Dance and Theater), the National Museum (Visual Art) and the Norwegian Literature Center, offer quality programs within its field for booking. In addition, they work to ensure quality, and offer competence-enhancing courses for practitioners and intermediaries in the TCS.

There are a number of regional, local and independent actors who produce content (programs, shows, exhibitions) to the Cultural School. Funds are granted to film producers, local theater houses, orchestras, museums, and artists from the so-called free art areas of musicians, theater groups, authors, and so on. In addition, some county municipalities and municipalities have own funds to produce content for the TCS.

Booking and programming takes place in the TCS administration in each county, or in the so-called direct municipalities.

The purpose and principle of the TCS is formulated in a Norwegian parliament report called the Storting Report No. 8 - "Cultural schoolbag for the future" (Mål og prinsipp for DKS er formulert i Stortingsmelding nr. 8 – «Kulturell skolesekk for fremtiden»)

According to principles, the goal of the cultural schoolbag in Norway should be:

- To help students in the school get a professional art and culture offer
- To facilitate school access, familiarize themselves with and develop

understanding of art and cultural expressions of all kinds

- To contribute to the development of a comprehensive integration of artistic and cultural expressions into the realization of the school's learning goals

Principles of the scheme:

The cultural schoolbag must be designed and indelibly assessed based on a set of principles for the scheme:

- **Durable order:** The cultural shelter must be a permanent scheme for school students.
- **For all students:** The cultural school week will cover all pupils in elementary school and upper secondary education, regardless of the school they are in, and what economic, social, ethnic and religious background they have.
- **Realizing goals in the curriculum:** The content of arts and cultural services in the cultural schoolbag will help to realize the school's goals as expressed in the general section of the curriculum and in the various curricula.
- **High quality:** Students will meet professional art and cultural services with high art quality.
- **Cultural diversity:** The cultural schoolbag should include different art and cultural expressions with roots in a variety of cultures and from different periods of time.
- **Width:** Music, performing arts, visual art, film, literature and cultural heritage should be represented in the cultural schools. There should be variation in the means of communication.
- **Regularity:** Students must be guaranteed a regular offer at all grades.
- **Co-operation culture school:** The work on the cultural schoolbag will take place in good cooperation between the culture and education sector at all levels. Ensure good anchoring and time for

planning at school.

- **Role distribution of cultural schools:** The education sector is responsible for educating pedagogically for students, although the cultural sector is responsible for the cultural content of the cultural school, and for informing about the content in good time.
- **Local anchorage and ownership:** The cultural shelter must be anchored locally, in the individual school, municipality and county. This ensures local enthusiasm and ample space for many local variants, so that everyone should be able to know ownership of the cultural shelter

Read more in Stortingsmelding nr. 8 (2007-2008):

<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kud/dok/regpubl/stmeld/2007-2008/Stmeld-nr-8-2007-2008-.html?id=492761>

Possibilities for further developments

A research report in Norway has previously addressed the following topics for further mapping, research and evaluation of the TCS (Aslaksen, Borgen, Kjørholt 21/2003):

Implementation of the TCS

- Processes in implementation; local, regional, national
- Various actors, stakeholders and positions
- Organization, design and different models
- Implementation according to stated objectives
- Implementation according to expectations at different levels
- The cultural school bag that formulated and experienced curriculum
- Unintended consequences
- Resource usage and needs

Interpretations of the TCS

- The participants' experiences; different understandings from different perspectives
- Meetings between art, culture and children and young people
- The place of TCS in the daily school life

In addition, one can ask if the cultural school bag should be developed in its political formulation in relation to integrating general competence development goals, as formulated in, for example,

- The Learning Plan for the Knowledge Promise (2006)
- National Qualification Framework for Lifelong Learning (2011)
- Future school (2015)
- Subjects - Understanding - Understanding, A Renewal of Knowledge Promise (2016)

All are central documents that provide guidance for teaching in the Norwegian school.

PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE TCS IN NORWAY (BY NORWEGIAN PARTNER)

The cultural schoolbag in Norway is a collaborative project between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education in Norway. The TCS is an ambitious arrangement, also seen in a Nordic context. Still, the cooperation is far from perfect. The TCS causes frustration among cultural workers who feel the teachers are uninterested, indifferent or straightforward negative (Christophersen 2013).

On the other hand, many teachers with their schools are hard at seeing what the school bag is going to benefit from in school. Bridge building between the two departmental areas, including implementation in practice, is essential for the TCS to function and make sense in relation to the school's national guidelines.

In order to really make sense in a busy school day, the cultural schoolbag should be further developed by being placed in, among other things, the National Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning and adapted to

the curriculum for Norwegian school.

Learning outcomes from the cultural schoolbag should be able to be measured and evaluated so that the cultural schoolbag can be placed in a formal learning structure. Thus, for example, the museum institution will also develop itself in relation to becoming a serious player that contributes to formal learning in schools by being a relevant arena for informal learning outside of the physical environment of the school.

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MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

THOMAS RISAN

The Creative School (CS) (in Swedish *Skapande Skola*) is a Swedish state grant which started up in 2008 as the result of the 2007 Regulation “Förordning om statsbidrag till kulturell verksamhet i skolan” (2007:1436) by the conservative government in office at the time.

The CS can be seen as a response to a European cultural policy agenda, and influenced by the earlier Norwegian national initiative The Cultural Schoolbag and other international models, as well as (at that time around 2006-2008) new pedagogical research regarding creativity and learning. The CS must be understood as the Swedish way to incorporate such trends and tendencies emerging after the shift of the millennium (Zipsane 2014).

PURPOSE

The purpose of the CS was to put more emphasis on culture within the

Swedish primary school by establishing a grant scheme to encourage a focus on culture. The 2007 Regulation identifies two primary purposes for the CS:

- the need for the long-term integration of cultural and artistic expressions in the upper grades (or classes) of primary school
- to increase the amount of professional cultural activities for and with the pupils to facilitate access to all cultural forms of expression as well as the pupils own possibility of expression and creativity.

(Regulation 2007:1436, see Zipsane 2014)

The expected outcomes of the CS is a school where cultural activities are easily accessible for the individual, and where the individual has the opportunity to express themselves in interaction with cultural professionals.

DEVELOPMENT

Initially, the CS was aimed at the upper grades of primary school, but during the grants existence, it has widened the scope by including all grades of primary school as well as pre-school children.

During the first two years, the grants of 52 million SEK were aimed at pupils in the grades 7-9. The year after grade 4-6 were included, and in 2011 all primary school grades were included in the scheme. Pre-school children were included in 2013 (Grut 2014).

By 2013 the CS resources had increased to 169 million SEK. They had a potential reach-out to just above one million children, according to an evaluation report from the Swedish Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis (Skapande skola – en första utvärdering. Rapport 2013:4). In 2018, the grant was around 170 million SEK, according to the CS homepage (<http://www.kulturradet.se/sv/Skapande-skola/>).

ORGANISATION

The Swedish Arts Council manages the CS grant. Application for funding and subsequent reporting for CS activities are applied for by school management representatives, often a coordinator for all of the schools within a municipality.

In the Swedish approach, it is not the professional cultural activity producers that apply for the grants. Instead, the school staff suggests ideas to

a municipal coordinator, and then the municipal coordinator applies for funding on behalf of the primary schools. This is radically different compared to the international models (Zipsane 2014).

The CS grants are given to professional cultural activities within: Animation, architecture, storytelling/narration, circus, dance, design, drama, film, photography, crafts, cultural heritage, literature, media, museums, music, cartoons, handicrafts, writing, song, theatre and visual arts.

Further in-depth descriptions of the CS rules regarding funding, application and reporting can be found at the CS homepage (<http://www.kulturradet.se/Skapande-skola/Om-bidraget/>).

MUSEUMS AND THE CREATIVE SCHOOL GRANT

As can be seen above, museums are identified as one of the professional cultural activities which are within the scope of the CS. Developments in the museum sector can be said to have been parallel with the development of the CS.

The museum sector can be described as one of the sectors that most distinctly have increased their efforts and activities towards school children (Skapande skola – en första utvärdering. Rapport 2013:4). At the onset of the CS funding, 29 per cent of grant recipients reported that they had cooperated with a museum, in 2011 the same figure was 53 per cent (Grut 2014). Thus the CS significance for cooperation between the museum and education sectors is evident.

However, it has been pointed out that in some aspects, the results are not an unconditional success. The Anthology “En omtolkad kultursatsning – Museerna och skapande skola”, from 2014, is the disseminated results of a project led by the Nordic Centre for Heritage Learning and Creativity. In this publication, some challenges regarding the CS were identified and discussed. From the onset of the CS, it was expected that museums would produce programmes commissioned by the schools, but this has only happened to a minimal extent (only one of five investigated museums in a 2014 study had regularly followed the regulations for CS) (Högberg 2014).

At the same time, it can be pointed out that there is a development within schools towards a more goal and result oriented curriculum, which may affect the relations between museums and schools. There is some evidence of some teachers finding museum programmes and activities to time con-

suming and ambitious (Gustafsson 2014).

CREATIVE SCHOOL AND EVALUATIONS OF THE SCHEME

Some evaluations of the CS grant have been made, the first one in 2013 has already been cited in the above, the report: “Skapande skola - en första utvärdering. Rapport 2013:4”.

The evaluation showed that pupil participation had increased during the existence of the grant, but they also discovered that the actual participation was lower than the planned participation. It also concluded that it was difficult to determine the CS effect upon “long-term integration of cultural and artistic forms of expression”. They reported that headmasters found it difficult to link the effect of the CS to fulfil school objectives.

The Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis left the following recommendations:

- Clarify the goals of Creative School, and clear communication about the goals of Creative School.
- Create conditions for real synergy between education policy and cultural policy at all levels.
- Broaden the possible uses of the grant Creative School.
- Create conditions for the development of both school personnel and cultural operators.
- Initiate detailed studies of the effects of the Creative School programme.

The 2014 study “Skapande skola – En kalejdoskopisk reform och dess praktik” by Lund, Krantz & Gustafsson at the Linnæus university identifies areas to be improved:

- The challenge of coordination between the cultural and educational policy issues in the interface between cultural activities as an integrated part of the school curricular.
- Further institutionalisation of the grant programme, in order to standardise the outcome of application assessments. The outcome is partly dependent on local resources.

- Time and space for trans professional development. Both cultural and educational professionals must be willing to cross over their professional boundaries.
- Bottom-up rather than top-down driven processes. The pupils and their personal development within the CS should be improved.

In 2016 Lindqvist and Blomgren at Lund University made an in-depth evaluation report of the CS grant scheme “Fördjupad utvärdering av statsbidraget Skapande skola”. They concluded that the CS led to an increased work-load on school personnel and took resources from other school activities. Furthermore, they found that there is a lack of coordination regarding national, regional and municipal efforts concerning culture within the school system; thus conflicts had, in some instances, to be handled at the school level.

They also pointed to the possible negative effect that the CS could be used to finance culture that should have been part of the curriculum regardless of the existence of the CS, and they also pointed out that the CS could be skewing the competition in the cultural sector, but could not find that this had happened to any extent.

Lindqvist and Blomgren left the following recommendations:

- Clarify the prioritised principles for the grant.
- Increase knowledge at the bureaucratic level regarding the possibilities for culture offered at a national, regional and municipal level.

All of the evaluations recognises positive effects of the CS, and emphasise the importance of continuing the CS, but seem to identify the same or related challenges. One of the most important of these challenges is the problem of assessing the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLO) in relation to the school curriculum.

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MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION IN DENMARK

MARIE BONDE OLESEN

In 2013 in Denmark a new school reform was adopted. At first it does not seem to have anything to do with collaboration between schools and cultural institutions or museum education, but the reform contains an article about obligations for the schools to use their surroundings, including the cultural institutions. The article is called the open school/Open School.¹ The Danish cultural institutions have a long tradition working with education, which can be stressed by the fact that the word museum pedagogue was introduced in 1969.² Open School and other elements in the reform³ has indisputably boosted more collaborative projects, adaptations of existing education and further discussion concerning learning and 'dannelse/Bildung' has been nourished. In relation to the reform a coordinating network – National network of school services (skoletjenester), which financially is collaboration

1 Folkeskoleloven - Bekendtgørelse af lov om folkeskolen, Kapitel 2, § 3, stk. 4

2 Boritz, 2017, p. 33

3 E.g. 'Forenklede Fælles Mål' and 'understøttende undervisning'

between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture – school-culture collaboration at ministerial level had never been established like this before.⁴ The administration and organisation of the national network is located at the institution The School Service (Skoletjenesten), whose core also is collaboration between the educational and cultural sector. In Danish ‘school service’ is in general a pedagogic activity directed at schools by external learning environments. The concept though has several variations in the sense, that the term is used in different ways to improve the work of external learning environments and collaboration between schools and cultural institutions. One of the models with a strong collaboration between the local council and cultural institution has been described as a unique model only seen in Denmark.⁵ On the following pages there is a further description of school service as a term and as different models.

SCHOOL SERVICE AS A TERM AND DIFFERENT MODELS OF SCHOOL SERVICES

In 2006 the Ministry of Culture published a report on the dissemination of the museums, where the concept of school service (skoletjeneste) was outlined:

Museumsundervisningen har dybe rødder, men siden 1970, hvor Skoletjenesten på Sjælland blev skabt som et samarbejde mellem skolevæsen og museer, er begrebet ”skoletjeneste” blevet synonymt med de særlige tilbud, som museer, kulturinstitutioner og foreninger m.fl. retter mod skoler. Brugen af navnet ”skoletjeneste” er således udtryk for, at det enkelte museum har en målrettet indsats i forhold til skolerne, der som regel omfatter undervisning og aktiviteter i forbindelse med besøg, undervisningsmaterialer, lærerkurser og etablering af lærernetværk.⁶

Here school service is defined as the effort of external institutions toward schools, and this can be said to be the most common understanding of the term. In carrying out the concept there are several methods, forms of

4 The two Museum Education Centers ‘MUSKO’ for the Southern Region of Denmark and ‘Museumsundervisning Midt/Nord’ for the Middle and Northern Jutland was established 2009-2012 and financed by the Culture Agency (Kulturstyrelsen).

5 Zipsane mfl., 2017, p. 38

6 Kulturministeriet, 2006, p. 123

collaborations and conductors, even though the same term school service is used. If the term is taken for its direct meaning – that you through your work provide service to the schools, then all institutions having some kind of educational program for the schools have a school service. By naming a unit in an organisation, deliberate choices have been made, in this case whether you name your educational unit school service or something else. Some choose not to use the name school service due to an attitude towards it as exclusive and only aimed at primary school level, whereas others see it as more inclusive and able to contain pre-school institutions and secondary school levels as well.⁷ Thereby two museums that are having comparable educational units can have chosen in the first case to use the name school service and in the other case something else such as dissemination service or educational unit. Since such services is also run at council level the same kind of choices have been made at that level, where some call it school service and others call it e.g. culture service, culture backpack or more locally names such as MitØstfyn, SkiveDNA og ULF i Århus.

Variations of the term school service

The variation in the use of the term 'school service' today is described below labelling it as different models and afterwards examples of the term are shown. It should be emphasized when generating models you cannot take into account a more refined reality, e.g. that an institution contains elements from more than one model.

- **School service as educational unit and staff financed by the institution**

School service can refer to an institutional model, as the name of the subsection e.g. at a museum that provides educational offers for children and adolescents. The staff employed for this is financed fully by the museum.

- **School service as educational unit and staff at the institution, co-financed between institution and local council**

7 E.g. ULF in Århus that at their homepage mentions that they are inspired by The School Service but choose not to use that name because 'school' is seen to exclude other educational institutions that schools. MYRTHUE in Esbjerg uses the term School Service but only for schools. The School Service used it inclusive for all educational groups.

School service can refer to a combined council and institutional model, as in the name of the subsection e.g. at a museum that provides educational offers for children and adolescents. The staff employed for this is financed partly by the museum and partly by the local council, and the staff is located at the museum. By larger institutions e.g. merged museums stretching across local councils cooperation between these and the museum can occur.

- **School service as educational unit, staff and offers practiced and financed by the local council**

School service can refer to a council model with the council's own educational offers or with the council financing the offers and educational staff at the institutions. The staff can either be located at the local council or the institution. This model is also used by the many local school services of the Danish National Church where these are financed by the deanery or the ward council.⁸

- **School service as an institution and umbrella organisation**

School service can be referred to as an institution in itself, which collaborates with other institutions in the country and has a wider area of activity than just offering educational offers, e.g. consultant work, professional training and competence development. 'The School Service' (above mentioned as the Skoletjenesten på Sjælland) is probably the best known example, and it acts today as an umbrella organisation gathering and forwarding offers from cultural institutions and it also functions as a center of expertise through consultancy services and training. Its aim is national, but the model is based upon co-financing between local council and cultural institution.

- **School service as a network**

School service can refer to a network that works with gathering, sharing and creating networks between local school services. Closely linked to The School Service (Skoletjenesten) is the National Network of School Services with local coordinators located around the country. Their aim is to strengthen the national cohesion and improve the educational offers at the cultural institution and their collaboration with schools. Likewise there is the Network of School Services of the Danish National Church, which is an association of the local school services of the public church.

8 <https://www.folkekirkensskoletjeneste.dk/skoletjenester/> (17.2.2018)

Examples of school service models

The above mentioned models are basic types and the examples of institutions below can hold smaller elements within the institution from other types. The organisational form is not taken into account e.g. whether it is a self-governing institution or the extent of government grants or other public subsidies. The examples have in common that they all use the term school service concerning their work and activity. The examples focus on cultural institutions.

School service as educational unit and staff, financed by the institution

[Naturhistorisk museum Århus⁹](#)

[Museerne i Fredericia¹⁰](#)

[Museum Amager Skoletjeneste](#)

[Museerne i Brønderslev Kommune](#)

School service as educational unit and staff at the institution, co-financed by institution and local council

[Vikingskibsmuseet](#)

[Museet for samtidskunst](#)

[Museum Vestsjælland](#)

[Den Blå Planet](#)

School service as educational unit, staff and offers practiced and financed by the local council

[Vendsyssel Historiske Museum](#)

[Skanderborg Skoletjeneste¹¹](#)

[Skoletjenesten Aalborg kommune¹²](#)

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- 9 The museum receives a smaller annual grant from Aarhus local council to give free courses to schools in the council.
 - 10 The museum receives a smaller annual grant from Fredericia local council for educational offers to kindergardens/daycare.
 - 11 The municipality finances activities aimed at primary school. The daycare area is partly financed by the local council, but additional dissemination is financed by the institutions themselves, e.g. Skanderborg Museum.
 - 12 The local council takes care of the education at the institutions, which in some cases have their own educational activities as well.

[Folkekirkens Skoletjeneste København-Frederiksberg¹³](#)

School service as an institution, umbrella organisation and network

[Skoletjenesten](#)

[MYRTHUE – Natur, Kultur & Læring¹⁴](#) Including 'Skoletjenesten' of Esbjerg local council

[Nationalt Netværk af Skoletjenester](#)

[Landsnetværket af folkekirkelige skoletjenester](#)

THE FIRST SCHOOL SERVICES

The foundation of the institution The School Service (Skoletjenesten) was laid in 1970. Sten Krog Clausen, former head of Biological Collection within the educational department at Copenhagen local council, started collaboration between the collection and Zoological Museum.¹⁵ At the same time in Esbjerg, the foundation of the School Service at Esbjerg local council was laid, when the first museum pedagogues were employed¹⁶ and by establishing the first 'nature school' in Denmark.¹⁷ Both school services had their launch within natural sciences, and both institutions developed rapidly during the 1970's. However, their institutional set-ups were different, as the school service in Esbjerg started in a forest rangers house and focused on nature school and nature guide, and the School Service in Copenhagen was collaboration between the educational department of the local council and a museum, which can have influenced the difference in development up to the present day.

The School Service in Copenhagen has throughout almost 50 years to a high degree expanded its institution both geographically and providing a large range of activities. Today is it primarily named The School Service

13 This was the first school service of the Danish National Church. Today they are located in towns and cities all over the country and this is just an example.

14 Overall The School Service at MYRTHUE Esbjerg is a council lead school service but it is also a larger institution, since it has a wide collaboration in other parts of the country and works at several levels with project management, competence development and training of teachers, pedagogues, nature activity leader and student teacher and student pedagogues.

15 Staack, 1994, p. 117

16 Adriansen og Hyllested, 2011, p. 11

17 MYRTHUE – natur, kultur og læring

or to a less degree The School Service Zealand. A couple of years after the start of the collaboration between Biological Collection and Zoological Museum the collaboration was expanded so as to include Zoological Garden and Denmark's Aquarium.¹⁸ The current head of The School Service Poul Vestergaard joined the young institution in 1975 as a student, and whether it used the very term 'school service' in 1970 is uncertain, but by the expansion of the collaboration in 1972 the term was used.¹⁹ From 1975 more local councils (*kommuner*) and '*amtskommuner*' (larger districts than local councils), including Copenhagen Amtskommune, Roskilde Amtskommune, Frederiksborg Amtskommune, Frederiksberg Kommune og Københavns Kommune, joined the management and officially established the institution The School Service Copenhagen in 1976 by a representatives meeting.

In 1977 Storstrøms Amt and Vestsjællands Amt also provided grants to the arrangement, and The School Service expanded its activities to several part of Zealand. The model resembling The School Service during the first decades was the above mentioned model with school service practiced and financed by the local council. In the 1990's The School Service established more collaborations with cultural institutions and the model changed towards co-financing between cultural institutions and local councils. Today the financing is most often shared evenly. By the local council reform in 2007 the '*amter*' were decommissioned, where The School Service received funding. Instead the distribution of funding was placed at the Ministry of Education, where The School Service still today receives part of their funding.

As previously mentioned, in relation to the school reform in Denmark 2013 a National Network of School Services was established as a financial collaboration between The Ministry of Education and The Ministry of Culture. It has 5 regional coordinators located in each region of the country. Administrative and organisational the network belongs to The School Service (*Skoletjenesten*), who was invited to the prior discussions of the ministries. On the basis of their sharing of knowledge, experience and competence development they became hosts for the national network.²⁰ The financing of the network has been prolonged until the end of 2018 and at the moment

18 Staack, 1994, p. 118

19 Interview with Poul Vestergaard 16.2.2018

20 E.g. The School Service offers together The Association of Danish Museums a Museum teacher education. E.g. by the development of other educational services The School Service has been advising and giving inspiration to local councils or cultural institutions, e.g. at Lolland Falster, in Aarhus and in Odense.

clarification of a possible permanent solution is pending.

The foundation of The School Service of Esbjerg local council was laid in 1970 in Guldager Plantation where the first 'nature school' in the country was established. Biology consultant Olav Poulsen and the forest grower Thomsen could not see why, when kids had to learn about nature, they went into a classroom instead of into the nature.²¹ Since the 1910's Esbjerg Local council has made camps and bought nature areas as recreational service for the general public. This was reflected in the teaching practices at the end of the 1960's. The idea of a historical workshop (historisk værksted) began to take shape during the opening of the nature school in 1970, and a proposal for the Iron Age village was made with Esbjerg Museum as partner. The project found great support and within a couple of years an Iron Age hut was reconstructed and from 1973 school were given educational offers carried out by pedagogical instructors from the local council. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's many new educational offers were developed, however they were allocated at different administrations of the local council, but in 1991 they were gathered under the name 'School Service' (skoletjeneste). This is the basis of the institution today, which is called MYRTHUE, Nature, Culture & Learning. The school service is one among other offers, and it aims specifically at primary schools.²² MYRTHUE/Esbjerg Local council was the first to introduce the term Kindergarten and Preschool Service (dagtilbudstjeneste) with offers aimed at children 0-6 year old. MYRTHUE had for several years organised nature courses for pedagogues and collaborated with kindergartens. In a dialogue with these, the school service saw that the offers should not be placed with in the school service, but a new term was needed to address the target group. The use of the term school service and the attitude toward its inclusion/exclusion differ therefore from the use by The School Service (Zealand). The model used in Esbjerg is the previously mentioned model with the school service practiced and financed by the local council, in this case with focus on outdoor education. Throughout the last century development toward more co-operations with

21 Correspondence and interview with and material from former head of MYRTHUE, Culture & Learning at Esbjerg local council - Jens Futtrup. He was employed in the organisation 1981-2017.

22 MYRTHUE has its name from the farm Myrthuegård, where they have their main office. The word myrthue can refer to the Nordic name "myr" which means acid soils, found in old bogs, from where the Iron Age human found bog iron for iron production. Or the name can be a mound in the landscape "tue" that could be seen from the bay.

other institutions has taken place, e.g. the museums. They cooperate in developing the dissemination and provide financial contributions, e.g. by providing employees with relevant skills for a project. This is a kind of co-financing; however it does not focus on employment at the institution but on developing projects.²³

SCHOOL-CULTURE COLLABORATION PROSPECTIVELY

The culture institutions put a great effort into making themselves attractive to schools and adapt to the needs of the schools in the light of Open School and other elements of the reform. Whether you name the educational work at the institution school service or something else, this work has in general caught more attention since the school reform at both, institutional, council and ministry level. As mentioned above many of the local councils have a school service or something similar with another title. This work has increased since the reform and the local councils take on the responsibility of school-culture collaboration to a higher degree, which the reform also imposes on them by law. The role, methods and significance of the local councils have been explored in several reports and mappings that point at the importance of the active role and engagement of the local councils concerning implementation of courses and relation between schools and external institutions.²⁴ From this the local councils are expected to play an increasing role in organising of school-culture collaboration. School service as a term, as models and as institutions has had great impact on the Danish school-culture collaboration. It has helped provide frameworks for and a prioritisation of the education in external learning environments. It has been of great influence on institutional, council and national level and the different types and models have contributed to school-culture-development across the country before and after the school reform.

23 E.g. the exhibition "BESAT" and the Holocaust Education Center and co-operation at Quedens Gaard with Museum of Southwest Jutland.

24 E.g. "**Kommunernes understøttelse af kulturinstitutionernes undervisning**", "**Læring i den åbne skole**", "**Museet i den åbne skole**"

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MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION IN FINLAND

KIMMO LEVÄ

THE FINNISH MUSEUM SECTOR

Finland has a dense museum network. There are a total of about 1000 museums, of which 350 are professionally maintained and the rest are local non-professional museums, the opening hours of which are normally restricted to summertime. The popularity of museums has grown remarkably over the last few years.

According to the most recent museum statistics, Finnish museums had 6,6 million visitors in 2016. As the registered visits show, the number of visitors belonging to groups of students, school and kindergarten children exceeded 589 000, that is 9% of the total number of visitors. The number of visitors belonging to school groups has increased notably in relation to the increase in number of other kinds of visitors.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSEUM EDUCATION IN FINLAND

Museum education developed towards professionalism in Finland in the 1960s, following the same pace as the professionalization of museums in general. Educational curator was among the first museum professions. This showed itself in the fact that the exhibitions got new, current themes and that teaching methods started to develop.

In the 1970s, the pedagogical activity of museums became multifaceted. Apart from guided tours, museums began to organize activities for school children, for example clubs for children and young people. Important was also the fact that in teacher training, courses in museum education were now organized, as well as free-form child and youth club activity in the museums.

In the 1980s, a three-step structure was consolidated in museum education: the preparatory activities taking place in schools, the actual museum visit, the discussing of the subject and the checking after the visit of what had been learnt. This formed the basis for a new development in museum education. The development was helped forward by the good situation of public economy, and the strong growth in school budgets.

In the 1990s, educational activity of museums decreased radically, as a result of the economic depression. The development of museum education changed towards taking more of a project character. This made financial aid available for experimental projects, but the role of museum education within museum work decreased.

At the entrance of the 21st century, school students took their place as an important target group in museum policy discussion and development of museums, but there was no long-term cooperation between schools and museums. The situation was improved by numerous projects, the most important of which was “Suomen Tammi” (The Oak of Finland) which was carried out at the beginning of the 2000s by The National Board of Antiquities and the Finnish National Agency for Education, in cooperation with the Finnish Museums Association, and which collected information and encouraged the participants to try out new forms of cooperation. There were more than 200 independent projects under the umbrella of Suomen Tammi. Through Suomen Tammi, schools started to get regional experts, as well as journals, books and web material as teaching materials. In addition, teacher training was organized.

The vacuum in the development of long-term museum education was also filled partly by voluntary forces. The educational officers founded Pedaali (Pedal), the Finnish Association for Museum Education in 2005. The task of the association, working together with educational curators, audience development workers of museums and students of the field, is to promote the activity of museum education, to strengthen the professional identity of and the appreciation for the audience development workers of the museums, and to support the professional development of its members. At the moment (2018), the association has about 250 members.

In the 2010s, national development projects linked to museum education and public work have been carried out, for example the projects “Avara museo” (Open Museum) and “Linkki – museot mediakasvattajaksi” (Link – the Museum as Media Educator).

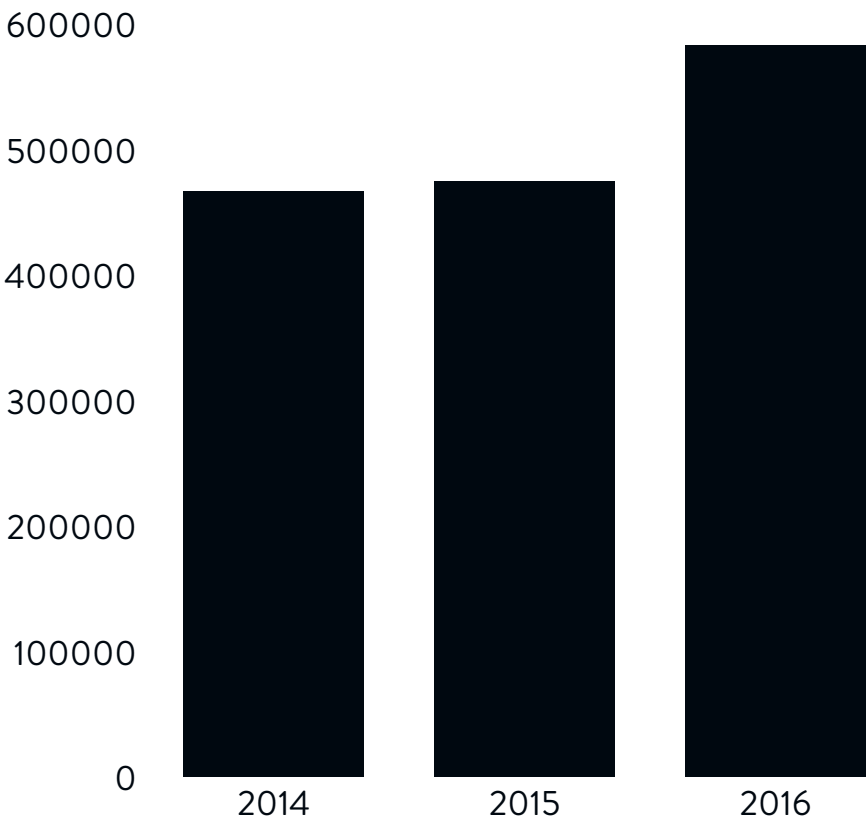
In the project “Avara museo”, the focus was on developing museums especially for adult education and enhancing the role of museums as places for life-long learning. By the Linkki project, the position of museums as media educators was established by improving the competence for media education of the museum personnel, in order to improve the critical media literacy of children under 12 and their skills for using media. The project also facilitated the availability of museums’ web materials by launching the web page opimuseossa.fi as a distribution channel for the teaching materials of museums.

In the 2010s, the Association of Finnish Children’s Cultural Centres and the Association of Cultural Heritage Education in Finland have, with support from the Ministry of Education and Culture, created a cultural education plan for municipalities. The cultural education plan deals with strategies for realizing cultural, artistic and cultural heritage education as part of the teaching programme of a municipality or area. The agents mentioned above have produced the webpage culturaleducationplan.fi, a tool free of charge for creating a cultural education plan on a municipal or regional level. At the moment, the cultural education plan is in use in about 70 municipalities. In many municipalities, the cultural education plans have been concretized in the form of cultural paths, where it is described in a concrete way in which phase of the primary or early childhood education visits to local museums are made.

MUSEUM EDUCATION NOW

In the 2010s, there has been an increase in the use of and need for museums' teaching services. As a special catalyst you can see the new curriculum plan for primary education that was introduced in 2016. The core of the curriculum is the so called phenomenon based learning, where one of the central ideas is that teaching can be carried out outside the classroom and pupils are guided into combining the knowledge they have gathered into wider phenomena. Museums have been enhanced in the curriculum as learning environments linked to primary education.

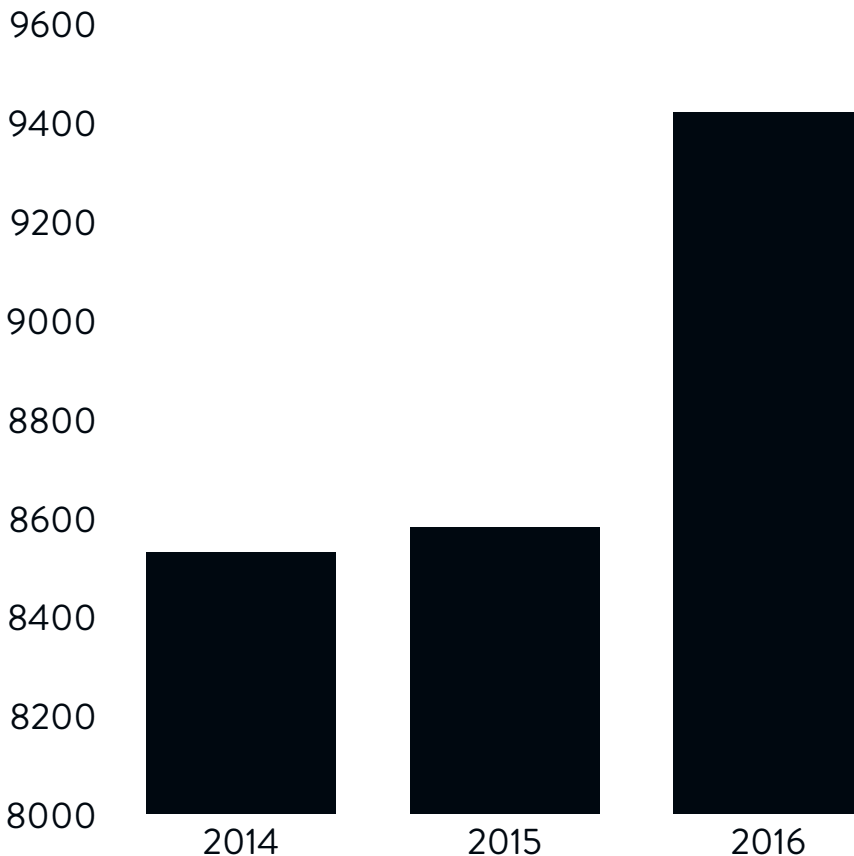
Diagram 1 School children visiting museums 2014-2016



A central part of museum education is still that of the guided tours. In 2016, in Finnish museums a total of 17 115 guided tours for kindergarten, school and student groups were organized, with an average of 120 visitors/museum.

In 2016, Finnish museums organized more than 9 400 workshops, the majority of which, that is 64%, were targeted at groups of children of kindergarten or primary school age (yr. 2016). As an average, 15 school or kindergarten children took part in each workshop. The number of workshops has increased over the last few years.

Diagram 2 Workshops organized in museums 2014-2016



The increase of museum education can be seen in how working time is used in museums. The Finnish Museums Association investigates the distribution of museums' working time every five years. The most recent information is from 2013, when 8% of museums' personnel resources were used for museum education. The percentage had increased by 3% during the 2000s. As for 2018, the investigation work has just started, and we will get the results in the autumn. The assumption is that the share of museum education has continued to increase.

Museum education isn't restricted only to the inside of the museum building any more. Museum education can be organized on the town, in nature or through the web. Museum personnel can also be invited to visit schools. The teaching that takes place outside the museum building, outdoors, can for example be related to local architectural heritage, cultural landscape and outdoor sculptures, by using different methods of museum education.

In guided tours made outside the museum buildings, also mobile museum guide applications are used. At the moment, the Finnish Museums Association and the Association of Cultural Heritage Education are carrying out a development project where the possibilities in school education of a mobile guide system "Seinätön museo" (Museum without Walls), which the Finnish Museums Association offers the museums, are being tested.

Museum education in Finland has clearly been established as part of the activity of museums and schools. The education personnel in museums often have, for example, a history teacher's or visual arts educator's degree, or have completed other pedagogical studies. They actively develop their competence for example by participating in courses on museum learning or audience development organized by the Finnish Museums Association. In Finland, however, there is no museum pedagogical study program that leads to a degree. As for the museums, the greatest challenge for maintaining a positive development has to do with the economy. And when it comes to economy, the problem is the growing pressure being put on the museums to accumulate the funds they get from their service activity. School groups at museums are usually groups that don't pay fees, and for this kind of activity, in most cases, schools have no funds.

RESHAPING EDUCATION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY, TRANSFORMATIONS IN NORDIC CULTURAL POL- ICIES AND MODELLING CREATIVITY REGIMES

TINE FRISTRUP



RESHAPING EDUCATION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

In December 2006, the American *Time Magazine* raised an essential question regarding “How to build a student for the 21st Century” by underlining “How to Bring Our Schools Out of the 20th Century” and into the 21st Century. In the article by Claudia Wallis and Sonja Steptoe, they problematised how “the world has changed, but the American classroom, for the most part, hasn’t. Now educators are starting to look at what must be done to make sure

our kids make the grade in the new global economy”¹. Today you see slogans like “Make Education Great Again - Building the 21st Century Student”² following the lines of the slogan “Make America Great Again” posted by the American President Donald Trump during his election campaign in 2016. In order to make education great again, the educational systems worldwide apparently need to adapt to a rethinking and reshaping of the educational system developed in the era of industrialisation. According to Theodore Kaczynski (1995):

“The Industrial Revolution and its consequences have been a disaster for the human race. They have greatly increased the life-expectancy of those of us who live in “advanced” countries, but they have destabilized society, have made life unfulfilling, have subjected human beings to indignities, have led to widespread psychological suffering (in the Third World to physical suffering as well) and have inflicted severe damage on the natural world. The continued development of technology will worsen the situation. It will certainly subject human being to greater indignities and inflict greater damage on the natural world, it will probably lead to greater social disruption and psychological suffering, and it may lead to increased physical suffering even in “advanced” countries.”³

Theodore Kaczynski advocates for a revolution against the industrial system, and in many ways, you can say that the reshaping of future-societies calls for an educational revolution, which has more or less been practised on a national level in reforming the educational sector. A reform process takes a lot longer time than a revolution. In this reform process, the OECD has played a considerable role in contributing to the reshaping of the future educational system and in the reforming of the educational policies on a transnational level. This has led to a kind of isomorphism in the thinking of how to organise the education system on a national level, which points to an interesting observation, because “the thinking” and “the concrete practice” does not always go hand in hand. On a political-national level, you see an emphasis to embrace an almost isomorphic reforming of the educational systems. Still, on a practical-institutional level, you are confronted with a

1 <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1568480,00.html>

2 <https://laughlifelene.wordpress.com/2018/01/25/make-education-great-again/>

3 <http://editions-hache.com/essais/pdf/kaczynski2.pdf> (p. 1)

more conservative attitude towards reshaping and reorganising the educational efforts to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. The OECD plays a vital - and one might say, creative role in shaping the future and so forth the operationalisation of the reshaping processes.

The OECD report “Trends Shaping Education 2019”⁴ “is designed to support long-term strategic thinking in education. It provides an overview of key economic, social, demographic and technological trends and raises pertinent questions about their impact on education. This book fills an important need: decision-makers and practitioners in education often have only anecdotal or local information on the megatrends that play out in their context; too often they do not have solid facts in front of them, especially about trends. Using trends to think about the future requires robust international sources of data, including the OECD, the World Bank and the United Nations. The work is aimed at policymakers, researchers, educational leaders, administrators and teachers. It will also be of interest to students and the wider public, including parents. The first edition of this book was published in 2008, and subsequent editions appeared in 2010, 2013 and 2016. This 2019 edition features new chapters on ageing, modern cultures and security. It updates and extends the interactions between the trends, links to education and futures-thinking. Unlike previous editions, which had specific chapters on technology, this edition incorporates technology across all the chapters, an acknowledgement that it has now become thoroughly integrated into our daily life.”⁵

When diving into the report, it becomes clear that the main premise for the report is the challenges of the changing world. In the chapter on “Global mega-trends and the future of education”, you will find two urgent calls for action in regard to the educational system:

*“Examining the future of education in the context of global mega-trends has two main goals. First, it is necessary to better **prepare** education for the **transformations underway in economic, social, and technological spheres**. Education must **evolve** to continue to deliver on its mission of supporting individuals to develop as persons, citizens and professionals. It must **remain relevant** to continue to shape our children’s identity and integration into society. In a complex and quickly changing world, this might require **the reorganisation of formal and informal learning***

⁴ <http://www.oecd.org/education/trends-shaping-education-22187049.htm>

⁵ Ibid. p. 3

environments, and reimagining education content and delivery. In an ageing world, these changes are likely to apply not just to basic education but to lifelong learning as well. Second, it is key to better understand how education can influence these trends. By **providing the skills and competencies needed to operate in the modern world**, education has the potential to influence the life outcomes of the most disadvantaged. It is a powerful tool **to reduce inequity**. It can help **combat the increasing fragmentation and polarisation of our societies**, and **empower people and communities** to take charge of their own civic processes and democratic institutions. **Access to learning and knowledge not only opens doors to individual and collective opportunities, it has the potential to reshape the future of our global world.**⁶

I have highlighted some essential issues that engender the rethinking and reshaping of the educational settings worldwide in order to prepare the future of education to meet the societal changes and challenges in the transformations underway in economic, social and technological spheres. According to the report, education must evolve; remain relevant; reorganise formal and informal learning environments; reimagining education content and delivery; and provide skills and competencies needed to operate the modern world, to reduce inequality; combat the increasing fragmentations and polarization of our societies, and empower people and communities. All these changes and adjustments in the educational settings should be made in order to provide for access to learning and knowledge as a way to not only opens doors to individual and collective opportunities but to reshape the future of our global world. The reshaping of our societies worldwide involves a reshaping of the educational settings today to be able to shape tomorrows citizens as citizens that can solve problems that we do not know are problems yet - to quote the former US Secretary of Education: "We are currently preparing students for jobs and technologies that don't yet exist... in order to solve problems that we don't even know are problems yet"⁷.

The future that we are talking about is the 21st Century, and according to Ghamrawi et al. (2017):

"The 21st century has marked the birth of the so called "knowledge economy" which impacted various aspects of life including education (Shal, 2016).

6 Ibid. p. 13

7 <https://library.iated.org/view/JERBRANT2011EDU>

The adoption of technology into everyday life has changed the way we do many of our everyday tasks (Masseni, 2014). 21st century learners are required to have a very different skill set as compared to learners of the past (Miranda, Isaías, & Costa, 2014). Schools of the 20th century were required to teach students basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic which were deemed as necessary for employment and citizenship (Shal, 2016). With the knowledge explosion, schools are being called to equip their students with the skills and competencies they would need to subsist the challenges that they are and will be confronting in the future (Shal, 2016).”⁸

This is where the framework of *21st Century Skills* engenders the pathway to a possible reshaping of our societies. Education becomes the necessary tool to shape citizens and make them capable of creating a livable future. In following Ghamrawi et al. (2017) the backdrop of the framework is embedded in a *Partnership for 21st Century Skills*⁹, and according to the Partnership, “schools need to address the four C’s in their curricula to meet the 21st century challenges. These include: critical thinking, communication, collaboration, and creativity. Thus, a new paradigm in education is needed, one that radically shifts teachers’ instructional practices to provide quality education that is centered on learners and that enhances their skills and competencies in analyzing, interpreting and creating knowledge; as opposed to simply retrieve it and comprehend it (P21, 2011). In other words, there is a need to shift teacher repertoire of classroom practice from instructing for content, to coaching for process skills. Students need to be provided with such educational experiences to be able to move to a new Globalization 3.0 era (Friedman, 2007)”¹⁰.

The shift in teaching from *instructing* for **content**, to *coaching* for **process skills** requires new approaches to teaching in order to be able to reshape the approach to the 20th Century problem solving, which is embedded in

8 Ghamrawi, N., Ghamrawi, N. A. R., & Shal, T. (2017). Lebanese Public Schools: 20th or 21st Century Schools? An Investigation into Teachers’ Instructional Practices. *Open Journal of Leadership*, 6, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ojl.2017.61001> (p. 1)

9 Partnership for 21st Century Skills (2011). <http://www.p21.org>

10 Ghamrawi, N., Ghamrawi, N. A. R., & Shal, T. (2017). Lebanese Public Schools: 20th or 21st Century Schools? An Investigation into Teachers’ Instructional Practices. *Open Journal of Leadership*, 6, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ojl.2017.61001> (p. 2)

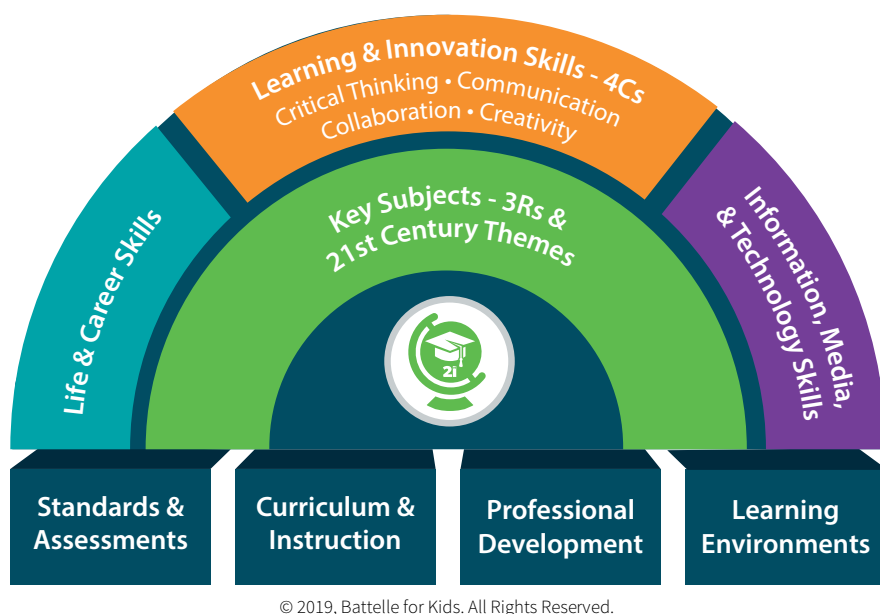


Figure 1 Framework for 21st Century Learning.
http://static.battelleforkids.org/documents/p21/P21_Framework_Brief.pdf

the instructing efforts, in order to meet the challenges of the 21st Century problem solving, which are embedded in the coaching efforts. Different kinds of problems are to be challenged in different ways in different centuries. The 21st Century Skills Framework demonstrates how the process skills are valued the most in order to engender “a unified vision for learning to ensure student success in a world where change is constant, and learning never stops”¹¹.

According to the *Partnership for 21st Century Skills*¹², the Four C’s are by far the most popular in the framework, and these skills are called **learning and innovation skills**. The four C’s comprises:

- **Critical thinking:** Finding solutions to problems
- **Creativity:** Thinking outside the box

11 <https://www.battelleforkids.org/learning-hub/learning-hub-item/framework-for-21st-century-learning>

12 Partnership for 21st Century Skills (2011). <http://www.p21.org>

- **Collaboration:** Working with others
- **Communication:** Talking to others

Critical thinking has become the most important quality for someone to have in order to meet the challenges of future-societies and handle the consequences of the industrial era. In the framework, critical thinking becomes an essential skill to develop in order to make a societal improvement that has a focus on sustainability and social inclusion. In that case, **creativity** becomes equally important as a means of adaptation. This skill empowers students to see things from a different perspective, which might lead to innovation, and in any field, innovation is key to the adaptability and overall success of a company. Learning creativity as a skill requires someone to understand that “the way things have always been done” may have been best 10 years ago — but someday, that has to change. **Collaboration** means getting students to work together, achieve compromises, and get the best possible results from solving a problem. **Communication** can be seen as the glue that brings all of these educational qualities together.¹³

In summary, the transnational efforts regarding the reshaping of education for the 21st Century turn the approach to education and learning into a question about developing “process skills” as a point of reference in becoming a livable citizen in the 21st Century that can embrace the societal challenges as wild and wicked problems to be solved. This leaves us with the following question: How do we best approach the shift in teaching from *instructing* for **content**, to *coaching* for **process skills**? Many educational providers offer different pathways to this shift - you can in many ways talk about a form of *edu-business*¹⁴. If we look towards Finland and the transformations in the Finnish education system, something interesting appears:

“Until the end of the 1970s, primary school teachers were prepared in teacher colleges or special teacher education seminars. Lower- and upper-secondary school subject teachers studied in specific subject-focused departments within Finnish universities. By the end of the 1970s, all teacher education programs became a part of academic higher education and, therefore, were only offered by universities. A master’s degree became the basic qualification for teaching in Finnish schools. Simultaneously,

13 <https://www.aeseducation.com/blog/what-are-21st-century-skills>

14 <https://www.qieu.asn.au/news/archive/2016/june/the-rise-of-edu-business-what-it-means-for-the-education-profess/>

scientific content and educational research advances began to enrich teacher education curricula. Finnish teacher education is now academic, meaning that it must be based on and supported by scientific knowledge and must be focused on the thinking processes and cognitive skills needed to design and conduct educational research (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi, 2006; Niemi, 2008). A particular principle of research-based teacher education in Finland is the systemic integration of scientific educational knowledge, didactics (or pedagogical content knowledge), and practice to enable teachers to enhance their pedagogical thinking, evidence-based decisionmaking, and engagement in the professional community of educators. Consequently, the basic requirement today for permanent employment as a teacher in all Finnish comprehensive and upper-secondary schools is the possession of a research-based master's degree. [] The major subject in primary school teacher education programs is education. In subject-focused teacher education programs, students concentrate within a particular subject—for example, mathematics or foreign languages. Subject-focused teacher candidates also study didactics, consisting of pedagogical content knowledge (subject didactics) within their own subject specialty.”

(Sahlberg 2015, pp. 106-107)

What is very important to notice here is the year of the publication 2015, it is, in other words, a presentation of the “old” approach to the organising of the teachers’ education because, in August 2016, Finland put what is arguably one of the most innovative curriculums in the world into practice nationally. It is a *student-centred approach*, and it has gained international attention because this precisely embraces the shift from *instructing* for **content** to *coaching* for **process skills**. Denmark, Norway and Sweden still hold on to the subject-focused teacher inspired by the now “old” Finnish way of organising the education system - even though Denmark is the only Scandinavian country that educates teachers in teacher colleges or special-teacher education seminars. However, these seminars are gathered in university colleges just below the university level and orientated towards “professions,” i.e. teachers. The discussion continues in Denmark concerning whether or not teachers should have an academic education based on and supported by scientific knowledge. What is astonishing about the Finnish education reform is that it unfolds in the realm of the 21st Century Skills

Framework and have specific attention drawn to “improve the joy and meaningfulness of learning and student agency, enhancing thinking and learning to learn as well as other transversal skills, and to support the development of schools as collaborative learning communities. An integrative, multidisciplinary pedagogical approach was emphasised, and new tools for crossing the boundaries of subjects were developed” (Halinen 2018, p. 76).

“From 2014–2017 Finland reformed the national core curricula at all levels of education: early childhood, pre-primary, basic (primary + lower secondary), and upper secondary. As a result, the core curricula now form a coherent line throughout the entire education system. The aims of the reforms were to build on the strengths of the Finnish education system and, at the same time, to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing and complex world. There were issues connected especially with meaningfulness of learning, the engagement and well-being of students as well as with educational equality, for which new approaches were developed. The leading principle in the Finnish educational thinking is that equal and high-quality education is the best way to respect children and childhood, and to build a sustainable future for both individuals and the whole country. The purpose of education is to promote life-long and life-wide learning, holistic development and well-being of all learners, as well as to improve their skills for living in a sustainable way. Transparency and extensive participation, a strong knowledge base and future orientation, supported by futures’ research (Airaksinen et al. 2016), guided the national reform process. Based on the national guidelines, all municipalities and schools constructed their local curricula. Teaching and learning based on the new curricula began in the autumn of 2016 (pre-primary, basic and upper secondary education) and in the autumn of 2017 (early childhood education and care). From the learners’ point of view, the focus of the reform was to improve the joy and meaningfulness of learning and student agency, enhancing thinking and learning to learn as well as other transversal skills, and to support the development of schools as collaborative learning communities. An integrative, multidisciplinary pedagogical approach was emphasized, and new tools for crossing the boundaries of subjects were developed. Finland has now experienced nearly two school years of teaching and learning based on the new curricula. The reforms seem to have had a strong influence on school practices, on the provision of education in municipalities as well as on teacher education. It

has also activated new school development programmes and educational research in Finland (OKM 2018; Vesterinen et al. 2017: Pietarinen et al. 2016, 2017; Krokfors et al. 2016; Vitikka et al. 2016)." (Halinen 2018, pp. 75-76)

When schools become *collaborative learning communities*, we can see the parallels to the thinking of cultural institutions as learning communities based in *museum learning* according to Eilean Hoper-Greenhill (2007) and Anne Bamford (2009 [2006]) in the approach to learning about and through culture as "the wow factor". Especially Anne Bamford express the need for both approaches as "education in the arts and education through the arts, while distinct, are interdependent and it should not be assumed that it is possible to adopt one or the other to achieve the totality of positive impacts on the child's educational realization" (Bamford 2009 [2006], p. 139). In many ways, you can point in a direction where the potential of *culture in learning and learning in culture* is taken into considerations in the total reforming of the education system, where the collaborative efforts between culture and education can uphold the cultural institutions strive for autonomy. The reforming of the Finnish education system frames the collaboration between culture and education differently than in the Scandinavian countries because the organising principle of education is *student-centred* and not *subject-centred*. When the student and not the subject becomes the forefront in the educational efforts, it can be recognised in the cultural settings in the workings on "authenticity". I will elaborate this further in the part of the article regarding the modelling of the creativity regimes.

It is also possible to take into considerations that "One of the decisive factors in the success of the reform was the collaborative reform process. The process was open and transparent from the very beginning and engaged huge numbers of people. The process was based on a real dialogue and shared learning between three levels of education: national, municipal and the schools. Teachers played a central role. Their experiences and ideas influenced the planning and direction of the process as well as the formulation of the reform goals. Students, parents, researchers, teacher educators, various civil society organisations and other interest groups were also invited to participate. This seems to have resulted in a high level of commitment to the local and school-based curriculum work by the municipal authorities, principals and teachers, and their sincere striving to reach the goals of the reform is evident (Halinen et al. 2013, Pietarinen et al. 2017)" (Halinen

2018, p. 77. There is a striking contrast between this collaborative reform process and the reform process regarding the reform of the compulsory school system in Denmark in 2013-14. This was a politically emphasised reform and a top-down setting, which had a tremendous negative impact on the teachers' engagement in implementing the reform. The Finnish curricular reform is a fascinating case when it comes to an understanding of the possibilities for and barriers to collaboration between culture and education, i.e. museums and schools.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN NORDIC CULTURAL POLICIES

“Today, outreach to the community underpins a great deal of museum activity (the continued importance of which was highlighted by the debates in Sweden over the imposition of entry fees to state-owned museums in 2006-7). The preservative function, recognised by the likes of Hazelius, also remains important, with museums seen as a means of preventing traditions and cultures from passing out of existence. Whereas the Swedish Skansen and other folk museums sought to preserve rustic folk memories, museums in the twenty-first century are also required to engage with a post-industrial society. Institutions such as Norrköping’s Arbetets museum (Museum of Work) or Bergen’s Norges Fiskerimuseum (Norwegian Fisheries Museum) showcase historic industries but also prompt visitors to reflect upon the role of certain industries in the local, national or international society and economy. The importance of attracting and informing tourists has been acknowledged since the earliest days of museums in Europe. Attractions such as Vasamuseet (Vasa Museum) in Stockholm continue to fascinate tourists, and the nineteenth-century interest in Vikings endures, ensuring the development and maintenance of such institutions as Vikingskipshuset (Viking Ship Museum) in Oslo and Vikingeskibsmuseet (Viking Ship Museum) in Roskilde. While the portrayal of historic borders and national minorities will remain contested in national institutions, it seems clear that in addition to the economic function of promoting tourism in their respective localities and nations, national museums retain an important role in the creation and maintenance of a particular view of a country and its people, a view which is presented to both outsiders and the people themselves. The emergence of national museums in the Nordic region took place in

a context of nation-building and formation all over Europe from early 1800s. In addition to merely housing collections of national importance, these Nordic museums, like most national museums, allow particular versions of national histories to be constructed. These histories are by no means static narratives, but they nevertheless allow a glimpse at the way a nation might wish to be perceived at a given point in time.”¹⁵

I have emphasised “**outreach**” in the quotation, due to the shift in cultural policies and institutions towards users and their active involvement in terms of “participation”, which has been going on for almost a decade in Nordic, as well as European welfare societies under the heading of *outreach* (Scott Sørensen 2016, p. 4). At an EU-level, this regards the development of a European Agenda for Culture, in particular, the “Work Plan for Culture 2012– 2014” (European Commission 2012), and the following Work Plan from 2018 on a New European Agenda for Culture (European Commission 2018)¹⁶. The participatory turn in cultural policies and cultural institutions has entailed discussions around understandings of “participation”, and follow in many ways the theoretical framework elaborated by Nina Simon in her books: “The Participatory Museum” from 2010, and “The Art of Relevance” from 2016.

In the publication with the title *Socially Engaged Practices in Museums and Archives* (2019), I departed from Nina Simons work and unfolded the following questions: “In order to unlock new potentials in museums and archives, we have to listen very carefully to Nina Simons approach to make the art (and culture) relevant to both insiders and outsiders. How do we avoid *otherizing* the outsiders in our attempt at making the cultural heritage relevant to outsiders? How do we, at museums and archives, become relevant to outsiders’ experiences of (their) cultural heritage? How do we avoid performing insiders version of *the other* without at the same time develop new ways of engaging in social efforts in museums and archives?” (Frstrup 2019, pp. 6-7). With a focus on participation, the question of relevance becomes hugely central to the valuing of the museum visit according to both the users and the providers. As I will unfold later in this article, this is an effort embedded in struggles on both political and institutional levels.

According to Peter Duelund (2008), the “cultural policies always reflect

15 <https://nordics.info/show/artikel/museums-and-their-history/>

16 https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/strategic-framework_en

the political and economic struggles to establish a frame for artistic and aesthetic expression and other direct and indirect tools that governments and the state apparatus use to fund, stimulate and regulate the production, distribution and consumption of art. In recent years, and for various reasons, adaptation and regulation has taken on an added importance in the Nordic countries, for example through the introduction of target-oriented management, performance-related contracts, follow-up quality assurance, etc. Financial support is based on quality assurance to decide allocations of grants. However, the change in conditions for allocation of means has also produced a change in the commonly accepted values and the shifting power positions between the different desires and strategies in society” (Duelund 2008, p. 11).

Anne Scott Sørensen (2016) argues that “social inclusion and private enterprise are both cultural policy ends that have gradually permeated cultural policies in Denmark, as well as other comparable welfare states since the late 20th century alongside the democratic visions to bring cultural policies into a highly entangled (neo-liberal) policy field. Within Danish – and Nordic – cultural policy research there is a tradition of adopting a critical approach to cultural policies, claiming a gradual decline in the relationship between welfare, democracy and public culture since the 1980s. This claim is based on the German political sociologist Jürgen Habermas and his theory of a general decline in deliberative democracy under the influence of neo-liberalism in both economics and politics (Duelund 2003, 2008; Mangset et al. 2008). The period from 1961 to the mid-1980s is considered the golden age of cultural policy due to its relative autonomy, while the subsequent period from the mid-1980s into 2000s is criticised for social “instrumentalisation” and economic “colonisation”. The golden age is linked to the continued expansion and consolidation of the welfare state and its classic representative institutions, while the 1980s mark the transition to a post-welfare competitive or market state with its *New Public Management* principles. The decline arguably illustrates that the substantial task of democratic/welfare cultural institutions has shifted from “Bildung” to social competence or *employability*, turning cultural communication into an instrument of governance. It is also argued that the supposedly unique Nordic cultural policy model, with its tradition of partnerships between public cultural institutions and civil society is under pressure and will be replaced by new public-private enterprises in the service of the experience

economy” (pp. 5-6).

The critic is very clearly stated by Anne Scott Sørensen, and her indignation towards the neo-liberalisation of the cultural sector in the Nordic countries seems relevant in accordance with the transnational efforts to reshape the entire educational system towards engendering the shift from content to process skills and from instructing to coaching. The shift from *Bildung* to employability point towards a paradox in the neo-liberalisation of the Nordic societies, due to the question regarding the democratisations efforts, which are build into the Nordic cultural policies after the Second World War. It is this shift from “government” to “governance” (Osborn 2006, 2009, 2010) which, according to Newman (2013), *merges* “the active involvement” with reference to New Public Governance (NPG), and the efforts in measuring the visitors’ involvement with reference to New Public Management (NPM), and “as a result the measurable indicators become the attractors that regulate what museums and archives strive to engage in socially, as a mean to develop their collaborative practices with outsiders in the local communities” (Fristrup 2019, p. 9).

According to Peter Duelund (2008) “cultural policies in the Nordic countries have generally been included in the idea of state-subsidised welfare. As such, these policies result from a balance of individual liberty and collective political regulations. According to Nordic ideas of social welfare, cultural policy should ensure both freedom of artistic expression and equal access for everyone to art and cultural products (Duelund 2003, p. 487)” (Duelund 2008, p. 12). And Peter Duelund continues, “as it happens, the Nordic countries did not follow the same path when they developed their national cultural policies after the Second World War. While, by and large, their cultural policies followed the same direction after the Second World War, their respective historical backgrounds are widely different. Denmark and Sweden have been independent states for hundreds of years, and not surprisingly they base their cultural policy on feudal and aristocratic traditions and make use of traditional institutions in establishing their constitutional democracies (Duelund 2003, pp. 481–487). Norway, Finland and Iceland, on the other hand, are newly created nation-states, and they have obviously developed their national cultural policies and public cultural institutions within a much shorter time span. In the autonomous regions of Greenland, the Faeroe Islands, the Aland Islands and the Saami region, cultural policies have been shaped by ethnic and geo-political considerations” (Duelund

2008, p. 13).

When considering that the point of reference in Nordic cultural policies is the Nordic ideas of social welfare, the democratic aspect of any political initiative, whether that concern the social or cultural policies, has played a significant role in the political agenda and in the institutional settings. The turn towards “user participation” in Nordic cultural policies has according to Anne Scott Sørensen (2016) “in the broader sense of bringing in new users and facilitating their active engagement has been met by a less critical and more “realistic” approach from Nordic researchers, although the influence of the experience economy on public cultural institutions has been met with scepticism from a predominantly Habermasian perspective (Skot-Hansen 2008; Hvenegaard-Rasmussen, 2016; Harding & Nathanson 2016). It has also been argued that the shift in attention from content to visitors and the aim of turning nonusers into (active) users reflects an intensification of governance, in this case from a more Foucauldian perspective (Kann-Rasmussen & Balling, 2015)” (Scott Sørensen 2016, p. 6).

The governance approach to policies, in general, was elaborated as a point of reference after the *Great Recession* between 2007-2009 as the period of a general marked decline observed in national economies on a global scale. The OECD made a report in 2011 with the title *Together for Better Public Services. Partnering with citizens and civil society*. In this report the OECD emphasised: “Re-thinking traditional public service delivery in a new socio-economic environment”, “Delivering better services together”, “Co-production raises new challenges for accountability”, and “Commitment, capacity and incentives determine success” (OECD 2011, pp. 11-12).

“Co-production” became a central element in the reforming of hard government into soft governance in the OECD countries. Co-production have become the answer to all governmental challenges, and every policy is enrolled in the language of co-production as the solution to the economic problems that followed in the realm of the Great Recession. According to the OECD the problems are elaborated as the following challenges: “Government capacity to respond to societal demands for inclusive and high-quality public services is challenged by both internal and external factors, such as tight budgetary and fiscal environments, changing individual and societal preferences and needs, and new and complex societal problems (e.g. ageing populations, climate change, and

spread of chronic illnesses). Governments have recognised that innovation can help increase the performance of public services in terms of outputs, efficiency, effectiveness, equity and responsiveness to user needs. This report analyses how innovative approaches to service delivery can help achieve these objectives through the active involvement of citizens and service users.”

(OECD 2011, p. 16)

The report points to the following solutions: “Collaboration with citizens and users plays an increasing role in the larger debate on the transformation of public services towards new forms of production and delivery. This includes movements from supply-side to demand-side delivery logics; from internal (in-house) to external (outsourcing) production models; and from “command and control” interactions between actors to those based on contractual arrangements. While market-type instruments and mechanisms based on competition (such as public tendering and concessions) help to draw on the comparative advantages of the private sector, the results in terms of service quality and satisfaction are still being debated. Experience indicates that while these measures can push down the cost of services, savings may be neutralised or reversed by higher transaction costs associated with contract preparation and monitoring. Short-term perspective, rent-seeking behaviour and opportunism associated with market practices can counteract public service objectives in terms of equity, inclusiveness and sustainability. Partnering with users and citizens has emerged today as an important approach to innovate public service delivery, furthering some trends already underway in OECD countries (*e.g.* client orientation, service personalisation). This paradigm considers that public services work better when designed and delivered in partnership with citizens in order to harness their interest, energies, expertise and ambitions. Collaborative rather than competitive arrangements, and targeting of citizens and civil society organisations are key foundations (Cabinet Office, UK, 2009). Co-production corresponds to the direct involvement of individual users and groups of citizens in the planning and delivery of public services. This umbrella term covers a range of more specific concepts – such as co-design, co-creation, co-delivery, co-management, co-decide, co-evaluate, co-review (Pollitt, Bouckaert and Löffler, 2006) – which reflect the different stages and types of citizen involvement and input. For example, governments co-produce with citizens when they

release information which is then reused by citizens to produce improved or new services (*e.g.* to combine information on local bars and crime data to help people plan safer routes home); or when they partner with citizens or volunteer groups to monitor the physical conditions of public infrastructures and services, or to increase safety in their neighbourhood” (OECD 2011, pp.16-17).

It might be relevant to question the democratic efforts in the approach to co-production since the understanding is embedded in a market-logic, where the user, i.e. the citizen, is playing “the first violin”. This kind of *customisation* engenders the participatory turn in the Nordic cultural policies in the last decade, and in the educational reshaping elaborated in the framework of 21st Century Learning Skills. Co-production has become the pathway in both cultural and educational efforts in the last decade, and I have been writing about this in the publication with the title *Socially Engaged Practices in Museums and Archives* from 2019:

“According to Newman’s research on the social impact of museums and galleries (2013), visitors often feel “out of place” when visiting a museum or a gallery (p. 130), or as Simon (2016) demonstrated in Porchia’s story: the process of otherizing outsiders, *e.g.* visitors. The otherizing of the visitors become evident when they lack the cultural capital of the insiders. You can approach this complexity from two sides: either you turn the outsiders into insiders, or you turn the insiders into outsiders. Mostly, the latter is absent in the literature on this subject and only leave room for ‘best practices’ by the development of the visitor’s cultural capabilities. That is why Newman (2013) elaborates a critical approach to the reproduction of inequalities “that are inherent in the fields that dominated their production and so can be socially regressive. This is because fields reproduce the social structures and values that are inherent to them. However, the effect on the respondents was variable and determined by their cultural capital and subsequent habitus. This determined the extent to which participants recognise and are influenced by the authorised discourse associated with the field.”

(Fristrup 2019, pp. 132-133).

The sectoral shift towards the visitors can be elaborated in accordance with three discourses that function alongside each other. The first discourse

departs from an ideological framework, where museums are positioned as agents of social reform that echo interpretations of the nineteenth-century museums' roles as civilising instruments of the state (Sandell 2003, 2007). The second discourse is based in the New Public Management efforts to measure service outcomes for users, but the outcomes are dependent upon the habitus of the users, which differs considerably according to Newman (2013). The attempt to use the cultural heritage sector to address social problems, such as inequality in society, as the ideological approach suggested by Sandell (2003, 2007), would, according to Newman (2013), have an unpredictable effect, because it reproduces the inequality instead of combating the processes of exclusion. The third discourse relates to an approach to New Public Governance (Osborn 2006, 2009, 2010) that posits a plural state, where multiple interdependent actors contribute to the delivery of public services emphasising the importance of co-production and co-creation.

“This represents a significant challenge for those with dominant field positions in that it questions the basis for their authority in determining how value is understood. Efforts to widen access constitute an attempt to give visitors the cultural capital to engage with value structures as they currently exist rather than attempting to change them. It is suggested that the linear nature of existing performance measurement systems are unable to capture the active involvement of visitors in making sense of their experience” (Newman 2013, p. 134).”

(Fristrup 2019, p. 8)

Anne Scott Sørensen (2016) tries to problematise, how the historically embedded focus on “Bildung” in Nordic cultural policies creates an autonomy of art and culture that “demonstrate an almost “ritual” belief in the civilizing effect of art and culture and that this belief in this period even has led to a narrowing of the very definition of culture as “high culture”, putting the “cultural democratization” way of thinking from the 1960s before and above the “cultural democracy” way of thinking of the 1970s (Røyseng 2007; Bjørnsen 2012, Harding 2015). In their article in this issue, Åsne Haugsevje, Ole Marius Hylland and Heidi Stavrum examine how this has changed again due to a renewed focus on the social and inclusive role of art and culture. They nevertheless argue that basic at least Norwegian cultural policies since the 1960s have been highly “convergent” or “sedi-

mentary” across policy levels and institutions – even though there is a huge gap between “good intentions” at policy levels and the everyday reality and practices, leaving the latter with various paradoxes to be handled” (Scott Sørensen 2016, p. 6).

Peter Duelund (2008) point towards a transformation of aims and measures in Nordic cultural policy in the period from 1960 to 2007. He sums it up in four phases characterised by different strategies and headlines: “The Democratisation of Culture (1960–1975), Cultural Democracy (1975–1985), Social and Economic Instrumentalisation (1985–1995), Economic and Political Colonisation (1995–2007)” (Duelund 2008, p. 14). According to Peter Duelund (2008), there seems to be a nationalist revival in the Nordic cultural policies:

“However, let me provisionally point to a phenomenon which has come to dominate state and local cultural policy in the Nordic as well as the other European countries: A massive reawakening of the national dimension in official cultural policy. During the modernisation of Europe and the Nordic countries, state cultural policies had a twofold purpose in that they both served to support the arts and to further a policy of national identity (Hodne 2002 [1994]). The Nordic study offers a detailed historical account and its insights are further elaborated in works about the history of cultural policies in Denmark and Norway published after 2003 (Engberg 2005, Dahl and Helseth 2006). Indeed, cultural policy as construction of national identity is not a new phenomenon. What is new, however, is the speed and the strength that characterises the transformation of cultural policy at the start of the twenty-first century. What has taken place in Denmark amounts to a change of paradigm. Today, cultural policy is basically a question of ‘Danishness’. The question is asked how the Danish cultural heritage could be renewed so as to support the creation of a national identity in the form of a coherent narrative vis-à-vis influence and influx from a multicultural world. As we have seen, this dimension was already latent in the early Danish post-war cultural policies. However, the nationalist perspective has now been reinvented and revitalised to a degree that has astonished many people. I would like to suggest that it would be mistaken to denounce the use of cultural policies to stimulate national identity. In fact, nationalism in one form or another will inevitably attach itself to any welfare state cultural policy in any European country. What does amaze, however, is

the intensity and the speed with which the new ideology takes hold and replaces the old.”

(Duelund 2008, pp. 18-19)

The four historically based approaches to culture in Nordic cultural policies since the end of the Second World War in 1945 can be articulated as four different strategies: *democratisation*, *instrumentalisation*, *colonisation*, and *nationalisation*. Each of the four strategies relate to different value systems or norms, whereas the democratisation relates to the values of the Nordic welfare state from the 1960s and 1970s; the instrumentalisation or marketisation relates to the values of the market state from the 1980s; the colonisation follow the lines of the instrumentalisation as culture becomes the answer to solving societal problems and might be elaborated more correctly as industrialisation and not colonisation, which is a Habermasian term. The nationalisation relates to “War on Terror” after 9/11 in 2001, which changed all policies in favour of security.

In a broad perspective, you might say that **poverty** and **terror** are two major historical trends that encompass Nordic cultural policies since the end of the Second World War. In this setting, issues on climate change and demographic change evolve on the backdrop of the significant trends. In light of the corona crisis this year, the Nordic Cultural Fund has followed the development of various initiatives that have been implemented in the Nordic countries to help the cultural sector through the crisis. They have published a report that “analyzes and provides an insight into some of the overall trends that can be seen in the cultural sector. The report is not an all-encompassing analysis but a living document which we will update regularly with new information. With this report we want to open up a for a dialogue and invite to a further gathering of knowledge at a Nordic level”¹⁷.

The 21st Century point towards a future that needs to unlock the *creative* potential to dive into “the wild” and solve “wicked problems”. To dive into the wild underlines the features of uncertainty, chaos and learning, and according to Feiwel Kupferberg (1995), this is more precisely captured by an approach to creativity.

When the LSDA (Learning and Skills Development Agency in the UK) in 2001 responded to the Green Paper from the Department of Culture, Media

17 <https://www.nordiskkulturfond.org/en/news/covid-19-and-the-cultural-sector-in-the-nordic-countries-help-us-to-create-an-overview/>

and Sport: “Culture and Creativity: the next ten years”¹⁸ they emphasised in chapter 3 a specific focus on moving beyond the classroom walls through “creative partnerships” and “culture online”:

Creative Partnerships

5. We welcome the proposal for Creative Partnerships aimed at developing creative skills, as well as increasing access to, and understanding and appreciation of, culture ‘through regular experiences of culture in all its forms’. We also applaud the expressed desire to ensure that the initiative reaches, for example, schools facing the greatest challenges.

6. The location of the proposed pilot partnerships is critical. We welcome the commitment to include rural and remote coastal areas. Given the desire to locate creative partnerships in deprived areas that could benefit from adjacent rich cultural infrastructures, it is vital that the notion of ‘culture’ itself is well explored. Definitions of ‘culture’ should include national heritage culture, ethnic heritage culture, and popular culture in all its facets. It will be necessary to define ‘a rich cultural infrastructure’.

7. We would welcome extension of the pilot initiative post-16. An appropriate locus for these could be, for example, a specialist centre of vocational excellence also referred to in the Green Paper (paragraph 4.49). However, the Creative Partnerships could have their centre outside the main educational institutions. For instance, the providers of cultural/creative experiences could be the focal point, with schools and colleges as associates. This could help to encourage joint working. A range of models might be explored.

Culture Online

8. We welcome the proposals for Culture Online and would wish to collaborate in its development and implementation, contributing also to the definition of its scope and purpose.

18 [https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/9959/1/Culture_and_creativity - LSDA responds.pdf](https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/9959/1/Culture_and_creativity_-_LSDA_responds.pdf)

9. In particular, we would wish to see the products of this initiative made freely available across all sectors of education and training with, for example, a common graphic on relevant websites to allow easily understandable access to the resources. It is important that related digital resources should be ‘metatagged’ in line with the e-gif initiative. This would allow learners and tutors to collect and integrate electronic resources for a variety of purposes within customised learning material. Teachers and institutions will need information or reassurance about any copyright implications for use. LSDA’s work on learning materials specifications and standards and on electronic copyright is highly relevant here.”¹⁹

In their statement on “Pathways to education and training,” they emphasise the enrichment of the curriculum in order to develop creativity (p. 2), and they underline that “the introduction of competency-based qualifications has not facilitated creativity within the curriculum. [] A stronger emphasis on creativity in the curriculum would invigorate, modernise and better prepare learners for fast-moving work environments” (p. 2). They welcome “reference to the potential of Centres of Vocational Excellence in FE colleges as a means of promoting the importance of creativity and developing skills for the creative industries. Centres will have strong links with employers and will foster innovation and applied technology to support competitive business and enterprise. These centres, we suggest, could be linked where relevant with the centres of excellence for the museum and gallery services (paragraph 5.33)” (p. 2), and point towards:

“14. The creative skills found in art, performance, sport and music can be an effective means of engaging young people at risk of exclusion. To give just two examples from our technology work, we are researching the use of games and mobile technologies for learning, and one of our college action-based Quality in Information and Learning Technology (QUILT) projects at The City Literary Institute showed how far technology could be used within a range of adult education classes to release creativity within staff and students.

15. Recent work by LSDA examining heritage crafts revealed that there is no coherent map of provision. The proposed focus on

19 Ibid. pp. 1-2

creativity being established through the proposals in the Green Paper could help to secure a more coherent pattern of such provision.

16. In order for providers to feel confident to embrace creativity as a major focus, attention needs to be given to targets and performance indicators which may discourage engagement. For example, performance tables, as they currently stand, do not support risk-taking and innovation, especially where provision does not lead clearly and transparently to accredited, measurable outcomes. Therefore, commitment of resources to developing creativity may feel risky to providers. The creation of incentives and attention to potential disincentives will be essential to engage providers enthusiastically engaged.” (p. 2)

In order to be able to understand the intersection between the efforts in transnational education policies and Nordic cultural policies, we need a model that can guide us. We have to be able to see how the different understandings of “creativity” is at stake when creativity becomes the solution to societal problems just like learning became a “learning regime” (Ehlers 2019), creativity can be elaborated in terms of “creativity regimes” with an emphasis on the plural form in regimes. The model will enable us to understand how the Nordic Model has been exchanged with more transnational efforts (Ball 2008), and a “creative model” that “include a broad range of activities including broadcasting, fashion, multi-media, journalism, publishing, the popular music industry and both commercial and not-for-profit arts activity. The British definition of “creative industries” does exclude the heritage and museum sector; however, (Roodhouse, 2001: 502). The “cultural” model embraces a broader definition and can include heritage and museums, tourism, events, cooking, the information technology (IT) industry and sport” (Caust 2003, p. 54). This leads us back to the question regarding the purpose of culture and education.

“In 1943 the public intellectual, poet, art educator, literary critic, and anarchist Herbert Read addressed the purpose of education in Education through Art. Read’s book was written against the backdrop of an international war and offered an alternative to the dominant discourse about education under capitalism and the iniquitous social relations it produced in the 1930s and 40s. Read believed in the redemptive power

of education.”

(Grosvenor and Pataki 2017, p. 247)

When we, like Read, believe in the redemptive power of education, we are able to embrace what Michael Field and Peter Moss in their book with the title *Radical Education and the Common School* from 2011 have termed “critical case studies of possibilities”. In the context of this project, we could add another layer to this emphasis: critical case studies of possibilities and conflicts.

MODELLING CREATIVITY REGIMES

Creativity, as a frame of reference, can be approached as a social activity; and it is defined and regulated within the different institutionalised orders that Feiwel Kupferberg calls *creativity regimes* (Kupferberg 1995; 1996a, 1996b, 1996c; 2003a, 2003b; 2004; 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d). What we see and accept as *creativity* in one social order is not recognised as such outside that particular social order (Kupferberg 2006b). According to Feiwel Kupferberg (2006b), “creativity regimes regulate what type of creativity is asked for through two main mechanisms, namely, innovation norms and struggles for legitimacy or recognition. Innovation norms define the criteria used to determine whether a given idea is rewarded or not within that particular creativity regime. Struggles for recognition determine the career of groundbreaking ideas that open up new domains, such as new paradigms, industries, or art” (p. 81). With a creativity regime, Feiwel Kupferberg (2006b) means: “those institutionalized norms that define what novelties are defined as valuable (Boden 1994; Lasswell 1959), that is, are accepted or recognized as creativity (Czikszentmihalyi 1988) within a given social field such as art, science, industry, and pedagogy. The concept can be extended to make sense of the differences within creativity regimes in the broad sense. There is a long tradition of seeing natural sciences as different from the social sciences and the humanities. Within the art world, artists who define themselves as fine or genuine artists tend to distinguish themselves from those artists who tend to see themselves mainly as entertainers or popular artist” (p. 82).

Feiwel Kupferberg (2006b) continues:

“Industries tend to regulate creativity in different ways. Thus, the medical industry relies upon a different type of creativity than does the information technology sector, which again brings forth a different type of creativity than the food sector, the transport sector, the media and entertainment sectors, and so forth. Sociology of creativity should not exclusively concern itself with different forms of industrial creativity. Although important for modern societies, industrial creativity is but a subspecies of a more general type of creativity that can also be found in other areas, such as in the art world (Becker 1982), academia, and education.

The first task of sociology of creativity would thus be particular norms that govern these more general creativity regimes, before trying to specify them further. Before we ask what the difference is between, say, the creativity of writers and film directors, we need to know what artistic creativity in itself is about, just as we need to know what industrial creativity is about, before we start to distinguish between creativity in the transport sector, the medical sector, and other sectors. As suggested by Talcott Parsons, any given social order comes about through a process that he calls the institutionalization of norms (Parsons 1958). Broadly accepted norms are the reasons why civilized societies do not degenerate into a Hobbesian world of anarchy. For Parsons, this could be avoided only by a Leviathan state commanded by a dictator or by civilizing norms (Parsons 1937). The idea that innovation can also be seen as regulated by a norm was suggested by Robert Merton, who argued that innovation is an important value, or aspect, of the scientific ethos (Merton 1968). What Merton emphasized was the important role played by critique or what he called “organized skepticism” among scholars. No theories or hypotheses should be taken for granted but always tested against reality. The institution of the peer review as a screen test before a paper is accepted for publication in a scientific journal is another variety of the same dominant norm that critique plays in the academic creativity regime (Coser 1965). As documented by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, it is impossible to make a career in science unless one accepts this fundamental rule of the game (Bourdieu 1974). Artists, too, are bound by their particular innovation norm, which is different from the one found in academia (or industry). As suggested by Caves (2000),

artists rarely criticize each other, mainly because this would destroy the attempt of the artist to be authentic. Other differences from science include that artists do not have to be critical of their sources, and in fact, most artists rely upon their own personal experience as their main inspiration (Czikszentmihalyi 1996). A third difference is that art is not interested in arriving at objective truth; what it seeks to accomplish is authentic expression of human feelings (Dewey 1958). We have to feel that a work of art (a painting, novel, drama, acting, etc.) is personally authentic in order for it to count as art and its producer to count as artist (Miller 1988). Industrial creativity represents a third major case, which is different from both science and art. Businessmen do not peer review each other, they compete in the marketplace, and it is this competitive pressure that forces them to be creative in the sense of having to adapt to the more or less unstable and constantly fluctuating needs and wishes of their customers. Competition and adaptability play a similar role as that played by critique in academia and the quest for personal authenticity of the artist.”

(Kupferberg 2006b, pp. 83-84).

Feiwei Kupferberg (2006b) talks about *hybrid creativity regimes*, and point towards contemporary times, where the boundaries between the different creativity regimes still exist as *identity-constituting factors*, but in reality “these boundaries are in flux, and we observe the appearance of hybrid creativity regimes, such as high-tech industries based upon scientific or technological creativity, tourism industry based upon low-tech or high-tech types of experiences both at the same time, as in theme parks in Hawaii (Pine and Gilmore 1998). A third variety includes the industries based upon artistic input. The classical cases are art galleries, music recording, publishing, theatre, and the film production industry. Caves (2000) calls these industries “creative industries,” others use the concept “cultural industry” originally suggested by Horkheimer and Adorno (Hesmondalgh 2002). If we include such quasi-artistic industries as fashion, furniture, and toys, we begin to see the contours of what some analysts call a “creative economy” (DuGay 1997; DuGay and Pike 2002). As argued by Lash and Urry (1995), the latter development should be kept conceptually apart from another development that was already noticed Bell (1973), where the emphasis was upon the emer-

gence of industries that are heavily reliant upon scientific and engineering research. These industries include medicine and pharmaceuticals, aviation, machine building, forestry paper processing, glass technology, information technology, biotechnology, energy technology, and mobile telephone systems. Recently, even the distinction between science-based and art-based industries has been blurred as more traditional engineering industries, such as the car industry, the telecommunication industry, and consumer electronics, have become more dependent upon design to sell their products (Dansk Design Center 1990; Engholm and Michelsen 2000; Lester, Pioer, and Malek 1998). The recent emergence of the “new media” or “multimedia” (Braud 1987; Monaco 2000) illustrates how far this blurring of regime boundaries has taken us” (Ibid. p. 85).

The industrialisation of culture points in the direction of a blurring of the different creativity regimes. Feiwel Kupferberg (2006b) outline some examples of this kind of blurring of regime boundaries between art and business:

“Combining or blurring different creativity regimes is nothing new. From this point of view, the unprecedented strength of the Hollywood studios (Acheson and Maule 1994; Dale 1997) could be attributed to a managerial model that has allowed for the tensions between art and commerce to be used as every-day inspiration for organizational creativity, rather than avoiding it by almost eliminating the commercial aspect through large state subsidies, as has been the case in the European film industry. One could argue that it is precisely the crises-ridden atmosphere of producing a high-risk venture such as a Hollywood movie that has inspired the form as well as the content of most successful Hollywood movies (Powdermaker 1950) and that can explain the surprising aesthetic continuity of Hollywood movies (Maltby 1995). By eliminating this business aspect from the process of filmmaking, the European film industry has, in effect, transformed European filmmaking into a different hybrid regime that has combined academia and art rather than business and art. Academic careers, as we indicated above, depend almost exclusively upon criticism from one’s peers. In Europe, these peer reviews replace the exit and voice of the box office, thus creating a very different kind of species. Whereas the Hollywood film studios compete with each other to satisfy the entertainment value sought by moviegoers, European film studios try to make as many art movies as possible, as this is what gives the good peer reviews that are necessary to attract state

subsidies. Historically, this represents a regression, as modern art with its focus upon authenticity rebelled against academic rule over the art world. The impressionist painters who originated the first modernist revolution in arts did so precisely to liberate themselves from the dominating critique norm of academia, to give room for the more proper authenticity norm characterizing artistic creativity (Milner 1988)."

(Kupferberg 2006b, pp. 85-86).

Feiwei Kupferberg (2006b) outline another example of the blurring between **science and industry**:

"Combining different creativity regimes might or might not be successful from a business point of view. Thus, not all combinations of science and industry are conducive to creativity. If the founder of Hennes & Mauritz, Erling Persson, had relied upon scientific research, his decision to risk all he owned on a new and untried business concept, selling affordable fashion clothes to young women, would probably never have been made (Pettersson 2000). This decision was based upon the unique combination of competence, instinct, and venture capital, which seems to characterize entrepreneurial creativity. In other contexts, scientific creativity might be a necessary component of the entrepreneurial decision. The latter can be illustrated by the case of the Swedish pharmaceutical industry (Östholm 1996). The secret of the success of the pharmaceutical firm Astra seems to have been the introduction of a management model that functioned according to a totally different logic than that in the creative (artistic) industries. Rather than exploit the creative tensions between art and commerce, the emphasis was upon the potential complementarity of the two creativity regimes. The particular norms of innovation in science (critique by peers) could be mobilized for commercial purposes in two ways. The research director behind most of Astra's commercially successful products was able to engage outside researchers to cooperate with the company by giving them what the academic system could not give them enough of, namely, financial resources to continue the type of research these financially starved researchers felt important, as well as an opportunity to combine theory with practice. This cooperation helped the company to buy time cheaply order to pass the clinical tests of the appropriateness of new pharmaceutical products, which is crucial from a competitive point of view in this particular industry, and hence

gave it a strong competitive advantage. For those directly hired by the firm to do research, the research director found the most appropriate reward for a scientist early in his or her career, namely, the possibility to earn a Ph.D., which meant that although the project was certainly of value for the firm, the researcher got something in return that was far more valuable than money - a reputation for good, professional work within one's chosen field. In this case, a synergy effect was achieved by profiting from several structural weaknesses of the scientific creativity regime. Apart from the perennial lack of resources, due to the difficulty of legitimizing basic research that will take a long time to prove itself, the scientific creativity regime is characterized by what Merton (1968) called the "communism" of science. This is the idea that science is a public good that is distributed free of charge for everyone interested. In his managerial model, Österholm not only exploited these structural weaknesses of the scientific creativity regime for his own purpose, but he also did it in such a way as to respect the tenuous balance between autonomy and pressure, so characteristic of scientific organizations. As emphasized in the study by Pelz and Andrews (1976), scientific creativity is furthered by two things - the feeling of autonomy to pursue one's preferred topic of interest and the feeling of relevance to the outer world. It is this creative tension between autonomy and relevance, or between "theory" and "practice," that enhances the innovativeness of scientific work (Ben-David 1960). This also explains why there can be too much of both. Although most attention has been given to a presumed lack of autonomy of the scientific world, too little attention has been directed toward the opposite danger of academic insulation. As emphasized by Whitley (1984), the predominant role played by the peer review institution in science also has the latent function of imposing collective control upon the researcher, making sure that research does not become too original. It is for this reason that working for a company, provided the need for autonomy (Amabile 1996) is respected, might actually increase the creativity of the researcher who is paradoxically allowed to be more original in his or her research, precisely because of a lack of close control from his colleagues. Such control secures the quality of the academic product, but it also has the latent function of academic resistance, to

the degree to which it often kills new and promising ideas that do not fit into the currently dominant paradigm (Wild 1992)."

(Kupferberg 2006b, pp. 86-88).

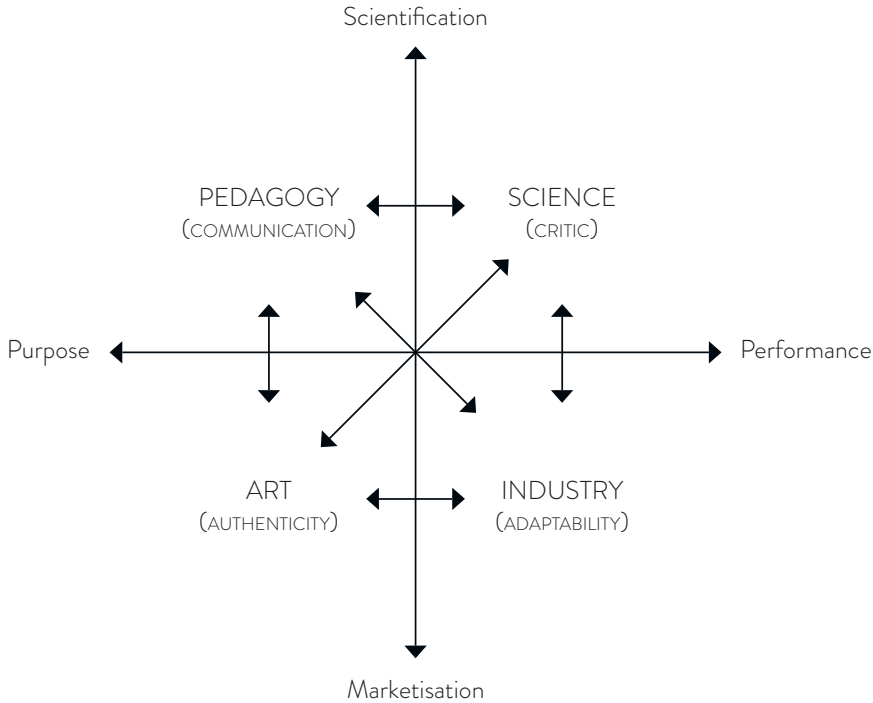
The modelling of Creativity Regimes is inspired by the work of Feiwel Kupferberg on "Creativity Regimes" (1995; 1996a, 1996b, 1996c; 2003a, 2003b; 2004; 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d). I have constructed the model based on the premise of my previous work inspired by the Danish professor Lars-Henrik Schmidt and his "Social Analytical Perspective (SAP)". The model is not a mapping of reality, but a way to better orientate oneself in the landscape of *creativity regimes* as they unfold in the four domains: Art, Pedagogy, Science and Industry, as different social orderings with the following norms and practices (or rationalities) in the four domains as authenticity; communication; critic; and adaptability.

MODEL

The *arrows* in the model indicate possible articulations between and across domains.

The domain of Pedagogy can be articulated as evidence-based education and learning in the Science domain. It will then obtain another norm than Dialog or Communication in the Pedagogy domain when articulated in the Science domain because the norm or practice in that domain unfolds as Critic.

The domain of Art can be articulated following Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's (2007) approach to "museums and education", where she outlined the "post-museum" as a point of reference for the museum in the 21st Century. "Museums are re-orientating themselves through imagining afresh what they can become; familiar practices are being reassessed and tired philosophies are being overturned. New ideas about culture and society and new policy initiatives challenge museums to rethink their purposes, to account for their performance and to redesign their pedagogies" (p. 1). In this case, the post-museum can be articulated in the Industry domain in becoming a part of the marketisation of the public sector and the focus on "performance". This is in contrast to the focus on "Purpose" which operates in relation to the Art and Pedagogy domain according to the norm of authenticity and dialog or Communication.



When Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (2007) elaborated the new conditions for the post-museum, the emphasis on museum education can be articulated in the Science domain following the evidence-based approach to education and learning. Mainly the emphasis on learning outcomes, encompass the new alliance between the Science and the Industry domains, where pathways, methods or solutions are driven on the premise of being evidence- and outcome-based. That is why Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (2007) install the conceptual and interpretive framework of the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLO) as a way of measuring the impact of learning about and through culture. GLO has a focus on a different aspect of the learning outcomes, but mostly “Enjoyment, Inspiration, Creativity” marks a difference to “Skills” when the teachers are rating Skills at a lower level of importance than the other learning outcomes, i.e. “Enjoyment, Inspiration, Creativity” (p. 126-127). According to the teachers, skills can be developed in the classroom. When they collaborate with the museums, it is with a focus on intangible aspects such as atmosphere, inspiration and enjoyment, which underline

the students' creativity development (p. 128).

When the domains of Science and Industry intersect, we can call it *hybrid-ity* between marketisation and scientification, which becomes difficult to operate because it influences the differences between the norms or practices in the two domains as Critic and Adaptability. The adaptability approach seems to become a hegemonic point of reference for all the other domains embedded in the emphasis on the neo-liberal agenda in societal issues that encourages us all to think of almost everything as “businesses”. This means that the Industry domain challenges the other domains with the adaptability approach involving that you think of the user as a customer, and in order to fulfill the customer's needs you have to adapt your services to meet the needs of the customer. The customer plays the first violin, not the artist, the teacher or the scientist. This kind of marketisation overrules the norms and practices in the other domains of Art, Pedagogy and Science, and become a hegemonic configuration. In this setting of marketisation, the public sectors' institutions have to “legitimise” their efforts in measurable outcomes, which can be benchmarked with other institutions and increase the competition between the institutions. These modernisation efforts have “individualised” the practices in all the domains, but differently from the focus on the “particular” efforts in the Art and Pedagogy domains, because the “subject” becomes a customer in the domain of Industry and a student in the Pedagogy domain, and an artist in the Art domain meaning that the values of humanity play a vital role in these two domains different from the Industry domain, where an economic rationality function as the backdrop of the marketisation. That is why the Art domain, when articulated in the Industry domain, becomes “cultural and creative industries” regarding the marketisation and economic rationale in, i.e. edutainment - which can be understood as the intersection between the Pedagogy domain and the Art domain when articulated in the Industry domain.

According to Søren Ehlers (2019), we can approach the hegemonic configuration as a “Learning Regime”:

“Governments, intergovernmental bodies, and multi-national corporations in developed as well as developing countries, are applying Lifelong Learning (hereafter LLL) when they develop strategies for education policy. This study labels LLL as a policy tool leading to a shift in the regime.”²⁰ The restructuring of educational provision in EU member states

20 *Regimes can be defined as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and*
90

is indicating a Discontinuity, which equals the predictions made by an American management expert.²¹ Peter F. Drucker described in the 1960s trends leading towards a Knowledge Society in the US - trends, which may be compared with trends in Europe: A century-long teaching regime based on the Top-Down approach was in the Europe of the late 1980s meeting an emerging Learning regime based on the Bottom-Up approach. The latter caused Discontinuity in national policy-design from the late 1990s. [] The European Union (hereafter the EU) was a dominant stakeholder among the intergovernmental bodies engaging themselves in the promotion of LLL in 1995. The EU announced 1996 as The European Year of Lifelong Learning and started the development of a transnational policy-design. This process lasted until 2006. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (hereafter the OECD) published a report called **Lifelong Learning for All** in January 1996 while a global stakeholder, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereafter the UNESCO), released the report **Learning – the Treasure within** in the Spring of 1996. The EU, the OECD, and the UNESCO, three intergovernmental bodies took action within a few months, and they were all saying much the same.²²

The EU, the dominant transnational stakeholder, was willing to invest 6.9 billion euros for the implementation of LLL.²³ The European Commission decided to integrate the existing educational programmes into each other and announced a programme that had the intention to integrate education for all target groups, adults included. The name was: The Lifelong Learning Programme 2007-2013. The European Parliament allocated a large grant in November 2006, and the European Commission asked the member states to develop national strategies for

decision-making procedures around which stakeholder`s expectations converge in a given area of international relations. Principles are beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude. Norms are standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations. Rules are specific prescriptions or proscriptions for actions. Decision-making procedures are prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice (Krasner 1983:2). This definition from Political Science in the US is seminal for the study. An article by Jochim & May (2010) influenced the current study. (Ehlerds 2019)

- 21 Drucker 1969 (Ehlers 2019)
- 22 Field 2000:8 (Ehlers 2019)
- 23 Jakobi 2012b: 397 (Ehlers 2019)

*LLL and to forward them to Brussels.*²⁴

Consequently, the EU decided and funded the development of a transnational policy-design, the OECD delivered expertise, and the UNESCO did marketing. The European Commission completed the policy design in 2006, and an implementation process took off in the EU member states."

(Ehlers 2019, p.18-20)

Between the domains of Science and Art you see a fight for autonomy but based in different norm, practices or rationales Critic vs Authenticity. When Art is articulated in the domain of Science, the Authenticity norm is being replaced with Critic and the focus on "Purpose" shifts towards "Performance", and precisely in this setting, you lose the possibility to "learn" through all the senses and in drawing from biographical material as "subjectivity". The subjective and objective efforts of, i.e. Art and Science collide, and in the articulation through the domain of Industry embedded in the "learning regime", "learning through culture" becomes an instrumentalisation and colonisation of the Art domain. This point in the direction of possibilities in collaboration between the domains of Art and Pedagogy when they are connected either through "Purpose" on the left side of the model or when they are both articulated in the opposite domain Pedagogy in Science and Art in Industry, and orientated towards "Performance". When Art, Pedagogy and Science are articulated through the domain of Industry, they all perform on the same norm of adaptability an act as a business-orientated towards their "customers". When working on the same economic rationale, there is a potential for collaboration between the different domains embedded in the lifelong learning regime. The barriers to collaboration are expressed through the differences in the four domains and their various social orderings embedded in different norms, practices and rationales, i.e. different ways of approaching understandings of creativity. The model can demonstrate both the (new) possibilities for and the (old) barrier to collaboration between culture and education, i.e. museums and schools, and we can better understand how the norms, practices, rationales and approaches to creativity collide when they are articulated in other domains due to hegemonic configurations in society.

24 Pepin 2007:130 (Ehlers 2019)

In this case, the project **Museums and Education in the North** can be “read” following this model and its possibilities for and barriers to collaboration between the different domains. In the project, it is the domains of Art and Pedagogy we are interested in, i.e. culture and education but the model demonstrates that we have to take the two other domains (Science and Industry) into considerations when we want to understand the possibilities for and barriers to collaboration between **Museums and Education in the North**.

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MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION IN THE NORTH

POSSIBILITIES FOR AND BARRIERS TO COLLABORATION

TINE FRISTRUP

Throughout Europe during the 1990s, many cultural organisations, i.e. museums felt invited to create learning programmes for all ages and to expand their educational potential. As a result, EU programmes for arts and culture suddenly received a significant number of applications concerned with learning aspects and social dimensions of their cultural engagements in societal issues. At the same time, the programmes in the EU dedicated to education and learning began to receive applications in which the participants in proposed projects were museums. This was a new situation and illustrated the turn towards education and learning in museums and a strong belief in their potential to facilitate these two areas of concern (Hooper-Greenhill 1994; 2007).

Before the Great Recession - around 2008 and 2009, the focus on education and learning was at its peak, and when the first evaluations of lifelong learning policies were published in 2007, they coincided with the first expres-

sions from the EU about how the Commission would prioritise and develop European cultural policies in the near future. Regarding the expectations of arts and culture, a cohesive and socially responsible dimension was balanced with an economic growth perspective (Fristrup and Grut 2015; 2016). This balancing act emphasised the establishment of *partnerships* with, i.e. educational institutions such as compulsory education. *The Partnership for 21st Century Skills*¹, “recognizes that all learners need educational experiences in school and beyond, from cradle to career, to build knowledge and skills for success in a globally and digitally interconnected world. Representing over 5 million members of the global workforce, P21 unites business, government, and education leaders from the U.S. and abroad to advance evidence-based education policy and practice and to make innovative teaching and learning a reality for all”².

The collaborative efforts between culture and education have a long political tradition:

“The political tradition of regarding culture and education as entities which may live in harmony together in executive departments is known not only from nation-states but is also seen on a European level. For many years, the European Commission organised the two themes as ‘neighbours’ within the same directorate – The General Directorate for Education and Culture. This tradition of having education and culture coexisting in a more or less integrated way goes far back in time and can trace its roots back to the pre-democratic age in Europe. At the turn of the 20th Century, the policy area of education slowly developed and liberated itself from religion, and later the ministries and departments of culture grew out of that. Both education and culture have as executive branches their roots in the management of knowledge, thoughts and shared values.

Especially in the second half of the 20th Century, however, the two branches – education and culture – seem clearly to have grown apart. This may probably best be understood as a result of the professionalisation of each of the areas, but there is more to it. The ideological belief in the independence of culture grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time within the educational sector, the dominance of formal education

1 Partnership for 21st Century Skills (2011). <http://www.p21.org>

2 http://static.battelleforkids.org/documents/p21/P21_Framework_Brief.pdf

made it necessary for other educational formations (non-formal and informal) to strengthen a form of identity or institutionalisation. In the last 50 years, the political move from adult education through continued education and lifelong education to lifelong learning can be seen as both processes of professionalisation and institutionalisation, which emphasise all three educational formations (formal, non-formal and informal) according to Jarvis (2007).

In this development, the potential of culture in learning and learning in culture has been systematically overlooked, to some extent even by the wish of cultural institutions themselves in their strive for autonomy.”

(Fristrup and Zipsane 2019, pp. 70-71)

It is precisely the cultural institutions strive for autonomy that we are confronted within this project, and it is played out in the barriers to collaboration. This points in the direction of a need to understand, why we are witnessing these *lower-order forms of co-production*, where the practice encompass the making of only a symbolic effort from the viewpoint of the professional bodies. That is why, the educational programs, “which is offered in museums, do not challenge the hegemonic or dominating practices but instead maintain the resistance to both co-production and co-creation at an individual, organisational, and sectoral level keeping ‘the new museology’ (Kershaw et al. 2018, p. 26) or “a collaborative museology” (Schultz 2011) at an arm’s length in their detached practices. According to Bovaird (2007), the key obstacle to co-production and co-creation is the lack of skills required to work with users and communities among professionals in the public sector in general and in ‘the art of relevance’ in particular” (Fristrup 2019, p. 9).

The fight for autonomy corresponds with the outline of cultural engagement in society, which I have written about in a previous publication on *Socially Engaged Practices in Museums and Archives* from 2019:

“The publication that you are about to read is in many ways an attempt to demonstrate how far museums and archives have advanced in the direction of a new museological. The paradigmatic turn towards “a new museology” can be grounded in the rise of a learning regime in Europe from the 1960s and onwards and unfolds a discourse around the social and political efforts of museums, encouraging a growing emphasis on

collaboration between museums and communities. The societal impact in museums is also evident in archives even though archives tend to have an explicit focus on accessibility following the digitalisation efforts in archives to turn access into learning.

The contributions in this publication demonstrate both the limitations and the opportunities that exist within museums and archives for the creation and unlocking of new approaches and practices within the cultural heritage sector as a whole, and how these opportunities and limitations work out when implemented as socially engaged practices in museums and archives.”

(Fristrup 2019, p. 13)

This kind of resistance against the collaborative efforts, is all together absent in the quotation from the American Institute of Museum and Library Service³, which unfolds an approach to how the 21st Century Skills Framework plays an important role in the cultural sector’s initiative to underscore the critical role museums and libraries play in helping citizens build skills such as information, communications and technology literacy, critical thinking, problem solving, creativity, civic literacy, and global awareness.

“At a time when increasingly advanced skills are required for success in life and work, people of all ages are seeking a diverse range of learning experiences to inspire, guide, and enhance their personal and professional lives. Libraries and museums can embrace this opportunity to build on past achievements and chart promising new directions. One of these critical new directions involves developing a comprehensive, purposeful approach around 21st century skills.”⁴

According to Eilean Hooper-Greenhill in her book on “Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance” from 2007 the political agenda “forces museums to review their educational purposes, redesign their pedagogies and account for their performance” (Hooper-Greenhill 2007, p. i). She demonstrates the power of museum pedagogy, raises questions about the traditional museum culture, and suggests the potential and challenge for

3 <https://www.imls.gov/issues/national-initiatives/museums-libraries-and-21st-century-skills>

4 <https://www.imls.gov/assets/1/AssetManager/21stCenturySkills.pdf> (p. 2)

museum futures. Futures that align with the challenges of future-societies, and the need to change the educational efforts in making it possible to dive into the wild and solve wicked problems. *Museum learning* seems to be a possible answer in handling the wild and wicked problems and unlock the creative potential in people through a collaboration with the educational sector in a reshaping of education for the 21st Century. The problem that arises regarding the collaborative efforts between the two sectors and their institutional settings, point towards a necessary unfolding of the changes in Nordic cultural policies as a possible backdrop for understanding the possibilities for and barriers to collaboration between museums and education in the North.

In the project **Museums and Education in the North** (2017-2020) funded by the Nordic Culture Fund and the Nordic Culture Point, and managed by The Nordic Centre for Heritage Learning and Creativity (NCK) in Östersund, Sweden in collaboration with partners from Denmark, Norway and Finland, the first part examined the collaborative initiatives in four Nordic countries: Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland.

In Norway, *The Cultural Schoolbag* in Norwegian “Den Kulturelle Skolesekken” has been part of the government’s cultural policy initiative for elementary school since 2001 and has gradually expanded into secondary school.

The Creative School in Swedish “Skapande Skola” is a Swedish state grant, which started up in 2008.

In Denmark, the phenomenon *The Open School* in Danish “Den Åbne Skole” became a new organising principle of the collaboration between public schools and the local environment comprising the local museums in the wake of the implementation of the educational reform of public schools in Denmark in 2014.

Finland, however, does not seem to have any kind of formalised collaboration between the two sectors, but there has been a development of the “Checkpoint Leonardo Network” in following the LUMA Finland Program Development Project from 2017-2019. The LUMA-Finland program development project combines exploratory science, technology and mathematics with other subjects, especially art and visual arts. At the same time, teachers and students are taken from the classroom to take advantage of out-of-school learning environments and attracted to a broader community of learners. The pedagogical emphasis is *project-based learning*, as the activities concern

how it is to get used to a project-like way of working and collaborate in diverse communities of learners. The entities can be piloted on project learning days at local schools or out-of-school learning environments - or even longer internships.

There seem to be almost seven years between the different initiatives in what we could call the *Scandinavian pathway*. At the beginning of the millennium, Norway establishes a cultural policy initiative, and seven years later, Sweden embarked on a similar initiative. The purpose of The Creative School was to put more emphasis on culture within the Swedish primary school system by establishing a grant scheme that initially was aimed at the upper grades of primary school. Still, during the existence of the grant, it has widened the scope by including all grades of primary school as well as pre-school children.

Both initiatives on collaboration between museums and education in Norway and Sweden departs from the cultural sector and the Ministry of Culture. In 2014, we saw the implementation of a reform of the educational policy in Denmark that was initiated by the educational sector and the Ministry of Children and Education. All three initiatives are embedded in policies, whether they are cultural or educational. The three Scandinavian policy-initiatives throughout almost two decades starting in the beginning of the millennium with the Norwegian initiative, demonstrates how the *instrumentalisation and colonisation* of the cultural sector underlines the implementation of an educational engagement in museums and turn museums into educational service providers; economically contracted through partnerships. The Scandinavian pathway engenders the neo-liberal efforts in the *marketisation* of the public sector, followed up by the *scientification* of the educational sector in focusing on evidence-based and outcome-based learning.

When Finland embraces the *project-based learning* as a point of reference in the non-formalised efforts of collaboration between museums and education, it has to do with the implementation of significant curriculum reform in compulsory education in 2016, where the Finnish public schools went from *subject-based learning* to *phenomena-based learning or project-based learning* inspired by the framework for 21st Century Skills. The Finnish initiative departed from the Ministry of Education and Culture - a joint ministry different from the compartmentalised departments in the Scandinavian countries. The reform comprised *problem-solving* as the organising principle

in both compulsory education and the teacher training programs. In the Scandinavian countries, there is an emphasis on subject-based learning as the organising principle of compulsory education and a focus on learning outcomes in contrast to the Finnish emphasis on content-based curricula. According to William G. Spady (1994), “Outcome-based education (OBE) means clearly focusing and organizing everything in an educational system around what is essential for all students to be able to do successfully at the end of their learning experiences” (abstract). According to David Newlyn (2016), “the process model of curriculum is one of the more recently developed theoretical models of curriculum, the process model, has had a significant impact on curriculum development. It has changed the way that curriculum development has historically been thought of and planned and has provided a new direction for curriculum planning in the twenty-first century” (abstract).

Christina Elde Mølstad and Berit Karseth (2016) outline how the core curricular category of *learning outcomes* has entered the educational policy scene in Europe in recent years, while content-oriented curricula have dominated the Nordic countries, they observe a shift towards learning outcomes. In their article, they describe the fundamental distinctions between *Didaktik* and learning outcomes and examine how learning outcomes are incorporated into written national curricula for compulsory schooling in Norway and Finland. They find that learning outcomes are integrated into both countries; however, the Norwegian curriculum is positioned further away from a *Didaktik*-based model than that of Finland, and the Norwegian approach neglects an essential distinction between matter and meaning by employing an outcome-oriented curriculum (p. 329). They elaborate on how the national qualification frameworks “in many countries, such as Scotland, South Africa and New Zealand, have used the concept for some time (Young, 2003). The Bologna Process and the European Union’s establishment of the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning have been the driving forces for the use of learning outcomes within Europe (Young, 2007)” (p. 329). According to Christina Elde Mølstad and Berit Karseth (2016) there exist various definitions of learning outcomes, and they define learning outcomes as “what pupils or students can actually do with what they know and have learned. This definition implies that outcomes are actions and performances that contain and reflect the learner’s competence in successfully using content, information, ideas and tools (Melton, 1996;

Spady, 1994). We therefore define learning outcomes as the competences and skills that pupils will have after a period of learning” (pp. 329-330).

This definition of learning outcomes “the competences and skills that pupils will have after a period of learning” is what Eilean Hooper-Greenhill in her book on “Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance” from 2007 encompasses as her approach to *Museum Learning* in the realm of the British government’s emphasis on measuring performances in the public sector in light of the market state. These accountability efforts in the management of public sectors, in general, have an impact on all the public domains, i.e. culture and education:

“While the curriculum approach has been highly content- and input-oriented in Northern Europe (Karseth and Sivesind, 2010; Vitikka et al., 2012) as well as in Anglophone education systems (Priestly and Sinnema, 2014), the supporters of the new curriculum discourse call for a shift towards an output orientation, where students’ mastery of learning is prioritised. The centrality of the learner and assessable learning outcomes through statements of competence are placed to the fore (James, 2005), and in the curriculum knowledge becomes subordinate to learning outcomes (Allais et al., 2009). According to Shay (2013), education systems face great global pressure to respond to agendas other than those of the knowledge disciplines themselves. Shay uses the term ‘contextual turn’ to capture how knowledge is transformed to meet these agendas (Shay, 2013). Hence, this shift in focus, at least rhetorically, represents a new way to define a curriculum that is legitimated and placed within an accountability system. Not only does the curriculum emphasise measurable descriptions of learning outcomes and expected qualifications (Sivesind, 2013), but it also sets national test-based standards for assessing students’ performances. Such standard-setting has become a core strategy of a new quality management system, in order to monitor and improve students’ achievements (Fend, 2011).”

(Elde Mølstad and Karseth 2016, p. 330)

The *contextual turn* has implications for the framing of cultural and educational policies. In a historical perspective, it becomes clear that the delicate balancing act between a cohesive and socially responsible dimension and an economic growth perspective establish possibilities for and barriers to collaboration between culture and education, i.e. between museums and

compulsory schools.

The learning outcomes in this project emphasise that the collaborative efforts between culture and education are comprised in a *contextual turn*, where knowledge is transformed to meet the political agendas that become more and more transnational and isomorphic. The isomorphic tendency encapsulates a possible dissolving of the Nordic dimension in the collaborative efforts between museums and education in the North. The neo-liberal agenda that started in the 1980s with *Thatcherism* and *Reaganism* have *instrumentalised* the Nordic cultural policies, and culture in a broad sense has become an instrument in fulfilling other societal challenges to serve political, economic, social and educational purposes. In this case, the cultural settings are challenged in their autonomy - where culture has its own purpose, and does not "serve" other sectoral and societal purposes, in order to become a "service provider" that operates on economic rationality in a neo-liberal marketisation. The problem regarding becoming a service provider is that you have to work on the premise of *adaptability*. You have to adapt to the "customers" wishes, and that is an entirely different approach to culture compared to the enlightenment approach, where culture has an enlightening purpose in order to create citizens with a taste for democracy. The Nordic cultural politics are founded on a stone of democracy embedded in the idea of the Nordic welfare state.

Since the 1980s, the market state has had the purpose of making the welfare state obsolete, and install a neo-liberal economy where the instrumentalisation and industrialisation of culture have appointed cultural settings to think of themselves as "businesses" - as we all have to do; think of ourselves as a business, where things we do have to be considered in relation to investments and return of investments - we have to consider what will pay off. In this business thinking, adaptability becomes the point of reference for activities in general and cultural activities in particular. We have to think in terms of production and consumption - whether we are producers of cultural activities in order to, i.e. enhance the learning outcome of students or students which consume the cultural activities with different purposes, resulting in that the consumption process has to be more entertaining - as we see with the term *edutainment*. Edutainment is the combination of education and entertainment, and it has a focus on education as joyful, which is the opposite of the idea of education in the Enlightenment. The distasteful elements of education are dissolved in the edutainment business, and we

even approach this edutainment effort as a business. The welfare state had an idea about culture as something everybody should have access to, and the democratisation of culture was the point of reference after the Second World War and unfolded in the 1960s Nordic cultural politics. In the idea of democratisation, culture had autonomy and a purpose of its own. Still, in the idea of marketisation, culture becomes an instrument that subsidises other societal purposes and has to operate within an adaptability reference.

When marketisation becomes the point of reference for cultural activities, the cultural organisations and institutions become service providers. They have to operate on the same level as other public or private service providers with a focus on what the customers want and what the cultural businesses think will pay off. The cultural institutions have to embark on contracting in partnerships with, i.e. educational institutions, to deliver educational programs in the service of schools in following the educational focus on learning outcomes. They adapt to this situation in organising the cultural activities to meet the goals of an outcome-curriculum and the evidence-based schooling, even though the scientification of the educational settings has changed the previous pedagogical efforts with a focus on communication to a focus on critical based in the norms of science. This shift from pedagogy to science in the educational settings follows the lines of the modernisation efforts from the 1980s as the political level seeks to emphasise evidence-based politics to keep control in the decentralisation of public services.

Overall, a broader picture begins to appear concerning both *the possibilities for* and *the barriers to* collaboration between **Museums and Education in the North**. In the modelling of “Creativity Regimes” in the article with the title *Reshaping Education for the 21st Century, Transformations in Nordic Cultural Policies and Modelling Creativity Regimes* I have developed a model that might better illustrate what is at stake in the Nordic setting. In accordance with the model, we can elaborate on how the blurring of boundaries between culture and education in the marketisation effort creates hybridity that has an isomorphic character which challenges the Nordic founding on democratisation. In this project, we are witnessing how the cultural and educational institutions, in trying to keep an arm’s length in their collaborative efforts, play out a silenced fight for democratisation. This is where the project ends - with knowledge about the barriers to collaboration as embedded in a historically situated struggle for autonomy that we need to take into considerations in recalling the purposes of both culture and

education in an era of accountability.

In analysing the *mapping* done in the first phase, we saw that there is a gap in the knowledge about how the educational purpose and pedagogy in the two sectors intersect when they collaborate. It is precisely in this intersection that we find the conflicting aspect in the collaborative efforts embedded in the history of collaboration between the two sectors in their approaches to the educational purpose, pedagogy and performance. Despite the efforts from the UK, in the 1990s on museums and education, we needed to take into consideration that Sweden, Norway and Denmark - the Scandinavian pathway - have had different approaches to “*schooling*” than in Finland.

In Finland, we saw that the two sectors were separated and followed “the educational conflict” from the 1960s and 1970s in museums offering a “deschooling” approach to museums education (Hooper-Greenhill 2007, p. 3). Today we see that the two sectors are separated politically, institutionally and pedagogically in order to let the museum sector provide alternative educational sites based on “deschooling” pedagogy. In Finland, there are no formalised intersections between the two sectors that try to overcome this divide between “schooling” and “deschooling” pedagogy. In Sweden, Norway and Denmark this is not the case – you see a much more complex pattern regarding how the two sectors try to avoid the articulation of this division in their pedagogical approaches – and it is getting more and more evident in the three Scandinavian countries following the development of the pedagogical approaches to schooling based on evidence and outcomes. This “scientification” of education is politically initiated, and culture is understood with a reference to “instrumentalisation” and “colonisation”. It is in this setting, “learning through culture” unfolds and culture becomes a solution to societal problems embedded in the contextual turn.

In reading different reports on the collaboration between the sectors in Sweden, Norway and Denmark the conflicting aspect of the collaborative efforts becomes a very delicate matter, which is impossible to articulate as a conflicting issue because the political efforts in the three countries try to establish a collaboration between the two sectors that encompass a transgression of the (historically based) educational differences in the two sectors. We are dealing with a delicate matter in the two sectors in the Scandinavian countries. Up to now it seems as if we only can talk about it on a political and institutional level regarding how to organise the collaboration, whether that be in favour of “higher-order or lower-order forms of co-production”

(Kershaw et al. 2018). Still, this approach does not take into considerations the historical differences in the two sectors regarding their educational purpose and pedagogy – their performances, on the contrary, seem to match because of the New Public Management approach that embraces both of the sectors in the instrumentalisation and colonisation efforts on a political level.

In 2016, Finland implemented a significant curriculum reform in compulsory education. It went from subject-based learning to phenomena-based learning or project-based learning inspired by the 21st Century Skills approach on the problem-solving paradigm as the organising principle in compulsory education. In the Scandinavian countries, there is an emphasis on subject-based learning as the organising principle of compulsory education, and that is what we refer to as “schooling”. We point to a possible impact of the reform in Finland on the “deschooling” aspect because the reform shifts the institutional and professional focus from subject-based learning to phenomenon-based learning and in this transformation, they link to the Finnish cultural sectors’ pedagogical approach - the “deschooling” approach. With the efforts of transforming the curricular in compulsory education, they transgress the subject-based learning to be able to approach environmental challenges through innovative, creative and entrepreneurial learning approaches. This is precisely the “deschooling” approach that the cultural sector in Finland and the Scandinavian countries have founded their pedagogical strategies on. It points to an interesting problem in the Scandinavian countries when it comes to the cultural sector’s emphasis on producing learning programs that are subject-based - when they are in fact oriented towards a “deschooling” approach in their pedagogical efforts. Both, the cultural sector and the educational sector in the Scandinavian countries are governed by outcome-based objectives meaning that in education the focus is on the competencies the students should acquire as learning outcomes when ending their education, and in culture the museum are measured by the number of visitors. The accountability efforts focus on goal-based teaching and teaching to test, and puts the subject-based learning at the forefront. This economic turn in the public sectors organising principle divides the Finnish and the Scandinavian purpose, pedagogy and performance in education and culture.

On behalf of the work done in the first and second phase of the project, and at the beginning of the work in the third phase, we were able to elaborate deepening questions like:

What kind of different organising principles for the collaboration between museums and education in the Nordic countries, is it possible to elaborate due to this projects knowledge production?

How is it possible to substantiate these differences at political, institutional and pedagogical levels in each country to be able to compare the different initiatives?

What kind of Nordic pathway is it possible to establish when we compare the different pedagogical approaches across the sectors and the countries?

According to the project description, the second phase of the project was centred on the implementation of the national initiatives to find good examples, pick out the strengths and weaknesses of the various initiatives, and turn these into recommendations to the cultural and the educational sectors. According to the findings of the mapping process in the first phase of the project, there has been written quite a lot of reports in the past decade on these efforts in both Denmark, Norway and Sweden and they come to the same conclusions due to the national differences. The literature points to a joint effort towards a necessary *professionalisation* and *institutionalisation* of the collaboration between the two sectors on both a political and institutional level - but elaborations on the different and conflicting approaches in the two sectors on i.e. purpose, pedagogy and performance, seemed absent. The barriers to the collaborative efforts were articulated precisely as barriers - something that you can overcome either by educational efforts in the professionalisation or by political efforts in the instrumentalisation.

We needed to understand the mechanisms behind the understanding of “barriers” to collaboration, to be able to point towards a necessary limitation in the *institutionalising* efforts of the collaboration between the educational sector and the cultural sector in the Nordic countries. In this case, our intentions concerning the establishment of co-creating as the point of reference in the collaboration between the two sectors, encompassing the present political emphasis to approach the educational engagement in the cultural sector as a provider of educational services to public schools (subject-based pedagogically and outcome-based in matters of performance), seemed to bypass the conflicting aspects of the collaborative efforts.

In the first phase, this project looked at the policy level and compared the systems, looking at evaluation studies and research. In the second phase,

we were looking more closely at how it was possible to institutionalise the collaboration between the two sectors, and we invited 16 delegates and potential stakeholders from the four Nordic countries to represent the two sectors at a *Joint Nordic Conference* in Copenhagen on November 28, 2019. We changed the location from NCK in Östersund, Sweden to Aarhus University in Copenhagen, Denmark because of the possibility to get more delegates from the four Nordic countries to join the conference. We selected delegates from the sectoral level and the institutional level concerning education and culture, and the majority of the invited delegates had been involved in specific matters of co-production between the two sectors. We looked forward to welcoming these competent colleagues to exchange knowledge about the intersections of education and culture and unfold a possible pathway to a Nordic approach to “co-creating education through culture”.

Our efforts on elaborating a Nordic model on “co-creating education through culture” unfolded in the construction of the Joint Nordic Conference since this event in itself became a co-creating practice. When using a co-creative design in the third phase of the project, we made a setting where knowledge could be exchanged among influential professionals from the two sectors in the Nordic countries. In the co-creative design, we challenged the Scandinavian divide between the two sectors and invited delegates to transgress the division and exchange knowledge and inspire each other in new ways. The outcomes of the Joint Nordic Conference have resulted in collaborative efforts between Higher Education in Norway and Denmark and the Nordic stakeholders in the national initiatives, i.e. the Norwegian *Kulturtanken* and the Danish *Skoletjenesten*.

This continuing work on museums and education in the North is now more or less institutionalised in the context of Higher Education at Aarhus University in Denmark through the research unit on *Open School*, where Tine Fristrup in February 2020 presented the project and its findings. It was indeed a success, and in particular, the Swedish participants demonstrated a keen interest in the project in general and this publication in particular.

Since the efforts of the project points to the present weaknesses of the national initiatives, we created a case collection on exemplary, exceptional and counter cases from the Nordic countries in order to analyse and create possible scenarios of how to understand the limitations to institutionalise the collaboration between museums and education institutions, i.e. the

possibilities for and barriers to collaboration between **Museums and Education in the North**. The results from this final phase in the project are disseminated and distributed in this publication.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OVER IDENTITIES

*EDUCATION, HISTORY AND
LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN
SCANDINAVIA*

HENRIK ZIPSANE

THE SETTING

A classic example used in many schoolbooks to illustrate how industrialisation changed the way of life in the second half of the 19th Century is the need for adjusting the time on a local, national and international level. It was a precondition for knowing when a train would arrive and depart. However, another impact of fixing the time according to the clock was that employees knew when to meet and when to leave their workplace, workers, and employers alike could measure salary related to work hours. Setting a standard time measure had different aspects at the same time. In the same way, the various aspects of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of identities have been a determining factor in implementing modernity.

Several organisations have tried to influence the shaping of identities beyond the influence of parents. To some extent, it is often difficult to realise such an impact directly. The labour unions, farmers associations

and the political parties are examples of organisations that we usually will say **represent** common interests for their members. Nevertheless, we may also perceive the organisations as **providers** of identities. People who are members of an organisation takes on an identity shaped by the norms and decisions from that organisation.

Of course, people can be and often has been and are still today members of many different organisations at the same time without serious contradictions. Typically there has been a structure in membership which has made it possible to see how different groups of people share specific affiliations.

During a whole century membership of a labour union and association or silent support for social democratic political parties and reading specific labour movement-oriented newspapers were, for example, the normal for one such identity shaping. The membership constituted an identity. Others would be merchants, academics, farmers or industrial employers or something else and they had their associations and subsequent identities constructed from that position.

Since the 19th Century the nation-state and therefore the national organising of things – of identities – has been the ultimate reference structure until the breakthrough of internationalisation in the second half of the 20th Century and globalisation in the 21st Century. For national governments, it has been their control over education and history, which has been the cornerstone for also controlling the construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of identities. In its own way, this method is parallel to the role of Christianity in Europe before the 19th Century and how control over religious practise made it possible to construct identities of loyal subjects for the crown.

THE POPULAR REVOLT AGAINST NATIONAL ROOTS AND ALTERNATIVE IDENTITY PRODUCTION

The national museums with responsibilities and authorities defined by federal governments were mostly established in Europe in the 19th Century, and at the same time, compulsory primary education was established. In the classroom, the children were taught national history with an emphasis on common roots, loyalty to the country and shared vision of progress and future. In the museums, the children could see original artefacts which were given special attention and often placed behind glass and that way labelled

scientific, authentic and essential.

The same development of museums and primary school education is apparent in all Scandinavian countries. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, we see an almost identical progress in museum development (Bugge Amundsen 2011, Widén 2011, Zipsane 2011). For the development of compulsory primary education, the growth in the Scandinavian countries is parallel, but with some differences in the structure of the event.

In Denmark, the king's government opened what would become the National Museum in 1819, and from 1892 the organisation is recognisable from today's perspective as a scientific institution with public access. The National Gallery of Denmark had its first beginning in 1827 and was the organisation we know currently from 1896 onwards. Alongside in 1886, The Danish Folk Museum was opened based on popular history of the daily life of "ordinary people" and from 1901 using the method in an open-air museum. Behind this museum was a former designer with a great passion for the history of the people and trained from Tivoli in Copenhagen. This kind of museum was from the beginning considered less scientific and has been characterised as opposition to the National Museum, bringing popular history in conflict with the official national narrative (Christiansen 2000).

The same kind of dialectic relation between public power and popular movement is seen even earlier in the field of education in Denmark. In 1814 the king's government introduced compulsory primary education for all children in the country. That education is funded and governed by public authorities, and the local school commissions are chaired by the local pastor – a position held by the Danish Lutheran church until 1933. In 1855 however, a legislation was introduced by which parents are allowed to find other pathways for education as the new law made primary education compulsory – under government control – but not compulsory school. That signal was heard, and many private schools were opened in the following year. Even though under public control, the new private school often included specific ideological or religious beliefs and be experimental in the pedagogical methods (Møller Jørgensen 2017).

In Sweden, The National Gallery and The Museum of National Antiquities opened in 1866 and were state-owned. Both had roots in older royal collections, and both had close relations to academies. In 1873 a private initiative from civil society was the motor behind the opening of Museum of Scandinavian Ethnography and Cultural History – which would 1880

become a foundation and change its name to The Nordic Museum and even from 1891 include the open-air museum Skansen. As in Denmark, the state-owned museums were based on national and scientific self-understanding. In contrast, The Nordic Museum, from the very beginning focused on material and immaterial traces of popular daily life and presenting sceneries which would be easy experiences to comprehend (Bohman 1998). Sweden had the first legislation on compulsory education in 1842, and the law stressed the mandatory element which principle was not changed afterwards. Instead, the law made it possible to establish “free schools” which were under public control but could offer a complement to the ordinary public schools primarily funded by parents and governed by an association. That was normal for many years after 1842, and many such free schools were established for using specific didactic methods or pursuing specific learning aims (ÅSU 1923 and Richardsson 1992).

Norway had a similar development in museums as in Denmark and Sweden. University initiatives had established collections of antiquities 1829, coins and medals 1835 and ethnography 1857, which was merged into the state-run Historical Museum in 1904. The establishing of the national historical museum as an organisation in Norway is a little more than a generation later than in neighbouring Denmark and Sweden. Still, in the area of art, the Norwegians were actually in front of both neighbours when the National Gallery with public access opened in 1842. Also, in Norway, there was a need for shaping a cultural history which was independent of the state and in 1896 the Norwegian Folk Museum opened including an open-air museum where the history of everyday life was illustrated.

In Norway, the parliament legislated on public compulsory schools in the countryside in 1827 and the cities in 1848. In 1860, the legislation on primary school education was synchronised to some extent between the countryside and cities. One of the reasons for differences between the education system in the countryside and the cities in the second half of the 19th Century was the relatively well-established private schools in the cities – some of them established generations back for the children of middle-class parents. It took time to develop a public school system, which was accepted by all socio-economic groups. In 1889 the public primary school system in Norway was merged into one law which excluded private schools on that level of compulsory education whereas continued secondary education was still supplied by both public and private schools (Dokka 1988).

There are close similarities in the Scandinavian countries in the development of museums and compulsory education. In the cultural history museums, there is an apparent struggle for ownership of the production of history based on cultural history. The institutionalisation of the opposition to the state and the mainstream academic tendencies takes place in the latter decades of the 19th Century. We do not see the same kind of resistance materialising for art museums. The state's grip of primary education is most apparent in Norway where the state during the second half of the 19th Century slowly excludes private schools. In Sweden, the grip is looser from the very beginning as the state allows private schools if schools include the state authorised curriculum. In Denmark, the government's grip is from the beginning quite hard but soon must loosen up as the state by legislation allows private initiatives in primary education.

The opposition to the state conformity backed up by the governing mainstream academic thought is there all the time, and we meet the opposition in the struggles for history and education. Sometimes we see that the state conquers the battlefield as when in Norway, primary education was in reality monopolised by the state whereas the state was not able to make gains in the secondary education before the 1920s. That situation of the control over primary education may have stimulated establishing new alternative primary schools in the 20th Century for example for the Steiner and Montessori movements which may be regarded as an offer to the oppositional forces. In the museums, we also find an interesting example of how the state took control. When the founding director of the Danish Folk Museum retired in 1920, the museum was included organisationally in the state-run National Museum. It became a special entity within the National Museum and maintained that special position for many years.

The struggle for control over identity production was not limited to primary education. For secondary education, the struggle for control continued there, and for the young people who went on to non-formal and informal learning settings for preparation of adulthood several associations and organisations competed for control and the state's primary tool for control was military subscription (Ehlers 1999). The Scandinavian folk high schools are another example of how the struggle for identity control continued even into adulthood from the middle of the 19th Century onwards in formalised structured organisations. The first established folk high school was opened in Denmark in 1844, in Norway in 1864 and in Sweden in 1868. Like the

museums, the adult education organisations were providing nationalism (Korsgaard 1997). The struggle was not about for or against the nation as reference frame as such but about control over the content.

FREEDOM FROM GLOBALISATION AND CENTRALISATION

A hundred years later, in the last decades of the 20th Century and the first decades of the 21st Century, we can also identify how control over history and education has been a battlefield between different stakeholders.

One trend in the development is behind the recent and current challenges in shaping identity. Globalisation has created a perception for many people that decision about their lives are made far away from where it used to. It may be in Brussels for the member countries of the European Union or maybe in a town some kilometres away from their local community. That challenges the national reference framing of the past and the centralisation process for local authorities challenge the sense of belonging together with others to a local community.

The organisation of local authorities – the municipalities – in Denmark, Sweden and Norway has gone through a concentration in the latter half of the 20th Century. In 1965 there were 1257 municipalities in Denmark. They were by legislation merged so that after 1970, there were 270 municipalities and in 2007 the process continued through new legislation, and the number of municipalities was reduced to 98. In Sweden, there existed 2453 municipalities before 1952, but according to a reform legislation, the number was that year reduced to 970. In 1974, the concentration process continued, and the number of municipalities in Sweden is now 290. In addition, in Norway, we see a concentration process even though it has been slightly less radical. In the 1930s, the number of municipalities in Norway peaked with 747, but today there are only 422. The concentration process has been perceived as removing the possibility of influence and strengthening the need for belonging.

A parallel development has been the global integration process. Already in the latter decades of the 19th Century, there were many such tendencies. One of them was the collaboration between the Scandinavian countries, which for example established a monetary union in 1875 but otherwise primarily was a strict collaboration between nations with respect for nation-state

superiority, which gained support, and strength in shared cultural roots. In the second half of the 20th Century, the integration process was much more challenging for nation-state superiority. The European integration process since 1945 and the globalisation supported by the development of ICT since the 1980s has challenged the national reference framework. In the Scandinavian countries – most clearly in Denmark and Sweden – the national history became less important in the 1970s. There was a need for a broader framework for the past. When the history producers could not provide that instantly the number of lessons in history in primary and secondary schools diminished and has only in recent years risen again and now with a global setting for understanding and using the past. The past of the country is used as an example of European or global trends.

Such tendencies with the centralisation of administration and political decision making on one side and European integration and globalisation, on the other hand, has challenged traditional structures of and as a result, there have naturally been reactions. We can trace these reactions to museums and primary education alike.

In Denmark, local historical associations were established during the 20th Century. In 1972, there were 43 such associations, but the municipal reform in 1970 stimulated the development, and by the end of the century the number had grown to almost 100. The local history associations have primarily been local history research and gathering people around local historical themes. There has been a need to create collections to back up the local identity production. As the local museums became more professional and through that integrated into the national government's cultural management, they were not the natural choice for harbouring the new local history collections. The first local history archive run by engaged amateurs in Denmark opened in 1937. Already in 1949, there were enough such local archives to establish a national organisation, and the number grew astronomically after the municipal reform in 1970. By the end of the century, that organisation had close to 500 local archives as members. This development may be seen as a popular reaction and as may even the later development. Approximately 50 members established a parallel organisation for the professionalisation of the archival work in 2006 in primarily larger local archives with paid staff and thereafter other local archives established an organisation in 2007 for primarily smaller local archives run by amateurs defending the rights to keep the collections away from centralist ambitions.

That development may be perceived as a re-run of the struggle for control over the past.

In Sweden, local communities – often identical with the parishes – established local associations dedicated to the preservation of local traditions and often with their own houses and local history collections. Amateurs principally always run these local museums like organisations. That characteristic is central as part of being a popular movement. This was a process, which was seen all over the countryside with its intense formative period between the end of the 19th Century until the last quarter of the 20th Century and more than 2000 such local associations were established. From the 1970s a new kind of museums – labour life museums – emerged in Sweden. Where the local history museums are almost all based in the countryside and dominated by rural traditions the labour life museums are mostly dedicated to the industrial past, and typically the association-governed museum may be dedicated to preserving and running a historical railroad, a small factory, a steamboat, a mine or a shop. There are today more than 1500 such labour life museums registered. In Sweden, these local museums and labour life museums have their own national organisations but not only that. There are also reserved means in the government's budget for the museums to apply for through the National Board of Antiquities – typically as support for actions on the preservation of buildings or collections.

Norway has only in part been part of the European process of integration. As mentioned, the country has also only to some extent centralised the local public administration and political decision-making. However, in Norway, there has been a local history reaction beginning in the 1920s and accumulating in the latter half of the century with the establishment of more than 600 local history associations dedicated to local history research, collections, museum exhibitions and preservation work.

MUSEUMS AS A TOOL FOR INFORMAL LEARNING MEETING FORMAL EDUCATION

The professionalisation of museums in the latter half of the 20th Century was part of general professionalisation and resulted in a growing division between sectors in society. The distance to other sectors grew and included the division between arts and culture on one side and education on the other. On a government level, the two policy areas had for a long time been

governed through one ministry since the 19th Century, but that was brought to an end after 1945 with a few short-lived exceptions.

The museums – and in the broader perspective, large parts of arts and culture – have had problems with losing the relations to education. In all three Scandinavian countries, we find initiatives, which essentially has been about stimulating collaboration between arts and culture and compulsory education. The oldest initiative is “School Service” (*Skoletjenesten* in Danish) in Denmark established in 1970 in Copenhagen and from there already in 1975 including several local authorities around the capital and continued expansion since then and at the same time many local School Services established in municipalities in Western Denmark. The School Services may have several different forms, but basically, the School Service is organised as a service which offers cultural experiences through learning sessions for compulsory school education. It may be a department within a – more significant – cultural institution or it may be a department in the local authority who organise the matchmaking between schools and cultural institutions. Museums have been a central part of this from the beginning. Mostly the offers from museums will be specially produced programs which may be offered to many school classes. The initiative departed from a local level, and is now driven and financed in combination with the local and the governmental level as the School Services in 2020 became a national knowledge centre for external learning environments supported by the Ministry of Children and Education and the Ministry of Culture as a joint effort to support the initiative on The Open School (*Den Åbne Skole* in Danish) departing from the educational reform in Denmark in 2014.

In Norway “The Cultural Schoolbag” (*Den Kulturella Skolesekken* in Norwegian) was established by decision in the Norwegian parliament in 2003 based on temporary experiments 2001-2002. Also, here the aim is to bring cultural experiences into the compulsory school education. Most products are produced through projects financed by funding applied for by the arts and culture institutions. The government distributed funding for the program to regional authorities who manage the program together with the local authorities.

The Swedish model is the youngest and was introduced in 2008 by legislation as “Creative School” (*Skapande Skola* in Swedish). The aim is the same as in neighbouring countries and the funding come from the Ministry of Culture, but the funding is annually applied for from municipalities or

individual schools. The system was from the beginning supposed to secure that the schools get what they want according to the curriculum and there are examples of for example museums producing programs in close collaboration with the schools, but mostly the museums produced fixed programs which are offered to the schools and municipalities.

Bringing museums as part of arts and culture closer to the schools seems to be the central purpose of the initiatives. It is remarkable that the running of the initiatives in Norway and Sweden came from a central cultural government funding – not from the ministries of education. Even in Denmark where the supply of the museum experiences for schools is organised and financed on a local level, the actual organisation – when not localised in the local authority administration – is within the museum and not the school.

The museums really want to bring their competences in action in compulsory school education. Museums themselves has in recent decades been subject for much research, impact assessment and evaluation – not least in Anglo-Saxon research environments (Hooper-Greenhill 2004, 2007). The informal learning methods used in museums are valuable and efficient in many aspects. Even on a national level, this is recognised as the initiatives in Scandinavian countries demonstrates and even more the many official instructions to museums from government and regional and local authorities to be of service to the schools. The interest from the schools, from the government's ministries of education or the education departments in regional and local authorities, is however far from always on the same level. This has become a struggle between different kinds of professionalism in museums and in schools (Zipsane 2015), and in between these we find the amateur and volunteer local historians in local associations in the three Scandinavian countries. It is a struggle over identity production where the main arena in the 21st Century is still history production and education and the methods used for that is often a soft struggle beneath policy mainstreaming (Federighi 2010 & 2011).

The initiatives on using museums in compulsory education have in all Scandinavian countries been taken by the public sector – in Denmark by a local authority and later supported by the government and in Norway and Sweden by the government and structured in collaboration with regional and local public authorities. The amount of resources invested in this from the public sector is relatively small compared with resources in the educational sector but is quite big compared with the public sector spending on

museums.

There should be no doubt that this is symptomatic for the situation at large. In the struggle for control over identity construction, the formal education system has the upper hand. The growth in numbers of private schools and the initiatives by and for professionally run museums to play a part is however evident. It shows how the identity production delivered by the public formal education system is challenged. The initiatives for collaboration between schools and museums and between teacher education and museums are comparable with the local history initiatives in all three Scandinavian countries.

The history research in local history association seldom finds its way to recognition in universities. It therefore also is neglected as “real research” and give no merits for a professional researcher’s career way. Engagement in collaboration between teacher education and museums is not meriting for teachers in teacher training schools and spending time on collaboration with museums in the schools is considered difficult in the schools, as it may be expensive for transport costs and time-consuming.

The local historian, the dedicated teacher who engages in collaboration with museums and even the educational staff in museums, are all in a way rebels who struggle as underdogs in the identity construction.

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IMPLEMENTING CO- PRODUCTION IN THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL SECTOR IN DENMARK

THREE CASES

MARIE BONDE OLESEN

ABSTRACT

As other European countries, Denmark has a long tradition of school-museum collaboration and in general of using cultural institutions as informal learning environments. Today within both the cultural and educational sector there is, to a certain extent, focus on partnerships and within these a focus on co-production (*samskabelse*). The benefits of partnerships have for more than a decade been dictated by the museums, e.g. improving the quality of their different services, achieving greater political and societal support locally and nationally and attracting new target groups and more resources to the museum. With the 2013 School Reform in Denmark, partnerships were stated to be an important element in the daily work of the government schools. It includes an article about obligations for the schools to use their

surroundings, including the cultural institutions. The article called “Open School” mentions directly the obligation to enter into partnerships.¹

Co-production between institutions in the educational and cultural sector is often challenged by two underlying conditions, a project culture with a fixed-term funding and a dependence on passionate participants. Both these factors can result in very vulnerable implementation and institutional integration. Based on three cases this paper illustrates efforts at different levels to implement co-production between the educational and cultural sector in Denmark.

Case 1: *The Museum in the Open School (Museet i den åbne skole)*, is a project between 15 local schools and museums, which developed a “Best Practice Model”.

Case 2: Focus on diploma modules and specialisation modules at University Colleges.

Case 3: *United in History (Sammen om historie)* is a competency development course for teachers in compulsory schools. The case-oriented perspective on the concept of co-production draws upon Kerschaw et al.’s (2018) work in their article with the title *Encouraging Writing on the White Walls: Co-production in Museums and the Influence of Professional Bodies*.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF CO-PRODUCTION AND IMPLEMENTATION IN THE PAPER

Kerschaw et al. define co-production as “museum practice conducted jointly with communities,” is used here but seen in a narrower learning-context, with the teachers, pedagogues and their pupils as the communities with whom the museum develop activities (Kerschaw et al. 2018, p. 22). Working closely with the target groups enables the development of services that neither the public sector organization (the museum) nor the community (teachers, pedagogues and children) would be able to realise alone (Ibid. p. 21). Co-production is mostly taking place within a kind of partnership, whether orally or written, agreed upon. The term partnership regarding the School Reform and how it is executed in practice is not discussed here, however it is an interesting area, e.g. whether it makes demands on co-production or rather appears as declarations of intent or overall collaboration agreements between schools and external learning environment. Implementation is in this paper understood in a wide sense – as the efforts

1 Folkeskoleloven - Bekendtgørelse af lov om folkeskolen, Kapitel 2, § 3, stk. 4

to promote both the quantity and quality of co-production between schools and museums through practice – an implementation of skills in co-producing and implementation of a co-production practice in the institutions. The benefits from collaboration and co-production are widely recognised and collaboration with communities is mandated in the internationally endorsed Museum Code of Ethics, which determines that museums work in close collaboration with the communities from which their collections originate as well as those they serve (ICOM 2013:9-10) (Kerschaw 2018, p. 23). However, co-production is a difficult task and often meets institutional and individual obstacles along the way, such as the lack of skills required to co-produce, and reluctance by public sector professionals to share control with communities or users (Ibid. p. 20). These hindrances are mentioned as they to some degree were present in the cases as well, but will not be an area of attention in the description. Kerschaw et al. (2018) views co-production as a range of activities from ‘lower’ to ‘higher’ order forms, determined according to the extent of empowerment and the level of influence allowed to the community (Ibid. p. 20). This distinction is useful to examine both the collaborative intentions and the specific collaborative activities. Co-production is used for the Danish word *Samskabelse*. Concepts like co-design and co-creation are not used and unfolded here, but all three terms relate to the term Learning Partnerships as they can take place within these. The term Learning Partnerships has been and still is much used in Denmark concerning collaboration (with co-production) between schools and cultural institutions, especially owing to the work by Sally Thorhauge (2014).

CASE 1: THE MUSEUM IN THE OPEN SCHOOL – A BEST PRACTICE MODEL FOR CREATING A SUSTAINABLE PARTNERSHIP

The Museum in the Open School was a collaborative 2-year project with 15 local partnerships, each between school, museum and municipality. The project took place 2015-16. The aim of the project was to create exemplary courses at the museums for schools, and furthermore to create learning partnerships between the different institutions and professions. A research report about the project was published in 2017, focusing on 1) the partnerships, 2) the implementation of the project and 3) Learning (pupils)

(Knudsen and Olesen 2017).

Based on experiences from the project a Best Practice Model was developed and described in the report (Ibid. p. 40). The model contains step-by-step recommendations for establishing, conducting and maintaining a good partnership. It can be seen as a prototype, as recommendations and as an

Figure 1 Best Practice Model (Knudsen and Olesen, 2017, p. 40)



approach to institutionalizing and implementing a partnership. The structure of the model is inspired by the theory of Etienne Wenger on “Communities of Practice” (1998).

The project itself and the model as well is rooted in practice – the participants get their knowledge and experience through practice and the aim of The Best Practice Model is to guide partnerships through the different phases of co-production: 1. Potential, 2. Fusion, 3. Maturation, 4. Management, 5. Afterlife. As part of the project, the project management arranged semi-annual “learning days” during the project period. The practitioners were given inputs from both science and other practitioners.

As mentioned at the outset, fixed-term financing and dependence on passionate participants are two conditions that mostly are in evidence by co-production between educational and cultural institutions, and they challenge intentions of implementation. The Museum in the Open School itself was project-based with a fixed-term financing and thereby facing these two challenges. The project tried to meet them by requiring that the participants were spending time on e.g. evaluation, getting institutional support and anchoring and furthermore deliberating ideas for long-term collaboration. “The Best Practice Model” reflects this by the two last phases, Management and Afterlife. The participants of the project itself worked with these elements, which can be seen as an effort to implement the co-production locally in the projects. The project itself can also be seen as a training element by giving the participants experience with co-production without being part of further studies (contrary to the two other examples). The publication of the research report and “The Best Practice Model” is an effort to spread recommendations on implementing co-operation in practice.

CASE 2. SPECIALISATION AND DIPLOMA MODULES AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGES

Within the last five years, training modules focusing on co-production have emerged at several university colleges in Denmark. They are both specialisation modules within the teacher- and pedagogue training and diploma modules aimed at different professions in practice.

For several years University College Copenhagen (Københavns Professionshøjskole (KP), tidligere UCC) has for student teachers offered the specialisation module: ”Interdisciplinary specialisation module: The school

- The pupil – The Museum in an innovative collaboration” (Tværfagligt specialiseringsmodul: Skolen – Eleven – Museet i et innovativt samarbejde) (KP, Studieordning 2018-2019, p. 212). The students achieve competences in using museums etc. in teaching and in general to “open” the school up toward the schools surrounding environment.

In 2019 UCL – University College Lillebælt offered training for teachers and pedagogues in the specialisation module “Activities and learning in external learning environments”. The module is rooted in an understanding of learning that merges body, mind and surroundings (e.g. the concept “Embodiment” by Kjeld Fredens (2018) and the activities are moved from the physical surroundings of the school and day care institutions to historical environment or cultural institutions.

UC-Syd – University College of Southern Denmark offers a 10-ECTS diploma module as part of a pedagogical diploma degree. The optional module called “Open School: collaboration crosswise” (Åben skole: samarbejde på tværs) aims at teachers and pedagogues at schools and throughout the module they learn to facilitate collaboration and create interaction between different learning processes in the school and in external learning environments (Den pædagogiske diplomuddannelse, studieordning august 2019, p. 26).

Figure 2 Objectives for the diploma module
“Open School: collaboration crosswise”

Kompetencemål

Det er målet, at den studerende gennem integration af praksiserfaring og udviklingsorientering opnår kompetencer til at

- påtage sig ansvaret for at planlægge, gennemføre og evaluere åben-skole-projekter i et tværprofessionelt samarbejde mellem lærere, pædagoger og centrale aktører
- udvikle åben-skole-aktiviteter, der rummer et samspil mellem æstetiske læreprocesser i skolen og hos den eksterne partner
- reflektere over åben-skole-aktiviteter i et dannelsesperspektiv

For at opnå disse kompetencer skal den studerende

<i>Viden</i>	<i>Færdigheder</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • have viden om metoder til planlægning, gennemførelse og evaluering af åben- skole-aktiviteter, der bidrager til opfyldelse af folkeskolens formål og mål • have indsigt i den historiske og kulturelle udvikling og samfundsmæssige begrundelser for rammerne af åben skole • have viden om muligheder og udfordringer i tværprofessionelt samarbejde inden for såvel som uden for rammerne af grundskolen • have viden om æstetiske og praksisorienterede læreprocesser og om pædagogiske og didaktiske teoris transfer mellem skolens, fritidsdelens og eksterne partners forskellige læringsrum og didaktisk praksis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kunne planlægge, gennemføre og evaluere åben-skole-aktiviteter, der bidrager til opfyldelsen af folkeskolens fag og obligatoriske emner i samarbejde med brugere og eksterne samarbejdspartners mål og interesser • kunne sætte eksempler på åben-skole- aktiviteter ind i en historisk og samfundsmæssig sammenhæng og reflektere over samme • kunne mestre åben-skole-aktiviteter i tværprofessionelt samarbejde mellem lærere, pædagoger og eksterne samarbejdspartnere • kunne mestre åben-skole-aktiviteter, der rummer et samspil mellem æstetiske og praksisorienterede læreprocesser i skolen og hos eksterne partnere.

UCL – University College Lillebælt offers a 10-ECTS diploma module “*Learning Partnership – kindergarten, primary-, secondary- and upper secondary education, and museum*”. As the title refers to the optional module broadly aims at several different public institutions. The key competencies for the module are to give the participant competency to create dissemination- and educational activities in an inter-professional collaboration between teachers, pedagogues and curators (Den pædagogiske diplomuddannelse, studieordning august 2019, p. 20).

The four examples above can be seen as efforts to implement co-operation in the profession through education. Collaboration is institutionalised in the further education through the optional modules. The different modules can furthermore be seen as an effort to secure both quality and quantity of partnerships. Both the schools and day care institutions are obliged to use their surrounding (The Open School and The Open Day care), and through education the students get competencies to establish and be part of fruitful partnerships.

Figure 3 Objectives for the diploma module
“Learning partnerships”

Kompetencemål

Det er målet, at den studerende gennem integration af praksiserfaring og udviklingsorientering opnår kompetencer til at

- udvikle grundlag for lærende partnerskab mellem dagtilbud, grundskole, ungdomsuddannelse og museum samt andre kulturinstitutioner
- samarbejde i lærende partnerskaber om at udvikle, planlægge, implementere og evaluere bæredygtig didaktisk praksis på tværs af det formelle og det uformelle læringsmiljø

For at opnå disse kompetencer skal den studerende

<i>Viden</i>	<i>Færdigheder</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • have indsigt i dagtilbuds, grundskolens, ungdomsuddannelsers og museers organisation, lovmæssige grundlag, samfundsmæssige betydning, sprog og selvforståelse • have viden om teorier og metoder om praksisfællesskaber og lærende partnerskaber 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kunne kortlægge grundlaget for og etablere bæredygtige og lærende partnerskaber mellem dagtilbud, grundskole, ungdomsuddannelse og museum • kunne analysere og vurdere formidlings- og undervisningspraksis i grænsefladen mellem det formelle og det uformelle læringsmiljø

CASE 3: UNITED IN HISTORY

United in History is a competency development course for teachers in governmental schools up to and including 2019. Studies since 2012/13 have shed light on the number of teachers who teach a subject without having it as their main subject or other kinds of teaching competences in relation to the given subject (Undervisningsministeriet, juni 2017). For example, the percentage of teachers having competencies in teaching history was 56,9% in 2012/13 (Ibid. p. 14). The School reform from 2013 contains pivotal objectives of having full “competency coverage”. In 2018, the goal was 90% and for 2020 the goal is 95% (Ibid. p. 8).

Relevant in this co-production context is that, as part of the course, the teachers should actively plan and teach didactically a visit on a cultural institution in collaboration with the institution (Figure 4, “Del 2”). The museum/the external learning environment was in the project seen and treated as a learning resource and as an educational aid in the subject history and was part of the curriculum that the teachers could be examined in. In that way, their general competencies in using external learning environments in their teaching should be strengthened.

United in History is a project run by University College Lillebælt and HistorieLab - National Centre of Excellence for the Dissemination of History and Cultural Heritage. In Denmark, the municipalities manage the governmental schools. Together with nine municipalities, UCL and HistorieLab provided courses for teachers lacking teaching competencies in History. More than 86 schools and as much as 200 teachers have participated in the course (HistorieLab.dk).

United in History can be seen as an initiative to implement collaboration in the profession through education, but it is also an initiative rooted in practice through the direct involvement of practice throughout the course. Policy level can also be seen in this case to have had a noticeable linkage to the actual initiative because of the municipal management and because of the school reform with objectives on competency overage.

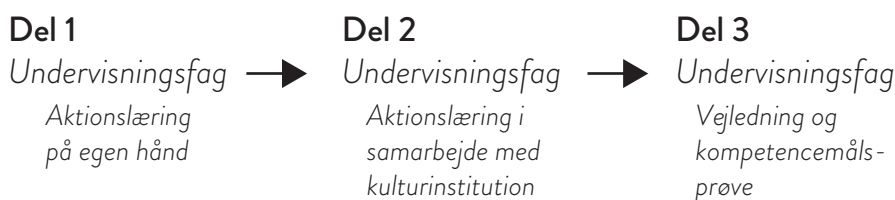


Figure 4 Competency development course “United in History”, collaboration with cultural institution as “Del 2” (Undervisningsfag i ”Sammen om historie”)

DIFFERENT APPROACHES IN ENCOURAGING CO-PRODUCTION

The three cases show different strategies, methods and approaches to encourage and implement collaboration and co-production between the educational and cultural sector. In order to illustrate the different implementation methods, we use Søren Ehlers’ analytical model “Four Approaches in education” (2019). The model is a conceptual framework to illustrate different approaches in the education and training of teachers as an answer

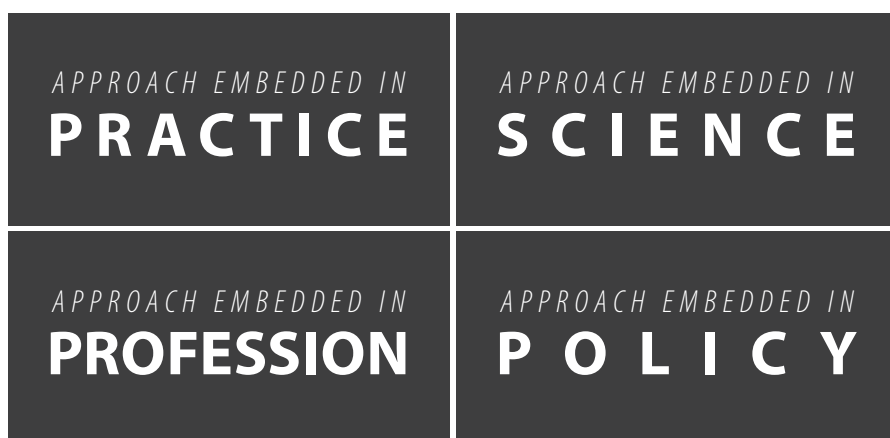


Figure 5 Analytical model: four approaches in education
(Ehlers, 2019, p. 21.)

to the inadequate discussion of the relationship between theory and practice (Ehlers 2019, p. 20). The four approaches (Practice, Profession, Science and Policy) have different stakeholders and the approach of stakeholders in one box will never be compatible with an approach in one of the other boxes. Ehlers describes “Practice” as a non-abstract approach rooted in the contemporary world representing concrete action. “Profession”, “Science” and “Policy” are abstract approaches, which can help to understand abstract and different depictions of reality.

Even though Ehlers’ model is based on educational development and the model is not completely convertible to the three cases, it can help to illustrate that co-production appears in different ways at all four levels and hereby illustrate the different approaches in co-production.

The article “Open School” in the school reform is an initiative at policy-level initiated from the Ministry of Education. Other initiatives at policy-level economically supporting co-production has been initiated from The Agency for Culture and Palaces, e.g. the funding in 2015 to develop museum-school collaboration (Slots- og Kulturstyrelsen 2014/2015). The third case “United in History” is an initiative embedded in both policy, profession and practice with its origin from the objectives of the School Reform, with the University College Management and with teachers car-

rying out collaboration with cultural institutions. The second case about “The Museum in the Open School” is an initiative embedded in practice with teachers and curators co-producing in practice. The project was linked to policy-level through partial funding from The Agency for Culture and Palaces. The diploma- and specialisation modules are initiatives embedded in profession, with the University Colleges educating practitioners in collaboration and through representing norms and ideas emphasising inter-professional collaboration. The modules are linked to policy-level through their reference to the Open School and to some degree also the Open Day care. Science is the only approach not directly mentioned, but all the initiatives are in different ways related to science through co-production/learning partnership/communities of practice as scientific concepts that have inspired and guided their development and execution. Research (seen as the “Science” approach) was furthermore conducted on “Museet i den åbne skole” and “United in History” with recommendations spread at policy-, practice-, and professional level.

DIFFERENT LEVELS OF CO-PRODUCTION

Instead of describing the different ways of collaborating in the cases as either co-production or collaboration (with co-production as an equal practice) Kershaw et al.’s concept of “lower” and “higher” order forms of co-production can be used. They proposes co-production to be viewed as a range of activities from ‘lower’ to ‘higher’ order forms of co-production determined according to the extent of empowerment and the level of influence allowed to the community (Kershaw et al. 2018, p. 20). In relation to the three cases, the 15 local projects within “The Museum in the Open School” rank differently seen in a “lower-higher order” perspective, despite a general aim at higher order partnerships. The diploma modules are educational efforts to encourage higher order co-production in practice, and the specialisation modules can be seen as encouraging both lower and higher order, since it starts with introducing co-production as a field to student teachers. In “United in History” the teachers were given the assignment to use the cultural institution as a teaching and furthermore to bring their didactic competencies into play in co-production with the institution. The many ways the teachers accomplished the assignment can be said to range from lower to higher order forms of co-production, some to a lesser extent com-

municating with the museum about the lessons at the museum and some bringing in didactic perspectives and wishes for the lessons and developing together with the museum.

With reference to Kershaw et al. (2018), Tine Fristrup (2019) states that the collaborative efforts in museums correspond to “lower-order forms” of co-production as the traditional and accepted forms of museums co-production, which require minimal change to the work of public sector organisations and professionals (Fristrup 2019, p. 7). Fristrup and Kershaw et al. refers to socially engaging practices at museums in general, and the three cases only represents engagement within the educational sector, but their findings shows an obstacle for this engagement in practice, given that the museums seem reluctant to open up for higher-order forms of co-production. Maybe the educational co-production within museums is further ahead than other areas in the museums, but Fristrup (2019) state in general that the programs, which is offered in museums and archives, do often not challenge the hegemonic or dominating practices. Instead, they maintain the resistance to both co-production and co-creation at an individual, organisational and sectoral level keeping ‘the new museology’ or “a collaborative museology” at an arm’s length in their detached practices (Ibid. p. 9). The involvement of government decision-making is needed in order to make room for socially engaging practices in museums and archives (Ibid. p. 7). The Open School initiative can be seen as such a government decision, which encourages co-production throughout the system and is reflected by numerous of co-production projects in Denmark during the last five years – ranging from lower to higher order forms of co-production – which the three cases reflects.

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OPEN SCHOOL AND CO-PRODUCTION

TRANSLATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF OPEN SCHOOL AS AN (ORGANIZATIONAL) RECIPE FOR CO-PRODUCTION

NICKI MADSEN

ABSTRACT

Open School is one component of the Danish primary and lower secondary school (public school) reform from 2014. Open School stipulates a closer cooperation between schools and their local communities in educating students (Folkeskoleloven, 2020). I argue in this article that Open School can be viewed as an outcome of the broader societal trend of co-producing welfare services between professionals and citizens (Tortzen, 2019). *Co-production* has in recent years received an increasing amount of attention from a variety of actors (Brandsen, Steen, & Verschuere, 2018; Fogsgaard & Jongh, 2018; National Bevægelse for Samskabelse, 2017). Co-production is seen by many stakeholders as the solution to many of the *wicked problems* (Rittel & Webber, 1973) that our societies face these years such as democratic deficits, demographic change, the climate crises, and the production of welfare in austere economic times (Brandsen et al., 2018; Fogsgaard & Jongh, 2018).

Pestoff, 2019; Tortzen, 2019).

In this article, I explore how Open School is translated and implemented in Copenhagen Municipality, and how it turns into an (organizational) recipe for co-production. The empirical basis of this article consists of interviews with principals and teachers in schools and documents from the *Children and Youth administration* (BUF) in Copenhagen Municipality. My analytical framework draws primarily upon Kjell Arne Røvik (1998, 2007, 2011, 2016; Røvik, Eilertsen, & Furu, 2014), Jens Ulrich (2016, 2018), Lars Emmerik Damgaard Knudsen (2016b, 2016c), and Anne Tortzen (2016, 2019). Røvik's two theories, *the translation theory* (2016) and *the virus-inspired theory* (2011) offer explanations of how organizational recipes and ideas can be translated and manifested in organizations. I argue that Open School and co-production can be seen as organizational recipes (Røvik, 2007) that offer approaches to cooperating with external agents like citizens, volunteers, and businesses. However, partially due to the vagueness of Open School, schools and municipalities translate and implement Open School in very different ways. Therefore, this article explores how Open School is translated and implemented into practice by BUF and three Schools in Copenhagen.

The analytical framework I have developed for this purpose relies heavily on Røvik's *virus-inspired theory* (2011). Røvik's virus theory explores how organizations get infected with organizational recipes, what symptoms they are showing, and how the immune system responds. Due to the vagueness of the Open School recipe, I combine in my analytical framework concepts from Røvik with theories from Ulrich (2016) and Knudsen (2016a). Ulrich's *co-production typology* offers four different ways that co-production processes can be organized, and what roles professionals and external agents can take. Knudsen's theory posits that there are four strategies or purposes that stakeholders use to justify Open School. I combine Ulrich and Knudsen's theories under Røvik's (2007) term *core* in order to analyze the main elements and essence of Open School.

My analysis concludes that Open School has been *institutionalized* (Røvik, 2007) in two out of the three public schools that I researched. I argue that this institutionalization is due to a weak *immune system* (Røvik, 2007) as the teachers and principals view Open School as a natural and essential part of their organization. My analysis also finds that BUF understands the primary purpose of Open School to be the development of students' *competences* (Knudsen, 2016b) since they contend that Open School has the highest effect

on developing students' *21st century skills* (BUF, 2017a). BUF also prefers organizing Open School in accordance with what Ulrich (2016) calls *equal co-production* since they believe that teachers and external agents should be equal actors in planning (co-designer) and implementing (co-implementor) (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2015) Open School lessons.

All principals in my sample use the *reproducing mode* (Røvik, 2016) in their translation of Open School since they *copy* (Røvik, 2016) their superiors' (BUF's) view that the core of Open School entails equal co-production and competence. However, the teachers in my study do not have the same view as their superiors (principals) of what constitutes the core of Open School. Instead, the teachers primarily use the *radical mode* (Røvik, 2016) in their translations of Open School since they believe the core of it to be *Bildung* (Knudsen, 2016b) and *accountable co-production* (Ulrich, 2016). The teachers' view of *bildung* as the purpose of Open School is, for example, expressed when they claim Open School provides students with a greater comprehension of what Danish culture and history is, and how they are part of it. The accountable co-production manifests itself when the teachers express a secondary role to the external agents in educating students in Open School. I hypothesize that this secondary and more withdrawn position places external agents in the roles, which I coin as *main-designer* and *main-implementor* (Madsen, 2020), where external agents are the primary agents in planning and implementing Open School lessons.

I posit in my discussion that *bildung* (Knudsen, 2016b) and equal co-production (Ulrich, 2016) are based on what Tortzen (2019) calls the *empowerment co-production approach*. The empowerment co-production approach views co-production as a way of creating a more democratic and equal society in which citizens have more influence in all phases of the production of welfare services. I also contend that competence (Knudsen, 2016b) and accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016) draw from Tortzen's (2019) *efficiency co-production approach* where co-production is seen as a means of reducing cost and increasing efficiency in the production of welfare service. I conclude that, in my data, the efficiency co-production approach (Tortzen, 2019) is more predominant than the empowerment co-production approach in the implementation of Open School. I largely base this conclusion on the accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016) being the predominant organizing principle of Open School. I also maintain that across my data, Open School is translated and implemented as an organizational recipe for co-production

since professionals (teachers) and external agents cooperate in producing a welfare service (education). However, Open School becomes a recipe for a co-production that is dominated by the efficiency co-production approach (Tortzen, 2019) when it is translated and implemented like it is in my data.

1. INTRODUCTION

First and foremost, it is an opportunity for the students to learn more. We have reached a point where schools can't add anymore. We need something different. We need something more. We have to get out of the schools. We have to get out into the real world. And that's the whole idea behind Open School. (Jensen, 2015)

In this quote, Jensen, a school consultant, argues why schools should use Open School. Open School is one component of the Danish primary and lower secondary school (public school) reform from 2014. Open School stipulates that schools and local communities need to have a closer cooperation in educating students. According to Jensen, schools have reached their capacity in terms of what they can 'teach' their students and consequently must mobilize resources outside of the school system, so that the students can learn more. Jensen wants the students to get out into the real world and be taught by external agents such as: museums, volunteers, the local recycling station or Microsoft.

In the quote, Jensen is also indirectly illustrating a wider societal tendency that these years is manifesting itself across all public sectors. This tendency is called co-production and refers to citizens and professionals in the public sector are increasingly cooperating in producing welfare services (Bovaird & Löffler, 2012; Pestoff, 2019; Tortzen, 2019). Various actors believe co-production to be the panacea that can solve the many wicked problems (Rittel & Webber, 1973) that challenge our societies these years, such as: democratic deficits, demographic change, mistrust in politicians and the production of welfare services during times of austerity (Brandsen et al., 2018; Fogsgaard & Jongh, 2018; National Bevægelse for Samskabelse, 2017). However, Katrin Hjorth (2018) cautions that a precise definition for co-production has eluded consensus, therefore the term remains a 'floating signifier' (Laclau, 1996) that is loosely employed in a variety of inexact and potentially contesting ways. Even though, some researchers have argued that Open School can be

seen as a result of the current focus on co-producing welfare services, the term co-production is still rarely used in the educational sector (Agger & Tortzen, 2015; Andersen, Greve, Klausen, & Torfing, 2017; Torfing, 2018).

One way to explore how co-production manifests itself through the term Open School is by using Kjell Arne Røvik's translation- and virus theories (1998, 2007, 2011, 2016; Røvik et al., 2014). Røvik's theories provide an analytical framework to explore how organizational recipes and ideas are translated and implemented into organizations. According to Hanne Katrine Krogstrup and Julie Borup Jensen (2017), co-production is an organizational recipe that organizations can use to organize themselves with. Later I will argue that Open School also can be viewed as an organizational recipe.

As I will elaborate on later, the part of the Danish Education Act (Folkeskoleloven, 2020) about Open School is very limited and vague in its mandates. However, the act does stipulate that it is up to the individual municipalities to establish a framework and set goals for the partnerships between schools and external agents. As a result, the municipalities become a central actor when the vague Open School act is to be translated and implemented into practice.

In this article, I will explore how Open School is translated and implemented in Copenhagen Municipality, and how it turns into an (organizational) recipe for co-production. The empirical basis and many of the main findings of this article can be found elaborated on in Madsen (2020). Many of the quotes in this article are my translations to English from Danish and Norwegian. My data consists of interviews with principals and teachers and documents from the Children and Youth Administration (BUF) in Copenhagen municipality. I will analyze my data and explore how Open school is translated and implemented by synthesizing Røvik's theories (2007) with theories on co-production (Tortzen, 2019; Ulrich, 2016) and Open School (Knudsen, 2016b). I will explain later how I combine these theories.

In this article, I will first explain my theoretical framework, and how I operationalize these theories into an analytical framework that I employ to analyze my data. Then, I will present the results of my analysis of how Open School is translated and implemented and discuss how Open School turns into a recipe for co-production and what consequences it may have.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Co-production

Co-production has many definitions and synonyms that are often used interchangeably in academia with terms like co-creation, collaborative governance, community involvement, participation and civic engagement (Voorberg et al., 2015). In this article, I will use the term co-production which Anne Tortzen (2019) defines as: “Public sector professionals and citizens collaborate to better utilize all actors’ resources and contributions in order to achieve empowerment, higher efficiency or better results” (p. 58). According to Tortzen (2019), there are two main approaches to co-production: efficiency- and empowerment co-production. Efficiency co-production is seen as a way of reducing cost and increasing efficiency in the production of welfare services. Efficiency co-production has its roots in New Public Management (Hood, 1991) and in this approach citizens are often left to only implement a welfare service without any influence or power. The empowerment co-production approach derives from the New Public Governance (Osborne, 2006) and typically views co-production as a way of creating a more democratic and equal society in which citizens are involved in all phases of the production of welfare services.

Ulrich’s co-production typology

Jens Ulrich (2016) has created a typology that describes four ways co-production processes can be organized: Equal, accountable, facilitating and controlled co-production. In my data, I only encountered co-production processes that corresponds with equal and accountable co-production which is why I will only explain these two types. According to Ulrich, equal coproduction is when all actors in a co-production process have an equal say in all phases. In equal co-production, external agents will typically take on the roles of co-designer and co-implementor (Voorberg et al., 2015), meaning the external agents will collaborate with public sector professionals in both the planning and implementation of a welfare service. In accountable co-production, professionals will usually take on a more withdrawn role in the production of welfare services. Instead external agents will be the ones who typically plan and implement services. Inspired by Voorberg et al. (2015), I have coined the terms main-designer and main-implementor

(Madsen, 2020) to describe the roles that external agents take in accountable co-production. According to Ulrich (2016), the accountable co-production is often initiated by municipalities with the intention of decreasing expenditure by transferring the production of welfare services from professionals to volunteers.

Open School

Open School is one of the initiatives that was included in the Danish public school reform that was implemented in 2014. The political parties that passed the reform wrote the following about Open School in the agreement on the school reform:

The open school - Schools must, to a higher degree, open up to the surrounding community. This will be done by involving the local sports clubs, cultural centers and by getting in contact with various associations. In this case, it is the municipalities' duty to ensure that this cooperation will take place. (Aftaletekst, 2013)

In the Danish Education Act, it states that schools are required to enter into collaborations and partnerships with external agents that can help reach the general objectives and specific goals of the Danish public school system (Folkeskoleloven, 2020). According to Lars Emmerik Damgaard Knudsen (2016b), Danish schools have always worked together with the local community, however the cooperation has intensified and been formalized with the school reform.

Knudsen (2016b) has also hypothesized that there are four strategies that actors use to justify Open School: Learning, competence, bildung and creativity. I call these four Open School Purposes since I will use them in my analysis to illustrate what different actors think the purpose of Open School is. I will elaborate on the four purposes in my analysis.

Translation and virus theory

As mentioned previously, Røvik's (2007) translation and virus theory are foundational to the analysis of this article. A central term in both theories is organizational recipe which Røvik define as: "a legitimized recipe of how to organize parts of an organization" (1998, p. 13). As mentioned in my

introduction, Krogstrup and Jensen (2017) argues that co-production is an organizational recipe. Based on the aforementioned definition, I will also posit that Open School can also be understood as an organizational recipe as it instructs schools to organize themselves in a manner where they integrate external agents into the education of students. If we accept Open School as an organizational recipe, then how it is translated and implemented in an organization, can be analyzed by using Røvik's translation and virus theories. Another central notion in Røvik's theories is that organizational recipes are always translated to the local context of the organization - ipso facto recipes cannot be implemented precisely as the recipe prescribes.

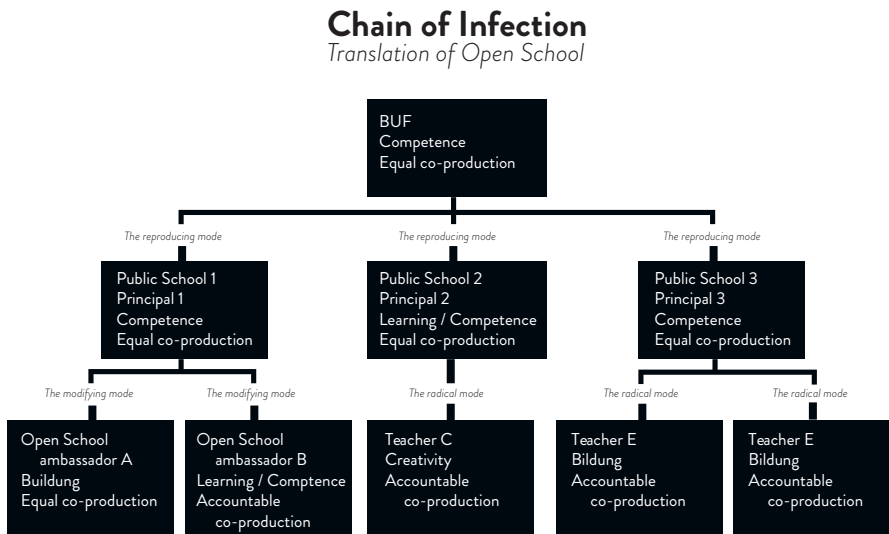
In this article, I will primarily employ Røvik's (2011) virus theory to analyze my data. The virus theory offers analytical terms that can be used to explore how an organizational recipe effects an organization. Røvik uses viruses as a metaphor since viruses and organizational recipes have similar features and behaviors. In my analysis, I will use the following terms from Røvik's virus theory (2007) to analyze how Open School is translated and implemented: Immunity, symptoms and core.

Just like an organism will have its immune system activated when a virus enters, an organizational recipe can all can also trigger the immune system in an organization. According to Røvik, "The notion of immunity allows us to see various resistance mechanisms and dynamics operating at various stages of the adoption process" (2011, p. 338). Symptoms refers to practical and concrete effects an organizational recipe can have in organizations. Symptoms can be used to analyze how a recipe has been "... transformed into practice (anchored in organizational structure, routines and daily activities) (Røvik, 2011, p. 640). A central term in symptoms is institutionalization which refers to cases when a recipe has become so dominant and influential in an organization that the recipe is conceived as the only valid, natural and legitimate recipe. Core is a term Røvik uses to describe the main principals and elements of an organizational recipe. As I posited earlier, Open School is a vague organizational recipe due to its limited description in the Danish Education Act. In order to make Open School more tangible and to operationalize Røvik's term core, I have decided to incorporate Ulrich (2016) and Knudsen's (2016a) theories. In other words when I explore what my empirical data view as the core of Open School, I will analyze what they see as the purpose of Open School (Knudsen, 2016a) and how they organize Open School (Ulrich, 2016).

Central to Røvik's translation theory is his (2016) translation typology which consists of three translations modes (the reproducing, the modifying, and radical mode) and the four appurtenant translation rules (copying, addition, omission, and alteration). I will explore which translations modes and rules actors use when they translate Open School. However due the vagueness of Open School, I will only explore how the core (Knudsen, 2016b; Ulrich, 2016) of Open School is translated and changed by BUF, principals and teacher when the recipe travels down through the system.

3. ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will present the results of my analysis. I have analyzed three documents from the Children and Youth Administration (BUF, 2017a, 2017b, 2020) which is the local government branch that has the overall responsibility of the public school system in Copenhagen municipality, including facilitating Open School. Furthermore, I have on three schools interviewed three principals and 5 teachers. An overview of my empirical data and some of the main results of my analysis can be seen in the model underneath:



With inspiration from Røvik's (2007) virus theory I have labelled the model Chain of infection (Madsen, 2020). Chain of infection refers to how the idea of Open School infects different actors when it travels down through a hierarchal system. My chain of infection model also illustrates what the different actors believe the core (Knudsen, 2016a; Ulrich, 2016) of Open School to be. In my analysis, I will elaborate on my model and show examples of how they view the core of Open School. Besides presenting what the actors think the core of Open School is, I will also analyze what symptoms (Røvik, 2007) of Open School the schools are showing and analyze how their immune system (Røvik, 2007) have been triggered.

BUF

In this section of my analysis, I will present how BUF views the core of Open School. I will not analyze BUF using Røvik's terms, symptoms and immune system, since BUF has not adopted the organizational recipe Open School, but is only facilitating and encouraging public schools to use Open School.

As stated earlier, I have operationalized Røvik's (2007) term core to consist of Knudsen's (2016a) Open School Purposes and Ulrich's (2016) co-production typology. In all of my empirical data, BUF has the most clear-cut view of what the purpose of Open School is which can also be seen in this quote:

Where does cooperation between schools and external partners have the highest effect? If we really have to choose – we believe it is within the field of: Future competences, that our external partners in cooperation with the teachers add the most value to education. (BUF, 2017a)

So BUF writes in this document that Open School has the highest effect on developing students' future competences which also corresponds with Knudsen's (2016a) Open School Purpose, competence. When BUF writes future competences, it is their translation of the more well-known term and concept, 21st century skills. This is evident since they reference Kereluik et al. (2013) who have synthesized the most important competences of the 21st century (BUF, 2017b). It is also clear that BUF believe competence is the primary purpose of Open School since they require all external agents to clarify what 'future competences' they help develop (BUF, 2020), and because BUF have a particular emphasis on developing students' 'STEM competences' (BUF, 2020).

Competence (Knudsen, 2016) constitutes one part of what BUF believe the core of Open school while equal co-production (Ulrich, 2016) is the other part of the core. This can also be seen in my chain of infection model. BUF believes that Open School should be organized as that which Ulrich call equal co-production which can be seen since BUF encourages a close cooperation between teachers and external agents in educating students. This is also apparent in the following two quotes: “We VERY MUCH want lesson plans developed in a close cooperation between teachers and external agents” (BUF, 2020c) and “It is a requirement to receive financial support that the lessons plans are executed in close cooperation between the external agents and teachers, and that both participates actively” (BUF, 2020c). The quotes illustrate that BUF encourages external agents to take the role of co-designer (Voorberg et al., 2015) and co-implementor in educating students which also corresponds with Ulrich’s (2016) equal co-production.

Public School 1

In my data, Public School 1 displays the most symptoms (Røvik, 2007) of the organizational recipe Open School. Open School is a big part of the identity and branding of Public School 1. One of the symptoms that Public School 1 is displaying is the fact that all teachers must use at least two Open School activities per year. This has been decided by the school to ensure that Open School is being used by the teachers. Another clear symptom of Open School that Public School 1 is showing is that the school has appointed two of their teachers to be Open School ambassadors. The Open School ambassadors help the other teachers in using Open School in their lessons plan. Appointing teachers to be Open School ambassadors, is also one of BUF’s recommendations that can help schools implement Open School (BUF, 2020).

All these symptoms of Open School that Public School 1 is displaying is also indicative of the schools having a weak immune system (Røvik, 2007). A strong immune system will inhibit a virus (organizational recipe) like Open School from entering an organization and causing symptoms. Public School 1 is implementing many of the things BUF recommends schools to do while also implementing other Open School initiatives. An attestation of Principal 1 having a weak immune system can be seen in the following response to my question about challenges in working with Open School:

I don't really think there are that many challenges. Ah, maybe a bit in the beginning where everybody couldn't see the value of Open School. But now we have created some good routines and the teachers and pedagogues know how it [Open School] works now. And it's smooth sailing now... But we also follow many of the recommendations from the municipality [BUF].
(Principal 1)

Above, Principal 1 implies that all teachers in the beginning were not convinced of the value of Open School, but that this challenge has now been overcome. Principal 1 also overtly states that they follow the recommendations from BUF. This is also a sign of a weak immune system when an organization implements recommendations without adapting and translating an organizational recipe to fit the culture of an organization (Røvik, 2007).

The Open School ambassadors in Public School 1 are fairly aligned with their principal when it comes to their view on Open School. The ambassadors also express few apprehensions about Open School which is symptomatic of a weak immune system. The weak immune system is also apparent in the following quote from Open School ambassador B:

I think Open School is an obvious asset. The closer schools and society can cooperate, the better it is for the students. And what is the alternative, really? A closed school that closes around itself, and where students don't get prepared for the society that they live in.
(Open School ambassador B)

In other words, Open School ambassador B argues why Open School is a good organizational recipe by using the negation of Open School – a closed school. A closed school is the only alternative that Open School ambassador B can think of using instead of an Open School. This lack of noticing challenges and alternatives to Open School, which is transparent in Public School 1, also indicates that Open School has been institutionalized (Røvik, 2007) in Public School 1. An organizational recipe can be institutionalized when the recipe has reached a “hegemonic position” (Røvik, 2007, 354) in an organization and “...becomes so dominant that other alternatives are almost unthinkable for the involved actors” (Røvik, 2007, 354).

Generally, the principal and the two Open School ambassadors have somewhat similar views on what the core and main elements of Open School is. My analysis show that Principal 1 thinks the primary purpose (Røvik,

2007) of Open School is developing students' competences (Knudsen, 2016a) which can be seen in the following:

First and foremost, it develops the students when they have to get into the real world and use their knowledge to solve concrete problems... The competences they get out of this [Open School] is really something that they will be able to use the rest of their lives. (Principal 1)

In this quote, Principal 1 directly mentions competences being an outcome for students participating in Open School, but he also mentions problem solving which is also a characteristic of competence (Knudsen, 2016a).

Open School ambassador A expresses in our interview a different view than his superior on what the purpose of Open School is. Open School ambassador A believes the purpose of Open School is the development of students' *bildung*. *Bildung* is a contested term that similar to co-production can be seen as a floating signifier (Laclau, 1996). Knudsen (2016a; 2016b; 2016c) generally uses *bildung* to refer to the development of students' social and personal skills that empower students to become thoughtful, compassionate and independent beings who affect, and are affected by, society. Open School ambassador A's view of the purpose of Open School being *bildung* can be seen in this quote:

... they suddenly understand how they are also a part of community... Danish culture and history becomes very tangible when you are at the National Museum of Denmark and looking at Vikings instead of reading about them in some boring history book back at the school. (Open School ambassador A)

Open School ambassadors A argues that Open School can contribute to students realizing their role in a community which I would contend is indicative of Knudsen's *bildung* category. Open school ambassador B indicates in our interview that both competence and learning are the primary purposes of Open School.

When it comes to how Open School should be organized, Principal 1 states in the following quote a view that resembles that which Ulrich (2016) calls equal co-production:

They [teachers] have some goals for their lessons that they have to meet. So they find someone [external agents] who can help them achieve those

goals... And then they set down with them and together they try and plan a meaningful lesson plan for that specific group of students. (Principal 1)

The quote illustrates equal co-production since the principal emphasizes that teachers and external agents should work together in planning lessons plans for the students.

While Open School ambassador A agrees with his principal about having a close cooperation with the external agents, Open School ambassador B has a different view on how Open School activities are typically organized. This is exemplified here: “In most Open School activities, I feel a little redundant. It sounds like I mean it in a negative way, but I really don’t... You try and help where you can. But mostly they [external agents] are just on top of things” (Open School ambassador B).

This view that Open Schools ambassador B expresses here corresponds with Ulrich’s (2016) accountable co-production where professionals take a withdrawn role, while external agents are the main drivers of the implementation of a welfare service. In these cases external agents take the role of what I call main-implementor (Madsen, 2020) since there is little cooperation between the professional and the external agent in the implementation phase of the welfare service.

When we analyze what translation mode the different actors use in their translation of Open School, we can see that Principal 1 uses the reproduction mode (Røvik, 2007). Principal 1 uses the reproduction mode since he copies his superiors’ (BUF) view that the core (Røvik, 2007) of Open School consists of competence (Knudsen, 2016b) and equal co-production (Ulrich, 2016). Both Open School ambassadors at Public School 1 use the modifying mode in their translation of Open School since they both copy and omit parts of what their principal believe is the core of Open School. Open School ambassador A copies his principal view that Open School should be organized as equal co-production (Ulrich, 2016), while he transforms the primary purpose (Knudsen, 2016b) of Open School to be *bildung* instead of competence. Open School ambassador B on the other hand copies her principal’s view that the purpose of Open School is developing students’ competence while maintaining that Open School’s organizing principle is accountable co-production.

Public School 2

The organizational recipe Open School is a little less prevalent in Public school 2 than in Public School 1 although still an integral part of the school. Even though, Public School 2 are displaying many symptoms of Open School, the school has chosen a more independent approach to Open School than Public School 1. Public School 2 has neither implemented minimum requirements of how much the teachers must do Open School activities, nor appointed Open School ambassadors as BUF recommends. Nevertheless, my interviews with Principal 2 and Teacher C show that Open School is frequently being used by the teachers which the following quote is a testament to: “Fortunately, it hasn’t been necessary to have any recommendations of how the teachers should use external learning environments or how much they should use it. It’s [Open School] something they naturally use a lot” (Principal 2). According to Principal 2, the teachers at Public School 2 naturally use Open School a lot which has made it unnecessary for the school to implement minimum requirements. It also suggests of an institutionalized (Røvik, 2007) organizational recipe that the teachers ‘naturally’ use Open School a lot since it indicates that the teachers view Open School as natural and integral part of educating students. The quote by the principal also elucidates a weak immune system (Røvik, 2007) in Public School 1 since it requires a weak immune system for an organizational recipe to be institutionalized. The following answer, to my question about challenges working with Open School, also exemplifies how the immune system in Public School 2 is not the strongest: “Well, when we are on an excursion, it’s great. And the students love it too... It’s primarily the lack the lack of time to prepare the excursions that sometimes makes it a bit tricky” (Teacher C). Similar to Open School ambassador B, Teacher C’s first reaction to challenges in using Open School is to defend Open School. Afterwards, Teacher C points out that preparation time is a challenge. It can be argued though that when he criticizes the lack of prep time, he is actually criticizing the resources allocated to Open School, and not the actual idea of Open School. I would, however, also argue that the immune system in Public School 2 is stronger than that of Public School 1 since Public School 2 has neither implemented Open School ambassadors nor minimum requirements.

Principal 2 believes the purpose of Open School is learning and competence (Knudsen, 2016b) which the following two quotes are illustrative of:

Our primary obligation as a school is to make sure that the students learn. And that is of course also what Open School has to help in achieving.... the students get the opportunity to experience that what they have learned can actually be used for something. (Principal 2)

According to Principal 2, Open School has to ensure that students learn, and that what they learn can be used by the students. This emphasis on the usability of what the students learn is also emblematic of competence (Knudsen, 2016b).

Teacher C has a different view than his principal on what the purpose of Open School is which can be seen here where he describes an Open School activity:

The students had to make a brainstorm with her where they had to come up with the craziest ideas of how you can fight climate change. And the students came up with some wild ideas, that you just know that only children are able to think of. And wow, was she good at fostering their creative thinking. (Teacher C)

I think this quote demonstrates that Teacher C sees Open School as a driver for the students' creativity (Knudsen, 2016b) since Open School can provide opportunities for students to use their imagination and think outside the box.

When it comes to how Open School should be organized, Principal 2 and Teacher C also have different opinions. Principal 2 believes there should be a close cooperation between the teachers and the external agents which is also exemplified here:

It's important that the teachers know beforehand what's going to happen in the activity [Open School] Naturally the teacher also has to play an active part during the excursion, especially if there is something the students don't understand. The teacher has to be a translator for the students who sometimes put things into a context that the students can better understand. (Principal 2)

The view that Principal 2 presents here corresponds with Ulrich's (2016) equal co-production since Principal 2 emphasizes that teachers must take an active role in planning the Open School activity and also during the activity. This view on how Open School should be organized also places external agents in the role of co-designers and co-implementors (Voorberg et

al., 2015). Furthermore, it is interesting that Principal 2 states that teachers should act as translators between the students and the external agents since I use Røvik's (2007) translation theory as part of my analytical framework.

Teacher C has a different view on how Open School is organized. In my interview, Teacher C describes three Open School lesson plans that he has used. In all three lesson plans Teacher C takes a withdrawn role in both planning and carrying out the lessons plans which is suggestive of the accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016). The accountable co-production is also apparent in the following answer to my question about how Open School is typically organized:

I typically start by looking online for some interesting Open School activities. Then I find something that sounds good, and I contact them [external agents] They will then send a small description of the activity.... When we are there, they [external agents] will primarily do the teaching while I try and keep the kids attentive. (Teacher C)

In this quote, Teacher C also describes the external agents as the ones who both plan and execute the Open School activities which positions the external agents as main-designer and main-implementor (Madsen, 2020).

Principal 2 copies (Røvik, 2016) BUF's view that the core (Røvik, 2007) of Open School is competence (Knudsen, 2016b) and equal co-production (Ulrich, 2016). Ipso facto, Principal 2 uses the reproduction mode (Røvik, 2016) in her translation of Open School. However, Principal 2 also adds (Røvik, 2016) a secondary emphasis on the purpose of Open School also being learning (Knudsen, 2016b) Teacher C uses the radical mode in his translation of Open School since he alters (Røvik, 2016) his principals view of the core of Open School to instead be creativity [Knudsen, 2016b) and accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016).

Public School 3

Public School 3 has a quite different approach to Open School than they do at Public School 1 and 2. At Public School 3 they do not use Open School as much, and they show less symptoms of Open School. Public School has neither implemented Open School ambassadors, minimum requirements, nor recommendations for the teachers on how to work with Open School. Public School 3 do use Open School activities as it is required by the Danish

Education Act for schools to collaborate with external agents in the education of students. But it is very different how much and how the schools use Open School. The following quote also show that Open School is not that widely implemented in Public School 3:

*I mostly do it because the students like it and to vary my lessons some....
But I fundamentally oppose the notion that students have to get out of
the schools in order to learn.... So I probably don't use it [Open School]
as much as others. [Teacher D]*

So according to Teacher D, she does not use Open School that much since she does not think that students learn more outside of the school. In other words, Teacher D does not see Open School as a natural or essential part in the education of students. Principal 3 expresses a similar view in this quote: "Open School is obviously important, and it adds something extra to the classes.... But if I am being honest, I don't think it is something that the teachers spend that much time thinking about, and neither do I" (Principal 3). These statements by Teacher D and Principal 3 are symptomatic of a strong immune system at Public School 3 since they do not see Open School as a natural and essential part of their school. Teacher E has a more positive attitude towards Open School which can be seen here:

*I think it is very different how much we teachers use it [Open School].
We are a few teachers at the school who are very passionate about taking
the student out of the school and showing them places and things that
they wouldn't otherwise see. (Teacher E)*

This quote illustrates that there are a few teachers at the school who are passionate about using Open School. But the quote can also be seen as an argument that the organizational recipe Open School has not be institutionalized in Public School 3 like it is in Public School 1 and 2. Open School is not institutionalized in Public School 3 since Open School is not seen as natural and essential part of educating their students, and since the school is showing few symptoms of the recipe.

While there are parallels between Principal 3 and Teacher D about the role Open School has in their school, they diverge on what the core (Røvik, 2007) of Open School is. Principal 3 thinks that the primary purpose of Open School is competence (Knudsen, 2016b) which this quote can exemplify:

They [external agents] can do something that we can't do. They know how to put things into a context.... Suddenly they [students] experience a purpose to what they have learned. That they can use it. And also that other people can use their skills for something. (Principal 3)

It is indicative of Knudsen's (2016b) category, competence, that Principal 3's emphasizes that Open School provides opportunities for the students to experience that they can use what they learned. This somewhat instrumental approach to learning that Principal 3 is demonstrating is in stark contrast to the following quote by Teacher D:

It [Open School] can sometimes be a free space. There aren't all these goals that we normally have to make. And it can provide opportunities for the students to learn something because it's interesting in itself, and not because they have to take an exam on it. (Teacher D)

Teacher D believes that Open School can be a free space due to its lack of learning goals. This can help the students experience that learning have a value in itself. I would argue that this quote illustrates that Teacher D believes the primary purpose of Open School is *bildung* (Knudsen, 2016b) since he believes that Open School can develop the students' personal skills. I would also posit that the quote by Teacher D demonstrates an almost autotelic approach (Huizinga, 1955) to Open School where Open School is seen as having a purpose in itself and not being the means to an end. A common theme that I have experienced in my research is a high degree of instrumentalizing of Open School where Open School is seen as the instrument that can develop and fix many of the shortcomings of the traditional educational system. In my interview with Teacher D, she in many ways breaks with this strong instrumentalization of Open School that most actors demonstrate.

Teacher E agrees with Teacher D that the primary purpose of Open School is *bildung* (Knudsen, 2016b) which the following quote illustrates: "Open School can broaden the students' view of the world... Open School can in many ways prepare the students for life. They can also get a better understanding of the different ways and paths that you can take in life" (Teacher E). I think this quote illustrates *bildung* since she emphasizes the potential that Open School can have in forming the students' character and developing personal skills that they can use throughout life.

In the following quote, it is indicated that Principal 3 thinks that Open

School should be organized in accordance with what Ulrich (2016) calls equal co-production: “But I think and I hope that they both [teacher and external agent] contribute with what they can... It’s certainly then, that Open School works the best. So, that the class doesn’t just show up without really knowing what is about to happen” (Principal 3). The quote is suggestive of equal co-production since the principal is advocating a close cooperation between the teacher and the external agent where they participate in the cooperation on equal terms. In my interviews with Teacher D and E they express similar views on how Open School should be organized. They both mention that they mostly use standardized Open School activities that they find on different online portals. Both of their descriptions of how they use Open School indicates an emphasis on the accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016) which the following quote also shows:

I mostly just use those ready-to-use lesson plans from the internet. In those activities everything has been planned and executed by the instructors [external agents] with other classes many times before. So, there isn’t really a lot of time to talk to them about the activities. (Teacher D)

This quote places external agents as the main-designers and main-implementors (Madsen, 2020) of Open School which is also characteristic of the accountable co-production.

Even though Principal 3 is more critical about Open School than his superiors in BUF, he still uses the reproduction mode (Røvik, 2016) in his translation of the core of Open School. The reproduction mode is the primary translation mode since principal 3 copies BUF’s view that the core (Røvik, 2007) of Open School consist of competence (Knudsen, 2016b) and equal co-production (Ulrich, 2016). As shown in my analysis and in my chain of infection model, Teacher D and E agrees that the core of Open School is *bildung* (Knudsen, 2016b) and accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016). This shows that Teacher D and E completely alter (Røvik, 2016) their principal’s view of the core of Open School which indicates that they use the radical mode in their translation of Open School.

As we can also see in my chain of infection model, all principals in my study use the reproduction mode in their translation of Open School since they copy BUF’s view that the core of Open School is competence and equal co-production. The teachers in my study have more varied views on what the core of Open School is. In general, most teachers in my study use

the radical mode in their translation since they alter and modify the core of Open School to primarily be *bildung* and accountable co-production.

4. DISCUSSION

As shown in my analysis, Open School is translated and implemented quite differently in the three schools. Each school displays different symptoms (Røvik, 2007) of Open School, and they have different views on what the core of Open School is. Nevertheless, I would argue that in all three schools Open School is being translated and implemented as an organizational recipe for co-production. Recipe can be defined as “a method to attain a desired end” (Collins English dictionary, 2020) while organizational recipe is way of organizing a part of your organization (Røvik, 2007). I would contend that Open School becomes a recipe that organizations can use that will lead to co-production since teachers and external agents cooperate in producing the welfare service, education. I will even take it a step further, and posit that Open School is impossible without co-production – co-production is a *sine qua non* of Open School. But as my analysis showed, it is very different what types of co-production that Open School is promoting.

My analysis showed that according to the teachers, the way that Open School is mainly organized is similar to what Ulrich (2016) calls accountable co-production where external agents are the primary implementors of a welfare service. I would argue that the accountable co-production derives from what Tortzen (2019) have coined the efficiency co-production. This is based partially on this quote by Tortzen: “It is characteristic of the efficiency co-production approach that it is founded on an instrumental approach to citizens and the civil society where citizens and volunteer organizations are primarily seen as tools to produce welfare services” (2019, p. 55). In my analysis, external agents are also seen as tools that can produce a welfare service that teachers traditionally have had a monopoly over. As mentioned earlier, Ulrich (2018) argues that use of the accountable co-production is usually founded on economic and efficiency rationales.

Many researchers of co-production has found that there exist a decoupling (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) between how co-production is being justified and legitimized by organizations and how it is *de facto* being used (Durose, Justice, & Skelcher, 2013; Meijer, 2016; Tortzen, 2019). Many organizations, such as the Danish National Movement for Co-production (National Bev-

ægelse for Samskabelse, 2017), advocate that co-production has the potential to transform society into a more democratic, just, equal and horizontal societal structure. However, much research suggest that co-production is more often being used as a way of reducing public spending and transferring the production of welfare services from professionals to volunteers. Albert Meijer has also posited this conclusion which can be seen here:

Governments are facing a semi-permanent situation of austerity and coproduction can be seen as a means to unleash new productive resources that help to limit government spending and enhance the efficiency of the public sector (Pestoff, 2012). The current wave of forms of coproduction can be regarded as a (step) child of new public management since it puts an emphasis on bringing citizen resources such as time and knowledge to cut down on government spending. (2016, p. 602)

Meijer concludes that the current form of co-production can be seen as a child of New Public Management (Hood, 1991). An argument that supports this conclusion, is the Big Society reform of Great Britain from 2010. Big Society was framed by the government as co-production, decentralizing, empowering citizens and the civic society (Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition, 2010). However, as the think tank Civil Exchange has concluded, Big Society, instead, resulted in a Big Society Gap since inequality rose considerably due to vast cuts in public spending (Civil Exchange, 2015).

Accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016) and the Big Society reform are clear-cut examples of Tortzen's (2019) efficiency approach to co-production. Since I have argued that Open School is co-production, we can also explore what approach to co-production it takes. Thus, I would argue that Tortzen's efficiency co-production can also be found in different actors' view on what the purpose (Knudsen, 2016b) of Open School is. The efficiency co-production approach is particularly apparent in BUF's view on the purpose of Open School. As my analysis showed, BUF believes competence (Knudsen, 2016b) is the primary purpose of Open School since they argue that Open School has the highest effect on developing the students 21st. century skills (BUF, 2017). However, 21st. century skills is an organizational recipe developed by OECD and multinational corporations in order to develop a competitive workforce that can ensure prosperity (Christensen, 2017; Kirkegaard, 2017; Patterson, 2015). This is also illustrated in this quote by Jean Patterson:

Underpinning the free market discourse of neoliberalism is the notion of students as human capital and future workers, which is also evident in the language of 21st Century learning initiatives.... Behind-the-scenes corporate influence over public education in the guise of creating 21st Century learning opportunities masks the fact that students are reduced to engines of economic progress.... Public school decision-makers frequently adopt initiatives such as 21st Century learning that contain some progressive and innovative elements without taking into consideration the hidden agendas behind them or examining who is really benefitting from them. (2015, pp. 233, 235)

Above, Patterson posits that 21st. century skills is a neoliberal initiative that aims at developing the skills that companies deem to be important in order to be able to compete in a globalized world. Consequently, when BUF writes that Open School has the highest effect on developing the students' future competences, they are indirectly advocating that Open Schools prepares the students in becoming the future workforce. Furthermore, it can seem quite paradoxical that BUF wants Open School to prepare a competitive workforce when the etymological meaning of school is "freedom from production" (Knudsen, 2016c).

While the accountable co-production and BUF's emphasis on competence (Knudsen, 2016b) in Open School can be seen as examples of the efficiency co-production, I would also argue that the teachers' emphasis on *bildung* in my study (Knudsen, 2016b) illustrates Tortzen's (2019) empowerment co-production. My reasoning for this are their similar focus on empowering citizens, and creating a more equal and democratic community (Knudsen, 2016b; Tortzen, 2019). In the teachers' translation and implementation of Open School, Tortzen's (2019) efficiency and empowerment co-production approach seem to be combined due to the accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016) and *bildung* (Knudsen, 2016b) dominating the teachers' view of open school. I would, however, posit that in my study the efficiency co-production is more predominant than the empowerment co-production in the translation and implementation of Open School. This is an outcome of the withdrawn role that the teachers take in Open School. It becomes less significant that the teachers believe *bildung* is the purpose of Open School, when they place external agents as the main-designers and main-implementors (Madsen, 2020) of Open School. For this reason, the external agents' view of the purpose of Open School becomes more significant than

the teachers' view. It is, however, outside the scope of this article to explore the external agents view on the purpose of Open School. This leads me to conclude that the accountable co-production (Ulrich, 2016) and thereby the efficiency co-production (Tortzen, 2019) is dominating the implementation of Open School in my data.

Another noteworthy point of discussion, when it comes to co-production in schools, are the implications co-production, and especially the efficiency co-production, can have on the teaching profession. It has been argued that the Danish public school reform from 2014 has caused a deprofessionalization of the teaching profession (Krogh-Jespersen, 2017). I would posit that Open School can be seen as contributing factor in this deprofessionalization of Danish teachers. Inherent in co-production is the central notion that the provision of welfare services should be planned and implemented in close cooperation between professionals and citizens, including defining and solving problems. Traditionally, Danish teachers have had extensive autonomy in planning and implementing lesson plans as they see fit (Korsgaard, Kristensen, & Jensen, 2017). When Open School and co-production became compulsory with the school reform, it also meant a part of their core task as teachers – educating students – was outsourced to external agents. It is also characteristic of co-production that professionals' judgement and assessment should not carry more weight or have a special status compared to that of citizens. Some authors (Bundsgaard, Lundsfryd, & Klarup, 2017; Kristensen, 2014; Zipsane, Fristrup, Lundborg, & Grut, 2017) have also argued that Open School and co-production are on a collision course with professionals' unions which is also illustrated here:

A professionalization that the teachers' union has worked on expanding since the middle of the last century. A professionalization that means that the teaching profession closes around itself in order to build a knowledge authority and autonomy that mark boundaries to other professions' knowledge. This lack of openness that characterizes and surrounds the teaching profession is in direct contrast to the political intention of opening the school. (Zipsane et al., 2017, p. 6)

In my interviews, I did not experience a lack of openness towards Open School (except from Teacher D). On the contrary, the teachers had such positive views on Open School that it led me to conclude that Open School had been institutionalized in two of the surveyed schools. It is, however, also

a very real possibility that unions and their members at times see differently on given topics, like Open School. But what is the explanation behind the teachers in my data taking a withdrawn role in Open School which contributes to the efficiency co-production being the predominant approach to Open School? One possible explanation could be the lack of preparation time that teachers, especially since the reform, have. It was a recurrent theme in my interviews that the lack of preparation kept the teachers from using Open School as much as they wanted. This is also very much supported by new reports that conclude that the lack of preparation time is also the primary reason why Open School has stagnated in its implementation (Tektanken, 2019; VIVE, 2020). The lack of preparation time also pressure teachers into using standardized lessons plans with external agents that can be found online. External agents have executed these lesson plans many times, and the lesson plans also often positions teachers in withdrawn roles since they know teachers do not have the necessary preparation time.

To sum up some of the main findings of this article - Open School becomes an organizational recipe (Røvik, 2007) that schools can use that will lead to the co-production of students' education. But Open School also becomes an organizational recipe that is dominated by the efficiency co-production (Tortzen, 2019) when it is translated and implemented like it is in my data.

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CREATING AND IMPLEMENTING SPACE BETWEEN MUSEUMS AND SCHOOLS. THE NEW CORE CURRICULUM IN NORWAY AND THE ESCAPE BOX

LASSE SONNE & GEIR SIGVARD SALVESEN

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 2020, a new core curriculum for the school years 1-13 was implemented in Norway, which will have a considerable impact on the collaboration between museums and schools.

In Norway, formal collaboration between museums and schools is organised through The Cultural Schoolbag (TCS) – also known as *Den Kulturelle Skolesekken* (DKS) in Norwegian. TCS is a cooperation project between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education, and is aimed at education around art and culture. The public organisation known as the *Kulturtanken* (formerly *Rikskonsertene*) has had the national responsibility for TCS since 2016. The Norwegian TCS is an ambitious arrangement, also seen in the wider Nordic context, for example in the Swedish *Skapande*

Skola (The Creative School), the Danish *Skoletjenesten* (The Danish School Service) and in Finland, where no central organisation exists.

Building a bridge between museums and schools is necessary for meeting Norwegian school guidelines. Collaboration between museums and schools however needs to be useful for both. Learning outcomes from TCS should be measured and evaluated so that also museums can contribute to formal learning outside the classrooms.

In this article, we discuss the relation between the 21st century skills framework and the new core curriculum in Norway. We discuss the challenges with implementing a new core curriculum. We furthermore discuss possibilities to develop new collaboration between museums and schools through the escape-box method. An escape room is a problem-based and time-constrained game, requiring active and collaborative participation from participants (Veldkamp et al. 2020). In addition, we discuss how to assess a new learning method for both museums and schools.

The article is based on various methodological approaches, with document analysis being key. Public studies and reports, as well as the new Norwegian core curriculum, have been important documents for this study. Based on Goodlad's dimensions for curriculum practice (Goodlad, 1979), these are ideological and formal plans that provide insight into the thinking behind the changes and the national guidelines. One of the authors of this article has been engaged by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training in the work with the new core curriculum from when the work started in 2017 until the finished curriculum was adopted in 2020. The perspectives and knowledge from this work are also used for the article. Furthermore, the article is based on observations and focus group interviews during the escape box project in Norway. In addition, we have used research on 21st century skills and policy-implementation.

THE 21ST CENTURY SKILLS FRAMEWORK

It is difficult to determine precisely when the concept of 21st century skills first appeared. What we do know is that the term originates from the US (Griffin et al. 2012) and is related to the US' challenges in global economic competition after the oil crises of the 1970s. Until then, the United States had assumed that the path to economic growth and prosperity was rational and efficient mass production of consumer goods. With increasing global

competition, as illustrated by a growing import of Japanese cars to the United States, it became increasingly clear that the road to growth and prosperity did not go via a singular focus on production (Berthelsen, n.d.).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there were initiatives by Presidents Reagan and Bush to improve competitiveness, which required a resilient workforce and an educational system that prepared students for business. Adaptability, competence development, and lifelong learning became civic duties. Even more important, however, was a recognition that it was no longer the chosen few who were to be innovative. Previously, the great American entrepreneurs, such as Henry Ford, had been seen as primarily responsible for growth and prosperity. After the oil crises and from the 1980s and 1990s, developing skills and competencies was expected from *everyone*. General labours who had worked loyally and conscientiously at the assembly line were gradually replaced by a well-educated and flexible workforce, who, through critical thinking and creativity, could innovate (Berthelsen, n.d.). This change in attitude was also significant in economic, political and cultural institutions.

An important dimension in this was Bill Clinton's inauguration as President of the United States. In the spring of 1993, Clinton presented his first economic program. He then spoke of the need to being able to compete with nations around the world (Pedersen 2011, pp. 12-13). For many countries, an important goal is to succeed in international competition (Pedersen 2011). In June 1993, the then President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, responded by opening the race for economic dominance between Europe, the United States and Japan (Pedersen 2011, p. 41). In 1997, the Clinton administration defined a nation state as a state that promotes competition (Pedersen 2011, p. 41, p. 12-13).

From then on, development took off. In 1997, the OECD initiated a project with the aim to identify key competencies for the future (OECD 2005). In 1999, the US Department of Commerce and others published the report 21st Century Skills for 21st Century Jobs (Stuart 1999, Berthelsen, n.d.) with the aim of uncovering possibilities for continuing education of especially the least educated members of the workforce. In 2002, the interest group Partnership for 21st (P21) Century Learning was established. The same year, P21 published the report Learning for the 21st Century: A Report and Mile Guide for the 21st Century Skills (Partnership for the 21st Century Learning, 2002). P21 was a consortium that included Microsoft

and Cisco Systems, the American Teachers' Association NEA, and several government agencies, including the US Department of Education. Their first report called on politicians and policymakers to put 21st century skills at the top of the education policy agenda. Since then, there is a global discussion about the interplay between education and business (OECD 2005).

Which skills will be needed in the 21st century? The old industrial nations of Europe and the United States were on the threshold of the 21st century, facing new and serious challenges in connection with industrial change and economic development, which had to be met with skills and competencies that were different from those needed in the 20th century. In Europe, the focus was on lifelong learning, originally initiated by the UN, adapted to economic competitive thinking by the OECD. The idea of lifelong learning was developed by the EU during the 1990s and 2000s based on eight key competences: communicative competence in the mother tongue; communicative competence in foreign languages; mathematical competence, scientific and technological basic competence; digital competence; learning skills; interpersonal, cross-cultural and social skills as well as civil skills; entrepreneurship; and cultural expressiveness.

These eight key areas of competence were subdivided into knowledge and understanding, skills, as well as attitudes and values. Although the initiative of the OECD and the EU in design differed from the American 21st century skills, the purpose of both frameworks was to create better conditions for staying competitive globally. Both frameworks aimed to increase the interaction between education and business in a globalized world.

Taking 21st century skills as an example, these are skills, abilities and learning characteristics that were identified by educators, business leaders, researchers, and public institutions as necessary for the 21st century. The skills that were identified are about mastering a digital society in rapid change, but they are also about in-depth learning with a focus on mastering the ability to analyse, work with complex issues, and work in teams. The skills differ from traditional academic skills in that they are not primarily knowledge-based. P21, which had its starting point in the UStiA in 2002 (NOU 2014: 7, p. 118), developed a framework for implementation and competencies.

Three main areas were identified:

1. **Learning and innovation skills:** critical thinking and problem solving, creativity and innovation, communication, and

collaboration skills.

2. **Digital skills:** information skills, media skills, and ICT skills.
3. **Career and life skills:** flexibility and adaptability, initiative and self-management, social and cross-cultural interaction, productivity and predictability, leadership skills and accountability.

To develop these three areas, 21st century skills also contained four focus areas:

- Learning environment
- Professional development
- Curricula and other instructional documents
- Standardized tests / evaluation of dividends / effects

Based on the escape-box method, there are four areas to work with in relation to the three main areas. The first is to establish a learning environment or develop a learning arena for work with escape boxes. The second is to ensure that the teacher is trained for teaching with the escape-box method. The third is to relate the escape-box method to the curriculum. Fourth, to develop standardized tests to evaluate whether learning objectives related to the three main areas are met.

NATIONAL CORE CURRICULUM IN NORWAY - RENEWAL OF PRINCIPLES

In Norway, schools' content is politically governed through legislation and a National Core Curriculum. The Educational Act describes the value basis of education and The National Core Curriculum elaborates the purpose and defines what students should learn. The latter also provides the framework of the content.

Society is changing and it follows that curricula and content need to be renewed on a regular basis. The latest renewal was implemented in the fall of 2020 (*known as Fagfornyelsen*) after a long political process.

In 2013, the Ministry of Education set up a committee to create a knowledge base for the school of the future. The committee presented two reports (NOU 2014: 7, NOU 2015: 8).

The reports presents the committee`s considerations of those competences that will be important for students in the future, which curricular changes are needed to develop those competencies, and what is required of various stakeholders for the renewal of the schools` curriculum to ensure good outcomes.

(The Government, our translation 2020-01-15).

The two reports established the basis for The Norwegian Parliament`s white paper (Meld. St. 28, 2015-2016) on the implementation and renewal of the National Core Curriculum (*Fagfornyelsen*).

The two reports and the white paper all emphasize that content needs to be relevant, and new technology, new knowledge, and current social challenges are highlighted. Furthermore, content should be limited with clear priorities. Content needs to be relevant for the student *and* for social and work life. Although the committee in its reports placed great emphasis on seeing the curriculum in a larger context, the Government decided that the renewal of The National Core Curriculum should have the same subjects and time distribution as earlier. Basic skills were also to be extended in the renewal. The same five basic skills were retained (oral skills, reading, writing that, digital skills, and numeracy). The development of basic skills is important throughout education.

The renewal of the curriculum established a new structure to facilitate more coherence. Evaluations had shown, among other things, that there was a lack of correlation between different parts of the earlier curriculum and that subjects were too extensive and as such preventing in-depth learning (Meld. St. 28, 2015-2016).

It was decided that priority should be given to three interdisciplinary themes: Democracy and Citizenship, Sustainable Development, and Public Health and Life Skills. A new concept was introduced in the renewal, Core Elements of The Subject, which were to clarify the subject`s uniqueness and content. This would then, the expectation is, help prioritize content. The Core Elements of The Subject consist of key concepts, methods, ways of thinking, areas of knowledge, and forms of expression in the subject that students must master (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training). The Core Elements of the Subject were submitted for consultation and adopted by Parliament in 2018.

In the new Norwegian curriculum, competency-based learning continued,

and the competencies that students are expected to acquire in the subject are outlined. The competence goals in each subject are described for stages two, four, seven and 10 in primary school and for each stage in upper secondary school. The competency objectives should not be too specific and detailed, but open to local adaptations, relevance, and for special needs education. Great emphasis should be placed on clarifying the progression between the various steps and competence goals. Some of the criticism of the earlier curriculum was an unclear progression of learning outcomes. The content of the different subjects is outlined, based on the following definition of competence:

Competence is to acquire and use knowledge and skills to master challenges in known and unknown contexts and situations. Competence involves the ability to reflect and think critically.

(Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training – our translation 2020-01-15).

As the renewal is based on competence-based curricula, understanding of the concept of competence is fundamental to working with the curricula nationally and locally. It will be important to discuss how students learn and look at which facts, concepts, and theories are important. Which actions and procedures, both motor and linguistic, the student must master needs to be outlined. During the renewal of the curriculum, emphasis was placed on reducing the amount of content in the subjects, having clear priorities, and distributing the content between subjects. The new structure for The National Core Curriculum ended up as follows:

The Purpose of The Education

Core values

Principles for education and all around development

Principles for school practice

Subject Curriculum

About the subject

Subject relevance and central values

Core elements

Interdisciplinary themes in the subject

Basic skills in the subject

COMPETENCE AIMS AND ASSESSMENT

The purpose of education and the subjects' curriculum are mutually dependent. Competence aims have to capture the overarching part, the subjects' relevance, core elements, interdisciplinary themes and basic skills - all closely linked to the subject's uniqueness. Competence aims must have a clear progression to the various stages and be easily linked to the various parts in the curriculum framework. To implement the renewal of the core curriculum it is necessary to facilitate good discussions in the professional community, work with local curricula, and support professional development.

POLICY-IMPLEMENTATION

The 21st century skills, lifelong learning, and professional renewal in Norway are primarily based on initiatives channelled via policy. This means that much of what has been developed is communicated via policy documents. However, research shows that there is often a significant gap between decision and implementation (Winter & Lehmann Nielsen 2015, p. 25). In relation to 21st century skills, funds are centred on the learning environment, professional development, curricula, and instructional documents as well as on the standardized tests and evaluation of learning outcomes.

According to the implementation research, the so-called field worker, in this case street level bureaucrat or teacher, is central to the success of the implementation. *Abilities* and *will* create the basis for successful implementation (Winter & Lehman Nielsen 2015, pp. 138-139). In other words, the profession or professional development is an important starting point. In connection with this, recruitment is important; one should recruit teachers who have the professional knowledge (*abilities*) as well as attitudes and attitudes (*will*) that are in line with the organization's goals. It is about recruiting teachers who *want* to get involved in an implementation (*commitment*).

Institutional conditions, such as the school's management, colleagues,

and other institutional conditions can hinder implementation. The institutional framework thus plays an important role in any implementation (Winter & Lehman Nielsen 2015, p. 182-183), and some schools will be better equipped for a given implementation than other schools. The best implementation is achieved when there is mutual trust, for example between the implementation body (which can be the Directorate of Education), the implementation institution (school), and field work (teachers) (Winter & Lehman Nielsen 2015, pp. 98 -99).

The goal of implementation is to create a behavioural change as an effect of policy implementation and policy interventions. A behavioural change can stem from different motives. There may be financial, social, or ethical motives to change. The opposite is deterrence (Winter & Lehman Nielsen 2015, p. 202-205).

In the following example of escape-boxes, we will see how teachers in collaboration with the University of South-Eastern Norway co-created a new learning method and assessed it as part of the implementation of the new core curriculum.

CO-CREATING A NEW SPACE BETWEEN SCHOOL, MUSEUM, AND UNIVERSITY: THE NORWEGIAN ESCAPE BOX EXAMPLE

An escape room is a problem-based and time-constrained game, requiring active and collaborative participation (Veldkamp et al. 2020). Escape rooms can be avenues for social constructivist learning processes in which the team constructs knowledge in interactions (Veldkamp et al. 2020, p. 3). Escape rooms are popular in the entertaining industry but are gaining popularity in the field of education, where the objective is collaborative learning (Veldkamp et al. 2020).

Enthusiastic teachers introduced escape rooms; it was a bottom-up process (Veldkamp et al. 2020, p1). This was also the case at the Thor Heyerdahl High School in Vestfold, Norway. In 2017, teachers from the school and staff from the University of South-Eastern Norway went to Sofia, Bulgaria, and tested different kind of escape rooms. The teachers understood immediately that the concept would be useful for high school as well as for other schools.

A challenge for education is the limited budgets available for development of new teaching methods and new teaching equipment. Escape rooms are

expensive and complicated to make. They also take up space that may not be available in a school. Therefore, the teachers decided to focus on escape boxes. An escape box is smaller than an escape room and as such more convenient for a classroom. Furthermore, parallel teams can work on similar boxes at the same time in the same classroom.

When the teachers at Thor Heyerdahl High School developed their escape boxes, they focused on different relevant issues such as adapting the development to 21st century skills, but also later on adapting the concept to the new Norwegian school curriculum, implemented from 2020 onwards. Furthermore, the teachers focused on culture, history, social studies, and language (English) because they were mostly teachers in these areas. The escape box activity was developed as a group activity. The goal was to solve puzzles and tasks within a limited amount of time. The teachers developed a storyline to be reflected in all tasks. They developed codes and combination locks. They developed the role of the game host and hints that the participants might need to solve the puzzle. In the development of the escape box concept, the teachers kept the core elements from the escape room concept. They developed sets of tasks and puzzles to be collected in the boxes for typical 5-6 sets per class or group of students. The sets would then be run synchronously. A manual was also developed for how to use the escape boxes.

During the development, the teachers focused on learning outcomes that they wanted to meet through their development of the escape boxes. When they developed their rooms and boxes, they focused on the Norwegian school curriculum, 21st century skills and soft skills.

The teachers developed different themes for the escape boxes to be used on different topics, but that would also be well suited for interdisciplinary learning. They addressed central aspects such as critical thinking, joy, engagement, exploration, democracy and participation, learning through collaboration, competence development, and interdisciplinary themes. A central focus point however was deep learning – a core point in the new Norwegian curriculum. Themes that the teachers developed for the escape boxes included global warming, the expeditions of Thor Heyerdahl, WWII, and the history of the Norwegian resistance movement and English learning, to mention some examples. The teachers developed an extra dimension in the learning process: opportunity for participants to develop their own escape boxes. During the development of the escape boxes at the Thor Heyerdahl

High School, the University of South-Eastern Norway assessed two different escape box activities and two different examples where students from the university designed their own escape boxes.

The assessment tool used in this project was a tool developed by the British Inspiring Learning for all project. It consists of an improvement framework for the arts and culture sector regarding generic learning outcomes that the arts and culture sector often use to assess their learning activities.

The assessment was conducted in 2019 and 2020 as observations and focus group interviews. Altogether, 26 students from the University of South-Eastern Norway participated in the assessment. The assessment tool used was the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLO) checklist from the Arts Council England (Inspiring Learning for All 2020). The checklist is rather long. Certain areas were therefore chosen in order to make the assessment as clear as possible within the five different areas of knowledge and understanding; attitudes and values; skills; enjoyment, inspiration, creativity and within behaviour and progression (see figure 1-5).

Figure 1 (see the following page) shows the result of the focus group evaluation consisting of 15 university students from the University of South-Eastern Norway (Observation 1, 2019; Focus group interview 2, 2019). The escape box theme was global warming. An important purpose for this escape box was to foster knowledge, skills, and attitudes related to sustainable development. The exercise took one hour of intensive group work (4-6 participants per group). The areas where students felt most encouraged were enjoyment, inspiration, and creativity. They had lots of fun and felt inspired to be innovative, creative and inspired. The students were amazed by the new dimensions popping up throughout the work with the escape box.

The second most exciting area concerned skills related to social and communication skills. The students need to work closely together to solve the tasks and they develop team spirit during the exercise. In the same way, the students needed to communicate carefully to solve the tasks. Referring to the 21st century skills framework, we already see that the participants are encouraged in the area of learning and innovation “The 4 C’s”: critical thinking and problem solving, creativity and innovation, communication and collaboration.

In the middle, we have attitudes and values on one hand, and behaviour and progression on the other. We see that there is encouragement in both areas but not enough to cause major change. Students did not change their

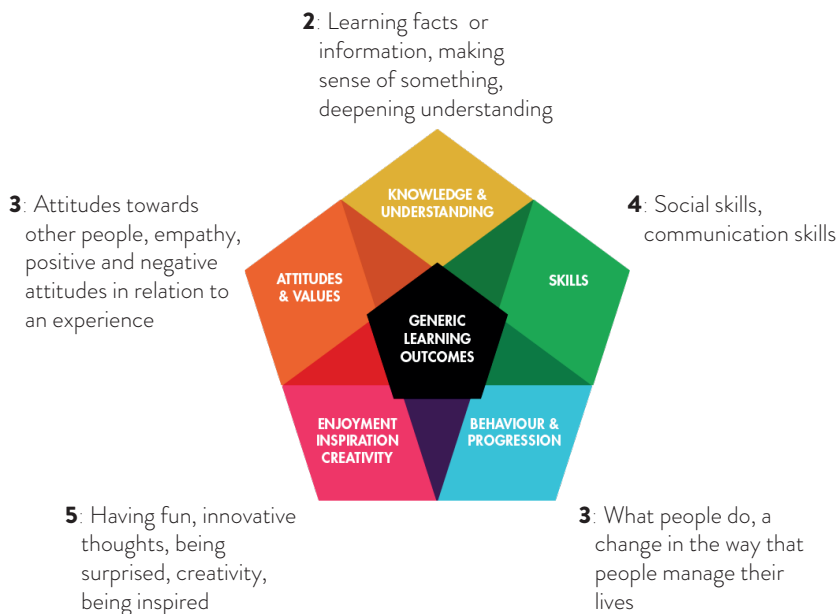


Figure 1 Test of escape box. Global warming. Assessment date: 12 March 2019. Focus group decision: 5=very affected, 1=not so affected (n=15).

attitudes towards each other in the group while they were working with the escape box. Furthermore, they did not change considerably in the way they work in a team. It may take several exercises to, for example, foster a shift in roles and attitudes. Nevertheless, a (3) means that the students still felt encouraged and challenged in these areas.

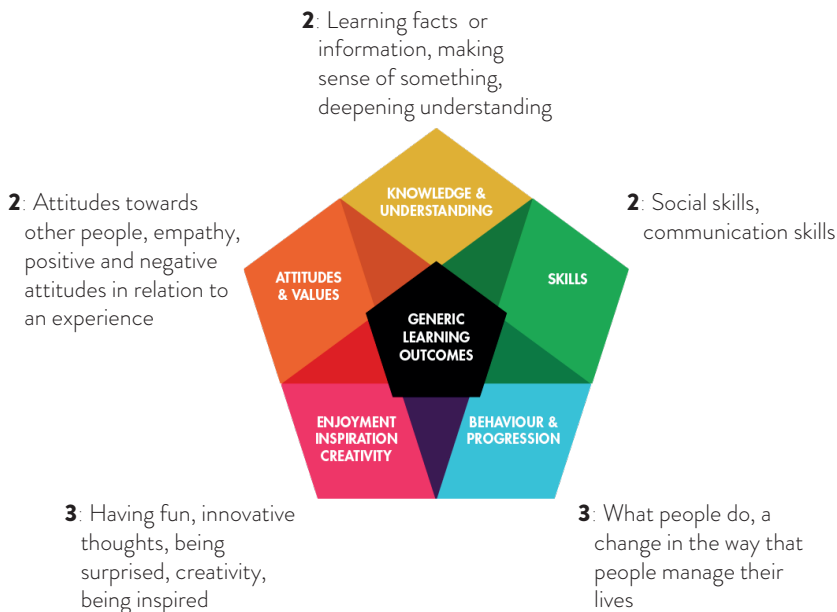
The areas where the students felt least encouraged were knowledge and understanding (learning facts or information, making sense of something, deepening understanding). The focus group gave this area a (2), that is, not so affected.

In figure 2, we see the result of the observation and focus group interview about developing an escape box (Observation 2, 2019; Focus group interview 2, 2019). The task was given on the same day to the same focus group about two hours after the test of the escape box (figure 1). Figure 2 shows some more modest results compared to figure 1. Enjoyment,

inspiration and creativity, and behaviour and progression were given the highest scores (3). At the same time, knowledge and understanding, attitudes and values, and skills were given a low score (2). In the focus group interview, the students expressed some frustration with the challenge. It was unclear to them exactly how the escape box should be developed and designed. It was also unclear what material they could use and how the storyline should be developed.

In general, the task was well-intended, but it unfortunately did not work as well as the first task; it led to more confusion than understanding. However, having students design new escape boxes was not a complete disaster, as (2) and (3) were not bottom scores. They could have been worse. In 2020, two new examples with escape boxes were tested at Thor Heyerdahl High School in Larvik. The focus group was new, and consisting of 11 students from the University of South-Eastern Norway (Observation 3, 2020; Focus group interview 3, 2020).

Figure 2 Design of escape box. Global warming. Assessment date: 12 March 2019. Focus group decision: 5=very affected, 1=not so affected (n=15).



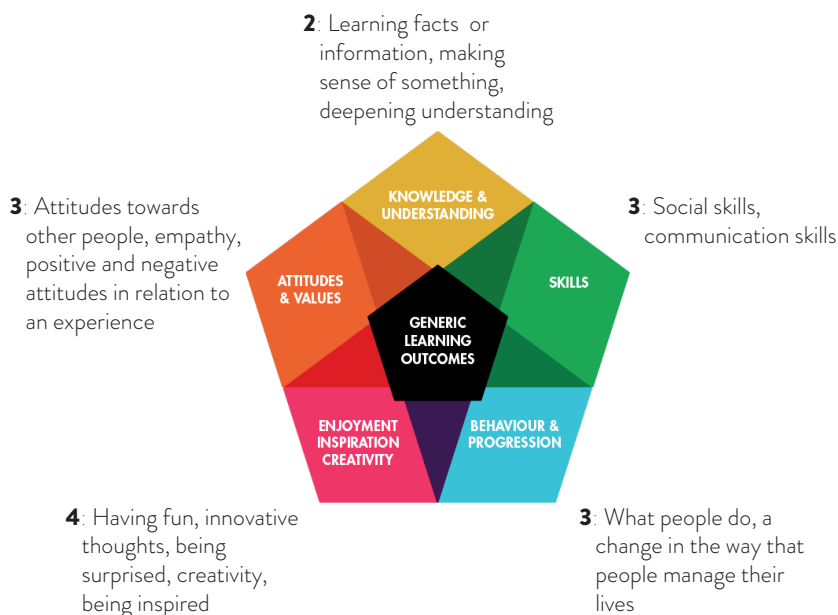


Figure 3 Test of escape box. The Escape from Ullevål Prison, Oslo. Assessment date: 6 March 2020. Focus group decision: 5=very affected, 1=not so affected (n=11).

The escape box to be tested was based on WWII, the Nazi-occupation of Norway and the activities of the Norwegian resistance movement during the occupation. The overall goals with the escape box was to foster the following:

- Compare different stories of the same historical event and reflect on the different stories presented;
- Explore the past by formulating different questions and using different historical sources to come to one's own conclusions;
- Explore the story of resistance fighter Maximo Manus and discuss what his life in contemporary Norway might look like;
- Reflect on how the past is used by different actors and discuss the purpose of this use; and
- Discuss the different options that an individual has in conflict situations.

In the first task (figure 3), the students had one hour to work with the escape boxes. They were divided into groups of 3-4 participants. The scores given by the focus group were similar to the scores given the year before. Having fun received a score of (4) in 2020 and (5) in 2019. The score for knowledge and understanding remained the same (2). The challenge of combining fun or entertainment with knowledge and understanding are thus still present. At the same time, we see that the three other areas are still similar. The only exception is skills that in 2020 were given (3) compared with (4) in 2019. That means that the development of social skills and communication skills were perceived to be more encouraged in the escape box exercise where the theme was global warming.

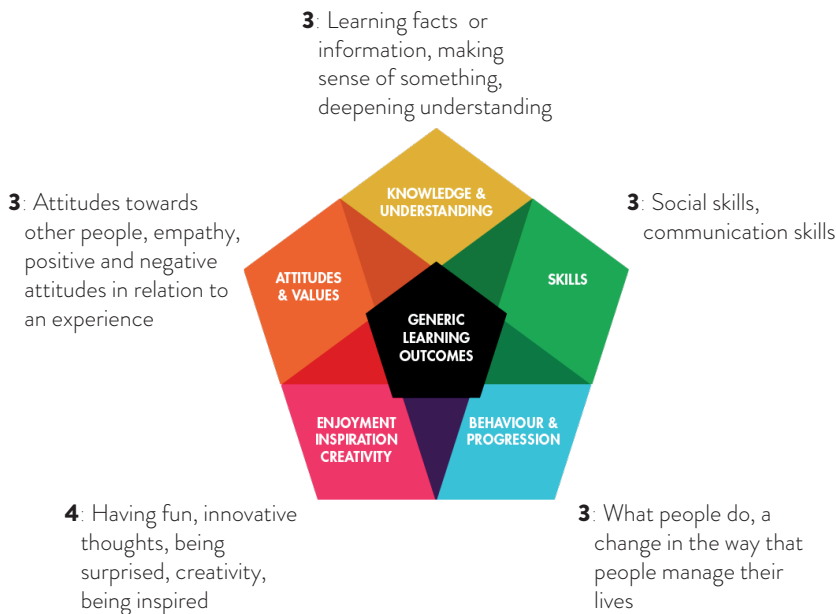


Figure 4 Design of escape box in history (free task).
Assessment date: 6 March 2020. Focus group
decision: 5=very affected, 1=not so affected
(n=11).

Figure 4 shows the result of the assessment of the design of a new escape box (Observation 4, 2020; Focus group interview 4, 2020). The group

activity was to develop an idea for an escape box to be used in history class. The task consisted of five different areas: brainstorming, development of a context, adaptation to the new Norwegian curriculum, storyline with tasks, and pre and post work. The participants also had to consider competence goals such as skills and knowledge, and resources to be used such as time, money, and material. The exercise was extremely intensive, only lasting for 45 minutes with plenum presentations afterwards (four minutes each). Figure 4 shows that participants considered the exercise to be fun and enjoyable and fostering inspiration and creativity. At the same time, the organisers have succeeded with increasing the score of knowledge and understanding to (3). We now see a development in the direction that deep learning is occurring.

To gain understanding of the challenges and possibilities for further developments of the escape box learning method, it is useful to have a control by comparing the assessments with an assessment of another learning method.

Figure 5 Time travel with role play. Test of learning method. Assessment date: 10 January 2020.
Focus group decision: 5=very affected, 1=not so affected (n=18).

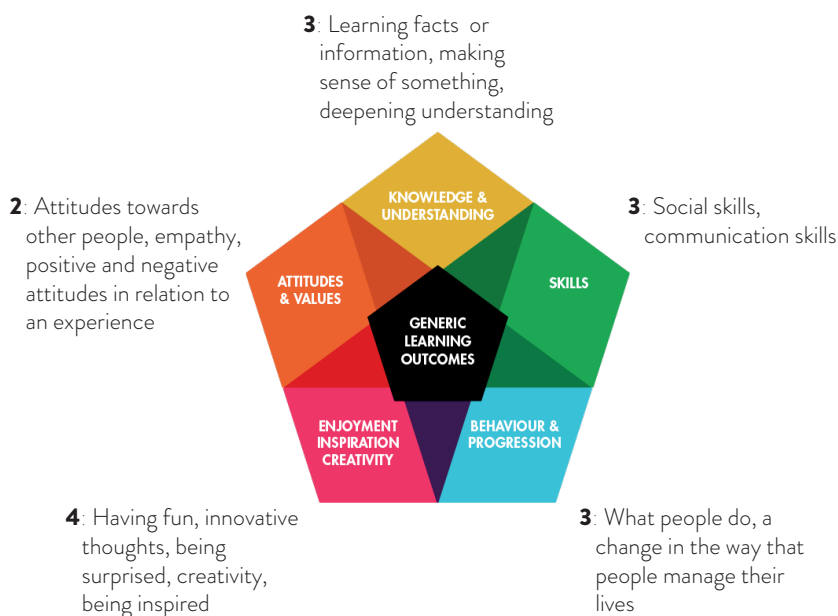


Figure 5 shows the results of an assessment done in January 2020, with 18 students as a focus group (Observation 5, 2020; Focus group interview 5, 2020). The learning method assessed was a time travel including role play by participants. Time travel with role play is a common learning method in Scandinavian museums. In this case, the assessment of the time travel was organised in a classroom at the University of South-Eastern Norway with university students. The learning goal was adapted to the new Norwegian curriculum with a special emphasis on fostering democracy and active citizenship.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Partnership for 21st century skills (P21), which had its starting point in the USA, developed a framework for implementation and competencies, as we previously described. One of the main areas in P21 was Learning Environments. In the project related to escape boxes, one of the goals was to look at new environments where learning can take place, in this context a project related to cultural heritage and collaboration between school and museum.

Culture and cultural heritage are important perspectives in the renewal of The National Core Curriculum (Saabye 2020, p. 11) and emphasis is placed on using varied learning arenas both locally and nationally ((Saabye 2020, p. 18). P21 also emphasizes collaboration across sectors as a central part of the implementation of the core curriculum.

Furthermore, P21 pointed out that having many subjects is a challenge, and that it will be a significant challenge to find time for 21st century skills in school (NOU 2014: 7, p. 118). The same concern is pointed out in the white paper (Meld. St. 28, 2015-2016) and the political report for the renewal of the Core Curriculum. It was pointed out that there was a need for stronger priorities and to facilitate in-depth learning (Meld. St. 28, 2015-2016, p. 16). Related to escape boxes, we looked at whether this method can facilitate several areas of competence (outcomes) and in-depth learning.

In the P21 project, a need was identified to develop a broader definition of competence in schools. We find this also in the national reports (NOU 2014: 7, NOU 2015: 8) where it is pointed out that students' competence is developed in an interaction between academic, social and emotional aspects of learning (NOU 2014: 7, p. 11).

This definition of competence was discussed in the white paper, but it

was concluded that social and emotional skills should not gain a greater place in the competence goals (Meld. St. 28, 2015-2016. p. 29). Students should be guided to develop their social and emotional skills, but students' goal achievement in the subjects should be based on academic content.

In the purpose statement of the Core curriculum, we find many traces of 21st century skills. In P21, learning and innovation skills are key areas. We also find these competences to a great extent described under the Core values of education and Principles for education and all-around development (Saabye 2020, p. 8-16). Other areas in P21 are information, media, and technology skills. In this context, competencies such as the European key competence "learning to learn", critical thinking, problem solving, applying information, communicating, innovation, and collaboration are mentioned. We see that the overriding part of the Core Curriculum is largely focused on the same perspectives (Saabye 2020, p. 8-16).

The last area of P21 revolves around life and career skills. Here we find competencies such as leadership, ethics, reliability, adaptability, understanding of others, personal responsibility, and self-regulation. We find these competencies to a certain extent in the Purpose of the education in the Core curriculum, though social learning and development and an inclusive learning environment are clearly described (Saabye 2020, p. 13 and p. 17).

Often, initiatives for change or innovation in education come from either the policy-level, that is, from the ministry of education or from other bodies such as national, transnational or supranational, e.g. the European Union. It is also rather common that new initiatives come from the research area such as universities, colleges or other bodies working with research and innovation. In this case, however, the initiative came from the profession itself, that is, from the teachers (Ehlers 2018, p. 4).

In closing, to succeed with the implementation of the new core curriculum, the entire curriculum must be used actively in everyday school life and across sectors in the education field. Working with escape boxes can facilitate helpful discussions and experiences as a part of this professional development. In this example, we saw that engaged teachers at a school – and preferable in collaboration with both museum and university – can contribute to the implementation process. We saw teachers *committed* to implementation instead of resistant, capitulating or disengaged (Winter & Lehman Nielsen 2015, p. 173).

Escape rooms and escape boxes are also suited, we suggest, to learning

activities outside the schools and classrooms – for example in the heritage sector. In Norway it seems that museums and schools are moving towards collaboration in learning and learning methods. The escape box method is a step in that direction and a helpful tool to continue to use when the Norwegian TCS is further developed in continuation of the implementation of the new core curriculum.

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CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE MUSEUMS IN THE CULTURAL SCHOOLBAG (TCS)

BENTE ASTER

In this article, I discuss how cultural heritage is rooted in and integrated with children's and youth's everyday school life, using The Cultural Schoolbag (TCS) in Norway as an example. With this perspective as a backdrop, I present a historic outline of the TCS, including an outline of the status of cultural heritage as an expression of the TCS, and challenges and opportunities in connection with the dissemination of cultural heritage in the education sector, in addition to presenting a selection of various actors' initiatives and projects related to these challenges and opportunities. Furthermore, I comment on future processes, topics, and solutions as these relate to the TCS, cultural heritage, and its stakeholders.

ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE CULTURAL SCHOOLBAG

The Cultural Schoolbag is an arts and culture programme and a collaboration between the central government, counties, and municipalities designed to ensure that children and young people experience professional art and culture. At the same time, it should inspire children and young people to use their creativity.

Kulturtanken – Arts for Young Audiences Norway – is the Ministry of Culture agency responsible for art and culture for school pupils. This includes nationwide responsibility for The Cultural Schoolbag, the centrepiece of the government's policy for bringing culture to children and young people. Kulturtanken interacts with counties and municipalities with regard to TCS and strengthens the partnership between schools, the arts community, and the TCS network. Furthermore, Kulturtanken works to create arenas and venues for dialogue and knowledge-sharing, thus creating a space where different actors can work on raising the artistic quality of TCS and better integrating it into the education system.

Kulturtanken works in partnership with experts from the six forms of art and culture addressed by TCS: film, music, literature, visual arts, performing arts, and cultural heritage.

TOP-DOWN AND GRASSROOTS PERSPECTIVE

White Paper no. 8 (2007-2008), *Kulturell skulesekk for framtida* (The Cultural Schoolbag of the Future), states certain criteria for the content and management of The Cultural Schoolbag. This White Paper is the most used and cited at all levels of state administration in Norway. It stipulates that TCS should be locally grounded and that artistic initiative and production should have relevance to the municipalities and counties. The Ministry of Culture has expressed these criteria from a national perspective, to ensure a programme that is equal for all pupils in Norway. The goals for The Cultural Schoolbag are, as listed in White Paper no. 8: to help ensure that pupils in the school have a professional art and cultural programme

- to make it easier for pupils in the school to access, become familiar with, and develop an understanding of art and cultural expression of all kinds

- to help develop the holistic incorporation of artistic and cultural expression into the realisation of the school's learning goals

In addition to these goals, White Paper no. 8 lists a set of principles to be followed as a guideline for The Cultural Schoolbag administrations in the municipalities and counties:

- *Lasting programme:* The Cultural Schoolbag must be a permanent programme for pupils in the school.
- *For all pupils:* The Cultural Schoolbag should include all pupils in primary and secondary education, irrespective of the school they attend and their economic, social, ethnic, or religious background.
- *Achieving goals in the curriculum:* The content of the arts and cultural programme of The Cultural Schoolbag should help realise the learning outcomes as expressed in the general curriculum as well as in subject-specific curricula.
- *High quality:* Students should experience arts and culture of high artistic quality from professional artists and institutions.
- *Cultural diversity:* The Cultural Schoolbag should include different types of arts and cultural expression, with roots in a variety of cultures and from different periods.
- *Cultural expression:* Music, performing arts, visual arts, film, literature, and cultural heritage should all be represented in the Cultural Schoolbag. The set of communication methods should be varied in nature.
- *Regularity:* Pupils must receive a regular offer in all grades.
- *Collaboration between the culture sector and the schools:* The work with the Cultural Schoolbag should be founded on good cooperation between the culture and education sectors at all levels. This secures ownership and time for planning in the schools.
- *Role distribution between the culture sector and the schools:* The education sector is responsible for providing pre- and post-educational tasks for the pupils, while the cultural sector is responsible for the cultural content of The Cultural Schoolbag and for providing information of the content well in advance.

- *Local grounding and ownership:* The Cultural Schoolbag should be grounded locally: in the individual school, the municipality, and the county. This ensures local enthusiasm and allows for many local variants so that everyone can take ownership of The Cultural Schoolbag.

STATUS: CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE CULTURAL SCHOOLBAG

As one of the six artistic and cultural expressions of The Cultural Schoolbag, cultural heritage is exceptionally wide-ranging: it includes intangible and tangible cultural heritage; it encompasses most different occupational groups; and it is practised in the museum sector, by various companies, associations and non-governmental organisations, freelancers, storytellers, and time witnesses. The professional and voluntary sectors are both considered. With this as a starting point, cultural heritage as an expression of The Cultural Schoolbag is well-suited as a bridge-builder between the education sector, volunteers, local cultural foundations – such as museums, historic sites, and archaeological monuments – and TCS. Every individual is a carrier of cultural heritage, regardless of ethnicity, gender, or socio-economic level. Cultural heritage is part of the individual's identity, and that is where great emotions start flowering. There is a risk of stepping on someone's toes. Nevertheless, TCS must continue to challenge and create space for disagreement and argument – the difficult conversations.

The challenge of cultural heritage for The Cultural Schoolbag is thus wide-ranging. Cultural heritage can be understood as everything and nothing, and as something that everyone can own and convey and even define. As a result, cultural heritage is far more multi-faceted than TCS's other forms of cultural expression. Its multi-faceted nature is, in fact, its strength. It engages the population and includes it within its diversity, and it has great potential relevance for the target group of children and adolescents if the mediator shows an understanding of the target group by presenting content that they perceive as meaningful to them.

Today, there are major differences in how counties and municipalities understand and practise the dissemination of cultural heritage as an expression of TCS. In addition, professional competence is unevenly distributed in the expression of cultural heritage at both municipal and county levels within

TCS. This also relates to the lack of structural, institutional grounding for this form of cultural expression. There are few national cultural programmes in the higher education system which lead to cultural heritage performers or professionals, and there are few national cultural institutions or NGOs offering such programmes. By comparison, the other five types of artistic expression found in TCS are all represented in art schools in the higher education system, at either universities, colleges, or both.

The cultural heritage administration in the municipalities (as well as in the regions) utilises the expertise of the museums to a considerable extent; 50% of the cultural heritage offerings in the counties and 48% in the municipalities have been completed at, or with the involvement of, a museum. However, it is a challenge that there are so few production environments or external stakeholders who work with the dissemination of cultural heritage to children and youth in schools – that is, outside of the museum sector. Half of the offer comes from museums, according to Kulturtanken's 2019 survey (see references).

Cultural heritage is TCS's form of cultural expression in which local grounding and relevance to the municipal level may be most visible: TCS's annual report for 2019 shows that 75% of all cultural heritage productions are booked at the municipal level (79% in 2018). Thus, the municipality appears to be the most relevant level of administration when it comes to cultural heritage, and schools often use local cultural heritage such as local and regional traditions, museums, and sites as input when working with identity, development, and cohesion in the student group. At the same time, the fact that management of cultural heritage protection is often organised at either another level of administration or in a department other than the cultural unit – both in the municipalities and in the counties – can be challenging. One hopes that in the future we will see more coherent administration, awareness-raising, and sharing of resources across the art, culture, school, and cultural heritage sectors.

One project which to some extent responds to this challenge for administrative and systemic cohesion is Lokalhistorie i skolesekken (Local History in The Cultural Schoolbag). It is run by the NGO Landslaget for lokalhistorie (The Norwegian Society for Local History), which receives economic support from the Sparebankstiftelsen DNB (Savings Bank Foundation DNB) and Kulturrådet (the Arts Council). Other members of the project are Riksantikvaren (the Directorate for Cultural Heritage), Museumsforbundet (the

Norwegian Museums Association), Kulturvernforbundet (the Norwegian Federation of Cultural Heritage Organisations), and Kulturtanken. The project aims to encourage history associations across the country to disseminate cultural heritage within their communities to children and youth during their school day. Furthermore, the project promotes dissemination programmes that can be carried out in schools and others that take place in museums and in connection with cultural monuments and cultural environments. The project group prefers collaborations between the local history association, a local museum or heritage site, and schools. This ensures accurate historical content, relevant heritage sites – including intangible heritage – and pedagogical perspectives.

When it comes to formal collaboration in the sector, between museums and the TCS, this is as wide and varied as TCS itself. This is one of the areas in which the grassroots perspective of the cultural heritage programme is visible, which also makes it challenging to compare one county with another. In the next section, I discuss this matter further.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN MUSEUMS AND COUNTIES

As we have seen, 75% of all cultural heritage bookings are made on the municipal level, often with local museums and historical associations providing much of the offerings. This begs the question of the extent to which counties cooperate with museums on a broader, regional level?

Few counties have formal permanent agreements with museums. However, continuous informal cooperation – often over several years – is a key rule, as seen above. Collaboration takes place in different ways, but usually there is collaboration with specific productions where the museum has delivered programme proposals on a par with other actors. Several counties emphasise that they make use of much of a museum's professional expertise informally and that the dialogue is close. The following counties state that they have formal agreements with museums about content for TCS: Oslo (Oslo City Museum and Munch Museum), Sogn og Fjordane (museums in Sogn and Fjordane county) Telemark (Norwegian Industrial Workers Museum), Vestfold (Vestfoldmuseene), and Asker (Asker Museum), according to Kulturtanken's 2019 survey.

In several cultural heritage productions, one can see attempts to achieve closer cooperation between the county and a museum. Many producers and

programmers in TCS administrations are conscious of curriculum goals, and so are the stakeholders/providers. It could be argued that cultural heritage productions largely, perhaps even more so than the other five forms of art expression, incorporate curriculum goals into the offerings. The museums, for example, are very conscious that their offerings should be easy for teachers to use, and this is a great motivation when submitting proposals to TCS. There are historical reasons for this, some of which are addressed in the report *Museum og skole. Fra folkeopplysning til kulturell skolesekk*, produced by the University of Oslo (UiO) for the Ministry of Culture in 2018. This report examined three counties and one municipality in the country in respect of museums, schools, and TCS. The report is highly relevant to the dissemination of cultural heritage and understanding how variations among TCS administrations affect museum mediators and the museums' potential for creating programmes for TCS, for example. However, the report did not include all the counties in TCS, so the Ministry of Culture asked Kulturtanken to broaden the picture by conducting a survey in 2019 that included all of them. This survey is one of the sources of information for this article.

Nevertheless, I think it is very useful to shed light on the UiO report, which says that, throughout history, museums have seen themselves as learning institutions where children and young people come to acquire important knowledge. It goes on to say that varied forms of organised cooperation between museums and schools were established in different places during the 1930s. Therefore, many museums also started early to employ museum lecturers to teach pupils. "The Norwegian Museum of Cultural History was the first museum to create a position with special responsibility for school children. (...) The position was created in 1930" (op. cit., p. 9, my translation). Today, this staff position is usually referred to as "museum educator" or "museum lecturer". In this paper, such staff in TCS are often referred to as museum mediators. In any case, the overall idea is that these staff have the responsibility to receive pupils at the museum, take them on a guided tour, engage in a conversation with them, and relate the museum programme to the school curriculum. This is one of the important tasks performed by the museums, and they were carrying it out long before TCS came into existence. The historical outline in part 1 of *Museum og skole*. (...) emphasises that the museum sector has developed educational and formational programmes for pupils, that the sector has been criticised for being hierarchical, and that it

has gone through stages of pedagogical improvement. The role of museums in society and schools is still a very relevant debate today.

One important element in this matter is the idea that museum mediators could take on a more defined role to ensure a relevant and high-quality cultural heritage programme. In short, this would serve to facilitate the professionalisation of the field, together with other stakeholders and, of course, with the counties and municipalities.

A PROFESSIONALISATION OF THE FIELD

As mentioned above, The Cultural Schoolbag's mandate and White Paper no. 8 (2007-2008) both state that TCS must be rooted in the local level, but at the same time they state that TCS should offer professional arts and culture of high quality. Together with the stakeholders in the field, Kulturtanken has therefore wanted to focus on the professionalisation of the cultural heritage field in TCS by helping stakeholders raise awareness of the target group – children and young people. Another aim here is supporting the regional and municipal commissioners and administrators when it comes to setting requirements and expectations for local institutions, museums and sites, and foundations. To meet this aim, Kulturtanken has, in collaboration with the counties, worked to ensure that providers and administrations have more and better meeting places. Listening to and getting acquainted with other people's cultural views, work methodology, production visions, and collaborative models are of great value. This value is enhanced by the fact that the cultural heritage field is so wide-ranging.

So, when Trøndelag county initiated an arena and conference for showcasing cultural heritage productions and for lectures and dialogue, this was warmly welcomed in TCS. It was seen both as a continuation of what the Arts Council had offered some years before and as something new and fresh. Also, as Trøndelag county is situated in the middle of the country, people thought it suitable for this new arena. The fact that Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter (the Stiklestad National Culture Centre) was to be the venue enhanced the museum sector's position. Known as where St Olaf was killed in the battle of 1030, this rural historical site has been an area for political activism and debate on national identity for almost 1,000 years. The conference was given the name "Spor – arena for kulturarv i Den kulturelle skolesekken" (Traces – the arena for cultural heritage in TCS). In 2019, the

first year of implementation, there was a high number of attendees from the museum sector; approximately 30% of the 100 attendees came from various museums throughout the country. Representatives from some museums also figured in the programme with lectures and the panel debate, meaning that the conference had thus realised its potential as a meeting place for the museum sector and TCS administrations.

The education sector failed to attend. This is unfortunate, because teachers and headmasters are the ones to apply many of the tasks associated with the productions, together with pupils in the classroom or at heritage sites. They are the ones who can get a sense of the challenges and possibilities and, as such, they have valuable perspectives and ideas that TCS administrators and museum mediators would appreciate. One of the obvious reasons for their not attending is that travel costs in Norway are high, and this kind of expense is not included in the school budget. Moreover, taking a teacher away from her class for a couple of days means that particular group of pupils will need a substitute teacher. This, too, is associated with more expenses. In short, time and money prevent attendance. Another reason must also be mentioned, and it is not a pleasant one. It is the question, from a teacher's perspective, of why they should attend something so remote from the pupils' programme in general? If one were to estimate the time spent on TCS productions during the school year, this would be less than 1%. Therefore, if a teacher cannot see an immediate gain from this arena and conference, she will consider her time better spent in the classroom. Yet another dimension of this argument, making the situation even more difficult, is that if schools are not informed about the event, or if headmasters do not pass on the information to teachers, this results in a typical lack of communication between the education sector and the culture sector.

This lack of attendance is the reason why the organisers at Stiklestad want to enlarge the arena's target groups in the years to come. Teachers and headmasters are obvious target groups and should be included more both in the programme and as participants. Hence, Trøndelag county has expanded the organising group by including a teacher for the 2020 edition. It is also worth mentioning that Akershus county collaborated in the programme in 2019, and Møre and Romsdal county is collaborating in 2020. This is being done to ensure a diversity of perspectives, opinions, and access to various networks, and, ultimately, to improve the quality and professionalism of TCS cultural heritage productions.

RENEWAL AND RETHINKING

This article has so far focused on: the outline of TCS's cultural heritage programme; the collaboration between municipalities, counties, and the various stakeholders and producers of cultural heritage offerings; and the professionalisation of the field. In the following section, I will concentrate on the potential of renewal and new thinking in these areas.

Renewal in a historic perspective

The large local commitment to cultural heritage creates a programme that varies from one municipality to another. Variation is a value of TCS and it should continue. But it is also one of the reasons why some counties do not use their resources on cultural heritage productions in primary schools, as these are offered to such a great extent on the municipal level in any case. In 2019, Akershus county was one of the few counties that had a full-time producer position devoted to cultural heritage only, including production resources, and which had cultural heritage offerings for both primary and secondary education (see Kulturtanken's 2019 survey).

Compared to the TCS's other art and cultural expressions, we see that in the cultural heritage field, there is not as much of a new offering produced at the county level, or at least that this varies among counties. Hence, there is a large degree of reuse of what has already been produced. Reuse itself is not negative. Good productions of high professional quality can be viable for many years, but the field also needs greater resources at the regional level.

The focus on place and site-specific identity and affiliation means that, at the municipal level, one often emphasises local institutions, such as rural areas and museums, in addition to entirely local cultural monuments, hand-craft traditions, and local history. For this reason, reuse across municipal boundaries may seem somewhat more challenging, and also because bussing pupils to these sites comes as an expensive additional element. It is easy to see why administrations choose areas situated at a walking distance.

On the county level, on the other hand, one might argue that the reuse of cultural heritage productions is not as problematic. Several counties make use of productions whose topics have wide geographical relevance, and which are easily distributed from one school to the next. These productions, which are not site-specific, can tour counties throughout the country and act as distribution models for other stakeholders and counties. As such, they are

of national interest. As long as the mediators touring with the productions are available, there is theoretically no distribution limit. The mediators are often freelancers; although museum mediators also tour the schools, they usually do it within a slightly more restricted geographical area, depending on the location of the museum. Interestingly, during the Spor 2019 conference, the organisers put an effort into shedding light on “tourable” productions, and several museum mediators informed the audience about their tour programmes.

In sum, TCS needs both the local municipal level and the county level in order to mirror a wider scope of topics for the pupils. Both levels speak of identity, power, and representativity in cultural heritage, and they both strive to address challenging questions, such as who represents what in cultural heritage, how local and national cultural heritage is linked to the global, and how we find space for the cultural heritage of indigenous people, national minorities, and immigrant groups in the productions of TCS? All these questions are of great relevance and importance to TCS in general, and the fact that the programme offered varies between the municipal and county levels helps to create varied collaboration models between schools, museums, and TCS administrations.

However, the topic of museums touring with their personnel – with only a small selection of their objects and certainly outside of the “authentic” cultural site – is met with mixed feelings among mediators and their museum leaders. On the one hand, it is argued that it is never possible to create the same sort of atmosphere in the classroom as on a cultural heritage site or at the museum, nor can one achieve the learning output that one wants. On the other hand, it is argued that museum mediators must make an effort, meet the pupils in their school environment, and believe that their material, stories, and mediation are sufficient to be relevant to the pupils. Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter, for example, offers several productions, both site-specific and at schools. The same goes for museums such as Aust-Agdermuseene (Aust-Agder county museums), Nord-Troms Museum (Nord-Troms regional museum), and Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms (Museum of Reconstruction (after World War II)) in Hammerfest. Hence, there is a wide range of museums that offer TCS productions that tour. Nevertheless, this is debated and contested.

The “touring” production topic brings us to a related one, namely the use of digital productions. As was the case for the “touring” productions, digital

productions face most of the same counterarguments, especially in respect of the quest for “authenticity” and real – hence true – cultural heritage. This is an extremely interesting topic, which is even more relevant against the backdrop of Covid-19 since March 2020. But before diving into the digital and technological realm, which we will do a bit later in this article, let us first continue on the theme of renewal, this time considering the forthcoming national curriculum renewal.

Curriculum renewal

Cultural heritage is a bridge-builder between arts and culture and the schools. In line with the curriculum renewal and skills of the 21st century, cultural heritage pedagogy will be particularly relevant to focus on in the time to come.

Curriculum renewal (*fagfornyelsen* in Norwegian) in the education system will apply to all school levels, from first grade to A Level. The renewal started in August 2020. It included all subjects and hence is considered to be full of opportunities for The Cultural Schoolbag and its six artistic and cultural expressions. One can argue that curriculum renewal offers great opportunities, particularly for the dissemination of cultural heritage through TCS. Within the social sciences, religious studies and ethics, arts and crafts, Norwegian language, foreign languages, music, and – not least – living cultural heritage (a secondary school elective subject), one can easily link all the cross-cutting themes of public health and life management, democracy and citizenship, and sustainable development – to cultural heritage.

Moreover, skills emphasised in the renewal – such as critical thinking, collaboration, creativity, communication, citizenship, formation, and education – are particularly relevant to TCS in general and cultural heritage productions in particular. The importance of soft skills such as cross-cultural understanding and flexibility underscore this.

The curriculum renewal further addresses topics such as the green shift, climate change, and circularity. Several cultural heritage productions already address these topics, so in the next section of this article I will shed some light on the issue.

SUSTAINABILITY, CLIMATE CHANGE, AND THE ENVIRONMENT AS A NEW AREA OF INTEREST

Sustainability has always been central to the cultural heritage sector, and now more than ever. With pupils raging worldwide against politicians and people with power by conducting Friday strikes throughout 2019, we experienced an awakening generation of teenagers and children. They will simply not put up with people in positions of power continuing to restrain them from taking sufficient action on behalf of the planet and future generations. What must be acknowledged as the climax of this was Greta Thunberg's speech at the UN Climate Action Summit on 23 September 2019. She managed to galvanise children, youth, and politicians. Some cheered, others reacted with loathing. Regardless, she managed to engage world leaders in the matter, which makes her efforts an indisputable success.

As noted above, in recent years we have seen TCS productions that engage with climate and environment topics, such as polluted waters and oceans, the exploitation of gas and oil resources at the expense of green energy, and people becoming refugees as a result of climate change and battles for natural resources. Some of these productions are dystopian, yet they are realistic.

Many NGOs of various types work with these challenges along with national governments. For example, the Norwegian Folk Art and Craft Association (Norges Husflidslag) has now chosen the term “sustainable” as its four-year focus, inspired by the United Nations Agenda 2030 and, more specifically, goal number 12: Responsible Consumption and Production. Many volunteers and cultural heritage organisation members of Kulturvernforbundet (the Norwegian Federation of Cultural Heritage Organisations) have put an enormous amount of time and energy into safeguarding buildings, sites, and intangible heritage, and this is contributing to a more sustainable society. This effort within the NGO sector to focus on climate change and relate it to global organisations such as the United Nations could facilitate and enhance a similar focus among TCS administrators at both the municipal and regional levels. In some areas, the local offering includes workshops teaching pupils a wide range of handicrafts, conservation methods for building construction, and the mastery of traditional food recipes. As one can note, both intangible and material heritage are included.

In May 2020, the Ministry of Climate and Environment published a proposal for White Paper no. 16 (2019-2020), *Nye mål i kulturmiljøpolitikken. Engasjement, bærekraft og mangfold* (New goals in cultural environment

politics. Involvement, sustainability, and diversity). The White Paper was ratified on 16 June 2020. Three new national cultural environment objectives were proposed:

1. Everyone should have the opportunity to get involved and take responsibility for the cultural environment.
2. The cultural environment should contribute to sustainable development through holistic social planning.
3. A diversity of cultural environments must be preserved as a basis for knowledge, experience, and use.

The national cultural environment objectives recognise and emphasise that cultural environments are shared goods and shared responsibilities. Participation and democracy through voluntary efforts, participation, and collaboration are central themes, as is the availability of the cultural environment and cultural environment data in the digital age. Furthermore, the role of the cultural environment is clarified in all three dimensions of sustainable development: environmental sustainability, social sustainability, and economic sustainability. Finally, the objectives highlight the cultural, social, and geographical diversity of different eras. Among other things, it is emphasised that the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples and minorities contributes to shaping what will be the Norwegian cultural heritage of the future, in both its intangible and material expression.¹

Many stakeholders are already addressing the dialogue on sustainable development, climate change, and the circular economy. A particularly coherent and professionally grounded example is the international cooperation programme Adapt Northern Heritage. This project aims to assist local communities in their work to meet major changes in their cultural environment, including museums and various heritage sites. Children and youth are among the target groups. Here, Norway is an active contributor

1 There are five national minorities in Norway: the Jewish people, the Kvens/ Norwegian Finns (people of Finnish descent in Northern Norway), the Forest Finns, the Romani people (Tater), and the Roma (descendants of peoples who emigrated from India from the 6th century AD and onwards). See *Fourth Periodic Report on the Implementation of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Norway*. 2015. Furthermore, to clarify: the Sámi people are the only minority group in Norway with an indigenous status, which ensures further legal rights.

through Riksantikvaren (the Directorate for Cultural Heritage) and Norsk Institutt for Kulturminneforskning (the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research). Knowledge-sharing and the exchange of experience are, and will continue to be, important components of the work on cultural environments in the future.

White Paper no. 16 (2019-2020) includes many of the same overarching themes as the curriculum renewal in the education sector focuses on. As we noted above, these themes are democracy and citizenship, sustainable development and public health, and life management. Therefore, the White Paper is relevant not only for cultural heritage as an expression in the Cultural Schoolbag but also for TCS's other five types of art and cultural expression. One can imagine that local and regional museums, as well as national museums, will look to this White Paper for inspiration and to further deepen their collaboration with the education sector. This collaboration could happen both outside and inside TCS.

However, renewal and rethinking within cultural heritage productions doesn't cover only content and the topics that we address and discuss within TCS. It also includes methodology and dissemination; how the productions are conducted, shown, or performed in front of or with pupils. There is a wide range of variation in this regard, and both the museum sector and other stakeholders make use of this range, which goes from on-site experiences, via crafts workshops, to digital dissemination that is non-site specific and could be a joint experience in the classroom or an individual one at home. Digital cultural heritage is a field of interest: it is both contested and criticised. Again, many feelings are at stake, so this is what the next section will focus on.

THE POTENTIAL OF NEW TECHNOLOGY

The utilisation of new digital technologies offers great potential for the dissemination of cultural heritage. Many museums and other stakeholders have already started exploring and testing different dissemination models. Tactile and practically oriented approaches are just as powerful and relevant as before; what is interesting is finding models that link the tactile to the digital realm. In this way, new technologies can reinforce, elaborate upon, and interact with a tactile experience at the museum or the cultural heritage site. Together with stakeholders in the field, Kulturtanken contributes to

competence transfer, consultation, and network connections. A selection of museum initiatives is listed in a section below.

Until late winter of 2020 when the Covid-19 outbreak became established and the lockdown of society that followed in March 2020, we did not see many fully digital productions. More often than not, museums, various stakeholders, and TCS administrators would argue that the digital should enforce the analogue and tactile experience. Digital productions were looked upon as something the pupils could engage with before or after the analogue meeting at the heritage sites, as a boost to get them interested in what the site had to offer. In essence, this meant a different way of learning and experiencing to the on-site way. At least one mediator would be required for the digital experience to “function”. If the production required the use of a set of VR glasses, a mediator would tour with the set, or at least be in the classroom to guide the pupils. This was all to ensure a successful experience that would consist of both worlds: the real one and the virtual one. A little bit of live storytelling or performance and a look through the VR glasses, so to speak – with at least one live human being in front of you.

What is now in the making among museums and TCS administrators alike is a certain acceptance of the potential of digital tools. There has been a slight turn towards addressing the following question: what if cultural heritage productions in the school were soon to be all-digital, and what if the Covid-19 situation were to force us to take this into account for several months or maybe years to come? How can we prepare ourselves and the cultural heritage field as such?

Trøndelag county is the first county to take a step towards this method of production and dissemination within TCS. In May 2020, it launched a limited call for production proposals for new digital ideas. To be considered, the productions must be of high technical and content quality. Stakeholders without technical competence must associate with partners which have such competence. In the selection, emphasis is also given to relevance for students. What is the most interesting in this step is that Trøndelag has underscored that what it seeks are fresh ideas, something that can be produced with home-schooling or Covid-19 restrictions as a backdrop. All six expressions of TCS will be considered, and from all sorts of stakeholders, especially institutions, such as museums. Trøndelag county has a number of different museums within its territory, although this call for proposals is not geographically limited.

Several individual museums, counties, and stakeholders have started and to some extent completed dissemination of digital cultural heritage within TCS. A selection of these follow:

Lásságámmi – the artist residence of multi-artist Nils-Aslak

Valkeäppää: this project involving the Lásságámmi Foundation, the Arctic University Museum of Norway, and Kulturtanken investigates how digital technology can be used to convey the strong connection between place and art in Valkeäppää's artistry. The aim is to use digital technology to take pupils on a virtual TCS experience by way of a 360-degree camera to document the place, and by way of virtual reality (VR) to provide an immersive physical experience in the classroom. At the same time, the digital dissemination programme will also be made available via a web browser.

Grinimuseet – Grini Prison Camp:

Grini was the largest German prison camp in Norway during World War II, when nearly 20,000 prisoners were held there. Today, there are few physical remains of the original camp buildings, barracks, and assembly place. To meet the need to tell the Grini prisoners' stories, facilitate discussions and debate with the audience, and disseminate this part of our cultural heritage to children and youth in an immersive way, the museum has started an immersive digital interactive-narration project. The goal is to have pupils engage with the characters in the digital VR experience by playing a role in the narrative (a simulation of the ethical dilemmas encountered by a prisoner in a prison camp), while relating to the other participants and making difficult choices related to the experience. In a physical after-session, the participants reflect on the consequences that their choices led to in the narrative. How did one prisoner's choice affect the other prisoners is one of many questions.

Ein bit av historia – A Slice of History:

Møre and Romsdal county has initiated a digital dissemination project with three heritage sites in different areas of the county's archipelago. All sites relate to the St Olaf pilgrimage route, but two are difficult for the public to access. To explore opportunities for the digital dissemination of these islands' history, the county is working with Kulturtanken and Tidvis,

a company that explores and develops new ways to disseminate the past.

In the project to date, Tidvis has recreated two boathouses from the Viking period (approx. 900 AD) and their surroundings and has reconstructed and photogrammatised four ships from the Viking period. The recreations have been carried out in close collaboration with archaeologists, and the ships come from the collection of Sunnmøre Museum. The digital experience has been created by using 3D graphics and computer game technology (Unity). Work is also underway to put a volumetrically photogrammatised actor in Viking dress into the digital experience.

The project is to be part of the TCS cultural heritage programme, in which pupils can experience and have a near physically immersive feel of the Norse and early Christian past. A website with background information, as well as an education package for schools, is included.

These examples show once again the variety in the scope and range of the cultural heritage sector, including digital dissemination. An exciting development is that the Ministry of Culture is writing a White Paper on the museum sector, due to be official by the end of 2020 or beginning of 2021, the goal of which is to facilitate further appropriate policy design for museums and the professional and future-oriented development of the museum sector in Norway. Two points of particular interest regarding the digital and technological areas relate to:

- making our national cultural heritage more accessible by strengthening the research and dissemination expertise of museums, and
- encouraging digitalisation of the archive sector and dissemination in museums.

One can assume that the national authorities' demands and requirements of the museum sector will be intensified in these areas. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that a positive outcome of this will be that museums will contribute to a greater extent to the programme development of digital dissemination of TCS cultural heritage, together with other stakeholders, counties, and municipalities.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON RENEWAL AND TECHNOLOGY, AND LOOKING AHEAD

Until now, this article has focused on the general impact of cultural heritage on TCS by shedding light on particular collaboration models and perspectives and the professionalisation of the field, as well as various forms of renewal. In this section, I will consider the further work that Kulturtanken recommends to emphasise the quality of cultural heritage in TCS.

The survey conducted by Kulturtanken in 2019 shows that at the municipal level TCS is not subject to formal quality assessment beyond what is done internally in the municipality. Kulturtanken's review of the municipalities' cultural heritage offerings, as well as of feedback from the counties, indicates that there is great variation in the quality of cultural heritage offerings and that it is uncertain to what extent the dissemination of cultural heritage, as it is practised today, contributes to meeting the goals of The Cultural Schoolbag programme (see White Paper No. 8 (2007-2008)). However, it emphasises that the cultural heritage offer seems to contribute to the goal of local anchoring and ownership. On this basis Kulturtanken believes there is a need to consider whether:

- the municipalities' work on disseminating cultural heritage can be strengthened through increased cooperation and coordination within the municipality and/or through inter-municipal cooperation, and
- the counties can assume greater responsibility from the municipality for disseminating cultural heritage where this is appropriate and desirable.

Therefore, to broaden the scope and to support the idea that TCS is a national, holistic project that has a democratising effect on society, Kulturtanken thinks that it necessary to assess the following:

- whether relevant museums can be granted an extended mandate to assist external stakeholders, schools, other municipal units, and employees in the municipality that are working with art and cultural dissemination within TCS in the improvement of skills and competencies,
- digital and online professional resources for disseminating cultural heritage within TCS (Kulturtanken could announce funds

in connection with cooperation on certain themes following our mandate on, for example, digital dissemination and new dissemination methods),

- the extension of grant programmes for the production and dissemination of cultural heritage through the Arts Council (Kulturrådet), and
- whether it is possible to ask the counties to produce to a greater extent new cultural heritage offerings that may be suitable for reuse across county lines

Knowledge acquisition and testing new technologies in connection with disseminating cultural heritage are economically costly and require cutting-edge expertise. Many stakeholders do not have this in their own business, so the sector needs some big stakeholders to take the lead, with the smaller ones contributing where they can. Pinpointing certain collaborative models, in addition to the transfer of skills and competencies, will be of relevance here.

Meeting places and venues for production shows and discussion forums, both formal and informal, are still needed. In view of all the highly diverse sectors and occupational groups in the cultural heritage sector, there appears to be a need to meet both physically and virtually.

Internships and apprenticeships are also important for maintaining competency and manual skills in the crafts. Thus, apprenticeships within the cultural heritage sector must be considered within the context of curriculum renewal in the education system. To exemplify such internships/apprenticeships and learning arenas, I will draw attention to four schools and other places which have various programmes for young people who want to explore new knowledge within the field of cultural heritage. Some of these places even offer post-graduate courses for people who want to specialise.

Hjerleid skole- og handverkssenter (Hjerleid School and Craft Centre) in Innlandet county is the oldest school for traditional learning. Pupils attend courses which follow the national curriculum for the high school education system. Some students may choose to deepen their knowledge further at Håndverksinstituttet (the Norwegian Crafts Institute Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage) in Lillehammer, in Innlandet county, which offers further training projects and craft scholarships.

However, one can also choose a training programme at a museum, and Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter (SNK) is one of a selected group of muse-

ums that offer this. SNK collaborates with the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (the NTNU), where students attend craft courses on the SNK heritage site to earn their bachelor's degree. Among other tasks, students have assisted in constructing a traditional guest house in the outdoor museum. In addition, SNK collaborates with Falstadsenteret in the Arts Council project Democracy and Adult Education – an expanded learning arena, the aim of which is to use cultural heritage and storytelling as a way into learning about democracy.

Buskerud bygningsvernssenter (Buskerud Heritage Conservation Centre) near Kongsberg in Viken county offers a similar programme as part of the NTNU training programme. In addition, it has a one-day traditional training offer for pupils who are studying to become modern carpenters: an introduction to traditional craftsmanship. This is connected to The Cultural Schoolbag in the county. What completes the circle is that NTNU has chosen sustainability as one of its four priority areas.

I would now like to come back to the term “coherence” as this concerns the TCS cultural heritage programme, and as it pertains to both systemic cohesion and content cohesion. In my opinion, we face a challenge in creating a coherent overview of the cultural heritage sector. The challenge consists of putting all the pieces of information or goals together, joining the ones from the education sector with the ones from the cultural sector, and adding on the ones from the museum sector and the tech sector. To make it all the more fun, it is also necessary to add a selection of municipal and regional goals. You cannot expect one single person to have such an overview, nor can one administration, institution, or NGO have such an overview. The knowledge, information, and goals are all spread out among us; there is no national agency which is in a position to sign the equivalent of royal decrees on how to get around this. Nor, of course, is this at all desirable. Still, what can be done?

We need to talk, discuss, agree and disagree, and show and tell. In short: share, while being generous with each other in this multi-faceted field. And we must talk about quality. Or rather, qualities in the plural. Quality comes in various contexts. You have the obvious artistic quality within the arts field: does the performer have adequate artistic skills? Then you have quality in the pedagogical sense: how the production is mediated by the mediator. Another interesting category of quality is content quality: is the production relevant at all to today's pupils? There is yet another quality: participatory

quality. One goal of TCS is that pupils should not be passive recipients of a production who applaud at the end and go back to the classroom. The quality of engaging the audience is thus an important one.

When we consider all the topics debated in this article, I think it is clear that we have to meet, continue the dialogue, write, create new productions, and challenge ourselves and our convictions – all while staying in touch with children and youth.

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- Kulturarv og museenes rolle i DKS 2018. Survey 2019 by Kulturtanken, on cultural heritage and the role of the museums in TCS.*
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- St.meld nr 8 (2007-2008) *Kulturell skulesekk for framtida*, Kultur- og kyrkjedepartementet.
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- Fourth Periodic Report on the Implementation of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Norway.* Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2015.

Links

Agencies/national projects

The Cultural Schoolbag: www.denkulturelleskolesekken.no
 Kulturtanken: www.kulturtanken.no
 Riksantikvaren/Directorate for Cultural Heritage: www.ra.no
 Norsk Institutt for kulturminneforskning/ Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research: www.niku.no
 Møre og Romsdals verdiskapingsprogram, spesielt Ein bit av historia (A Slice of History, Møre and Romsdal county): <https://mrfylke.no/om-oss/prosjekta-vaare/utviklingsprosjekt/ein-bit-av-historia>
<https://tidvis.no/bitavhistoria/veoya.html>

Museums and learning centres

Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter (Stiklestad National Culture Centre): www.stiklestad.no

Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter as a learning and practice arena within the education system: <https://tradisjonshandverk.com/laeringsarena/stiklestad/>

Hjerleid skole og handverkssenter (Hjerleid School and Craft Centre): <https://www.hjerleid.no/english>

Buskerud bygningsvernssenter (Buskerud Heritage Conservation Centre): <http://www.bfk.no/Buskerud-bygningsvernssenter/>

Grini Museum: <https://mia.no/grinimuseet/english>

Lásságámmi, kunstnerboligen til Nils-Aslak Valkeäppää (Nils-Aslak Valkeäppää's artist residence Lásságámmi): <https://www.lassagammi.no/>

Explore the virtual universe at the artist residence: <https://www.thinglink.com/mediacard/1220014647105552389>

An article which was written by Charlotte B. Myrvold and Bente Aster about the artist residence Lásságámmi, TCS, Sámi questions and digital dissemination: <https://www.kulturtanken.no/tankebloggen/2019/11/7/en-virtuell-reise-i-valkeapaas-verden?rq=Lassagammi>

International projects and events:

Adapt Northern Heritage: <http://adaptnorthernheritage.interreg-npa.eu/>

UN Climate Action Summit, 23 September 2019, with the Greta Thunberg's attendance and speech: <https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/youth-summit.shtml>

THE CHALLENGES OF DIGITISATION IN MUSEUM VISITS AND LEARNING EXPERIENCES

HENRIK ZIPSANE

The Covid-19 pandemic in Spring 2020, stroke museums equally hard as other organisations and institutions that traditionally require an analogue visit to experience the offers.

Museums all over the world have been mainly closed for several months now. Besides the problems and challenges with employment and financing that comes from that, museums are also estranged when not meeting the public. After all, it is for the people that museums exist. Together with colleagues at the University of Padua and the University of Glasgow, the European Museum Academy has been monitoring how museums are responding to the Covid-19 situation by using digital means. We have been especially interested in developments that may point to exciting museum features in the future.

First of all, in principle, all museums are now more active than ever on

the web and all kinds of social media. The current pandemic has created a boom in the development of museums use of digital means to reach their public. The increase is significant in its size, and it may honestly be claimed that the Covid-19 pandemic has done more for museums and their digital development than many of the programmes and projects occurring in the last two previous decades. Most digital museums initiatives now are basically about making their collections easy available on their websites, and that can, of course, be done in many ways. What strikes me the most is the initiatives, which take stock of the demand for interactivity and participatory governance that are as important as ever for the museums to stay relevant for the people at large and not only a limited elite.

A very inspiring example of a digital outreach initiative in a classical atmosphere of a museum has been taken by the director of Design Museum Denmark in Copenhagen, Anne-Louise Sommer, in visiting the museums' archive and showing some drawings and watercolour paintings by Finn Juhl. The visit was recorded and is now available on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oRSztH_n-sY). The director talks about a part of the collections and does that very well. The museum has produced several similar guided digital tours concerning specific items in the collections, where specialists tell stories and re-create the context that is so typical for the good classical museum experience. It is simply fabulous! I guess other museum freaks like me will love it too. But for the public, this is an offer like the offers on the tv-channels where you see what you want to see when you want to see it. You have no influence on the content, you are not a part of the production, and you may be left with questions unanswered as compared to a guided tour in the analogue surroundings.

As a direct opposite digital offer is the 360 degrees museum experience at Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam produced by Q42 (<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/from-home>), where the digital visitor can interact by moving around in the galleries and look through the eyes of a robot (camera). Here you can look at paintings at your own pace and spent more time in one gallery than another as you choose. With this solution, the visitor is in charge of the experience, and this may be more exciting for the visitor who is already passionate about the museums' experience. However, the visitor is left alone with no guidance or only the passive form of guidance in texts.

In the good old days before the Covid-19 pandemic when museums had many real visitors of flesh and blood, in general, the most popular museums

attracting a broad public regarding gender, age, cultural, educational, and social background provided interactivity. That was most often interactivity as screens or other digital means in the exhibition could come alive with a press on a button, and the visitor could scroll and search or the like. Maybe a question here and there provided a situation for the visitor to be addressed by the exhibition that in turn could provide an inclusive dimension. In other museums, real people – maybe even in costumes – met the visitors and living history has been growing as a method in museums throughout the world and not least in the popular open-air museums and archaeological parks. Is it possible to offer this kind of interactivity in a digital museum visit?

Mostly we have so far seen a quantitative explosion in museums use of digital outreach. Still, during the Covid-19 pandemic, there has been developed a few exciting ways to include the public. An interesting example is the Museum of Childhood Ireland initiative where they invite children to produce and deliver illustrations based on a theme which changes every week and then presented in a digital exhibition on the website of the museum (<http://museumofchildhood.ie/project2020/>). In this way, the visitors are co-producers of the exhibition, and most probably the children are as proud as their parents. It is also crucial that when inviting the public to contribute, need not be restricted to children - all ages can contribute to the collaborative efforts of the museum visit.

Another exciting example moves further towards bringing the best of an analogue museum experience into digital means. At Randers Regnshov (Randers Rain Forest) in Denmark, they have offered biology lessons through Facebook (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w9SQmccKxd0>) to all school classes, and it has been a great success, where school classes from the whole country have been participating. On the best days, the lesson is combined with the use of for example text messages that during the lesson is sent by the pupils or their teacher to the museum lecturer who can then answer in real-time and in the same way, the museum lecturer can ask for reactions in real-time. This gives the museum visit features that are otherwise left out in the digital efforts. It is live; it is interactive, and it provides for the opportunity to have direct contact between the museum and the visitor. This effort is clearly a breakthrough in the use of digital means, and it will be interesting to see how this can be further developed and the method as such finding grounds elsewhere. This way of providing digital educational offers would not have to be exclusively targeted the formal education system.

There is no reason why a group-visit within the framing of informal learning towards adults cannot be executed in the same way, or the museum offering non-formal lessons for integrational purposes to immigrants in providing exciting digitalised experiences.

DIGITAL HEAVEN AND HELL?

The above examples all have their pros and cons depending on the perspective. In order to get a better understanding of the digital challenges, it is reasonable to discuss some of the positive and critical points. There is the perspective we could call the blessing of digital collections as *opium for the People*. What is meant by this is the tendency to see digitalisation as the answer to everything - mostly access, but in that sense that forget that the digital mass production does not in itself create the needed contextualised access and indeed not for everybody. The digital revolution has now a few decades of history in its own right, and there are indeed many fascinating developments coming from the combination of digitalisation and the internet. You can sit at home or anywhere in the world where you have internet access and with a few clicks, see digitalised traces of the past. That is fascinating and great to experience that the fascination of people who remember analogue access is not really shared by younger people. For them, digital access is self-evident.

In light of the most significant challenges in our time, digital access is undoubtedly a winner. Digital access means no physical transport of collections or people. That is, of course, good for the climate. That is even good for the collections, and it makes access possible beyond local, regional or national borders. It provides access for all, and this image of development is naturally taken to the hearts in politics and business. We may indeed ask how this can be anything but positive? In political circles, it is difficult to question the positive effects of digitalisation because of a dominant tendency in politics to discuss these matters as if the challenge is only regarding the users. Again, and again it is said that ICT must go hand in hand with digital skills which are not evenly acquired by all ages and social groups (Pasikowska-Schnass, June 2020). This is no doubt the case, but focus on the user side is so dominant that discussions regarding the development on the supplier side are lacking.

It is indeed positive that access is provided, but access to information with-

out any guidance is not a learning provision in itself. When the museum adds a layer of guidance, the information becomes something else, and access is made accessible. The meeting with information becomes a learning experience in a broad sense. The layer of guidance and facilitation is key to what defines the potential of the learning experience. The above examples of three-dimensional robot digital visits and short films with expert guidance are ways to provide a facilitating layer to collections. The third example with real-time performance and possible interaction stands out from the others. It is that difference that makes it exceptionally popular and the primary difference is the provided feeling for the learner to be at the centre of attention of a real person and not any other person, but an expert.

That element is crucial to the success of the museum learning situation and has roots far back. In Denmark, the first director of the royal antiquity collections was the archaeologist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788-1865) is not only famous for introducing the three-age system of stone, bronze and iron-based on the material of archaeological findings. He is also known as the father of museum education in the country. That great title is founded on his way in person to meet visitors to his museum and showing around, explaining what the visitors saw and answering questions from all **and** is told that he made no difference on high or low, young or old. He understood that what he was showing needed to be explained (Adriansen & Hyllested, 2011 and Boritz 2012). Mr Jürgensen Thomsen was doing that already in the 1830s. The important lesson from Jürgensen Thomsen – who was not a trained teacher by any means – is that the visitor – the learner – became almost spellbound by the engagement based on knowledge of the curator – the museum educator. The engagement was combined with an openness to listen to and react to all questions and comments. This is the expert dedicating his time to you as an individual, and the impact becomes even more significant when the learners are children. We can imagine the same dynamics when reading about schoolteachers who are today regarded and rewarded as the best teacher of the year in this or that in whatever country. The words used by the nominating bodies are always the same: It is about the teacher's ability to communicate, to show empathy and to relate. In the best situations in the museum visit, this is what constitutes successful learning experiences in analogue circumstances. The same goes for a virtual visit to the museum, and this may well explain something about why real-time offers and possible interference is generous.

This might possibly be the key to understand why the example above with a live-streamed experience combined with dialogue is a success. It raises, however, essential questions. As Jordi Baltà Portolés has said recently, we have to ask whether museums are ready for such a methodological and organisational challenge in their use of technology? (Balta Portoles, 2019). Another question is about the learning limitations in providing a digital learning method because what is missing in the provision of digital learning experiences that is of importance to the learning quality and impact?

ARE WE READY? WHERE ARE THE CHALLENGES?

There are several challenges for museums in offering digital live-streamed experiences with dialogue options. Technical difficulties and even financial problems may be possible to overcome, but other challenges may be trickier to master.

One such challenge is the traditional thinking in many museums. Museums want to provide the best and may very well consider digital live offers as just a second-best substitute for the analogue experience. It may also have to do with the traditional way to think about a museum education program. Items from collections are most often the central tool in much museum education, and the authenticity is used to create the seriousness of the learning situation. This aspect is difficult for the museum to uphold as the experience for the learner is based on a two-dimensional image.

The problem that museums meet here is the traditional empirical perspective on collections as the basis of knowledge and therefore, the starting point of museum education activities. If museums instead could allow themselves to use the wanted learning outcome as the perspective around which they organise the learning experience, it would be a different story (Bamford & Wimmer, 2012 & Cultural Learning Alliance, 2011).

Even current museum thinkers consider that the uniqueness and the authenticity may be experienced by the museum *netizens* – the digital visitor – by adopting transmedia thinking at the conceptual stage, rather than as an adjunct or complementary addition to a bigger project (Debono, 2020). The idea is that using a variety of multiple ways of communication through the internet, phone, radio, etc. it should be possible to shape and provide a unique experience. On the other hand, based on experience from, for example, visitors' feedback in open-air museums it can be strongly argued

that cultural experience is if not solely then at least amplified when done together with others. Culture becomes social. At the same time, the experience can be lively and sensual as the visitors together share and interact so that the total visitor experience is in fact, only to some degree controlled by the museum (Bloch Ravn, 2020).

Well! The possibilities and limitations are many in what can and cannot be offered through digital means. If we revisit the different approaches presented at the beginning of this article, we may structure them the following way:

With digital access to collections and information about the individual items where the tour and depth are in the hands of the digital visitor – for example through a robot camera – we have a ***collection driven encyclopaedic*** approach. The museum can provide considerable opportunities for knowledge and glimpses. A key feature is that it is visitor controlled (even though never governed) when it is best.

The pre-made movie where the expert at the museum tells one or more stories can naturally be multiplied, and the museum can offer numerous such in-depth searching and exploring stories. The ***collection driven story telling*** approach primarily keep the control of the stories told in the hands of the museum, but when it is best, it can be of high artistic and scholarly quality.

Providing live experiences with interactive dialogue opportunity is the third way. The visitor meets the museum staff in the museum here and now for an experience on the pre-advertised and pre-defined topic. The successful museum staff use the museum around her as much as possible – being it collections, colleagues, scenography, buildings, or something else. This, together with interaction with the visitors, shapes the uniqueness. ***The interactive live driven experience*** approach provides the advantage of imagined shared visitor and museum governance and the risk of less control of the situation for the staff.

The three different approaches have different pros and cons. The interactive live driven experience does, however, provide qualities which tends to make it attractive beyond comparison. The approach makes real live experiences realistic and accessible within the time zone. The museum goes from local or regional outreach to a much bigger area. It is, therefore, natural to ask why this approach is not spreading among museums quite the same way as the other two have been during the period of the pandemic. The approach is demanding for the museum and maybe in a way which goes somewhat further than the other two. To use the approach, a museum will need the

technical competences, and a successful meeting demands two or more staff participating to just manage the setup. How can such an offer be financed?

The answer to that is at least also an issue about the chosen attitude in the situation. During the pandemic, it has been reported that Netflix, HBO and other streaming providers have sold better than ever. If the individual museum is as good as we who loves museums believe, then it should be possible for a museum to provide an interactive live driven experience which digital visitors will pay for. Most experimental approaches to digital provision include the use of crowdsourcing and open challenges, as well as the creation of living labs, to find novel solutions to pressing challenges and promote co-creation (OECD digital innovation, 2019).

Getting started and producing the basic experience may be possible for the museums to finance through original funding. Museums are usually quite innovative when it is about financing. The interactive live driven experience may very well be further developed. One way to go might be using online platforms and providing access to the material there as a supplement for self-studies when there are needs to go deeper. Here the museums naturally need to be careful and aware that using online platforms raises issues of safety and security that are especially sensitive when children are involved. As materials are created and exchanged, the issue of authorship and ownership of intellectual property rights can become contentious, especially when higher education institutions are involved (Chircop, June 2020).

From that follows probably that for museums it will be better to keep the interactive live driven experiences simple and basically use ingredients in the offer which comes naturally to the museum staff, i. e. the narrative and visualisation shaped authenticity based on knowledge. The level of digital use still varies considerably internationally. As an example, only around half the students in countries such as Poland and Japan in 2015 reportedly used desktop computers, laptop, or tablet in their studies even though they had access. In countries like the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the same percentage was close to 100 (OECD skills outlook, 2019). This has to be weighed against the potential for the museum to offer interactive live experiences far beyond the normal physical limitations. The practical limitations of the potential will most probably be the time zone and the language.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF MUSEUMS AND EDUCATION IN THE NORTH meets the contemporary political agenda on Lifelong Learning and the implementation of the 21st Century Skills Framework and emphasise a neo-liberalisation of cultural and educational politics in the Nordic countries. The Nordic foundation on democracy establishes a fundamental backdrop for a necessary recalling of cultural and educational purposes as the Nordic dimension begins to dissolve due to the exchange of transnational and more isomorphic co-productive arrangements.

In Finland, they have reformed their educational system with an emphasis on *content* rather than *outcomes* and the essential distinction between “matter and meaning” has been revitalised as it used to dominate educational and cultural settings in the Nordic countries. The shift towards outcomes in Scandinavia establishes both (old) barriers to and (new) possibilities for collaboration between **Museums and Education in the North**.

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