

Changing Conceptions of Citizenship in the Competition State

Søren Christensen & Jens Erik Kristensen
Department of Education (DPU)
Aarhus University

Conference:
Education, Citizenship, and Democratic
Personhood
23-24. April 2012

Social cohesion



'Sammenhængskraft'



Force of cohesion/cohesive power



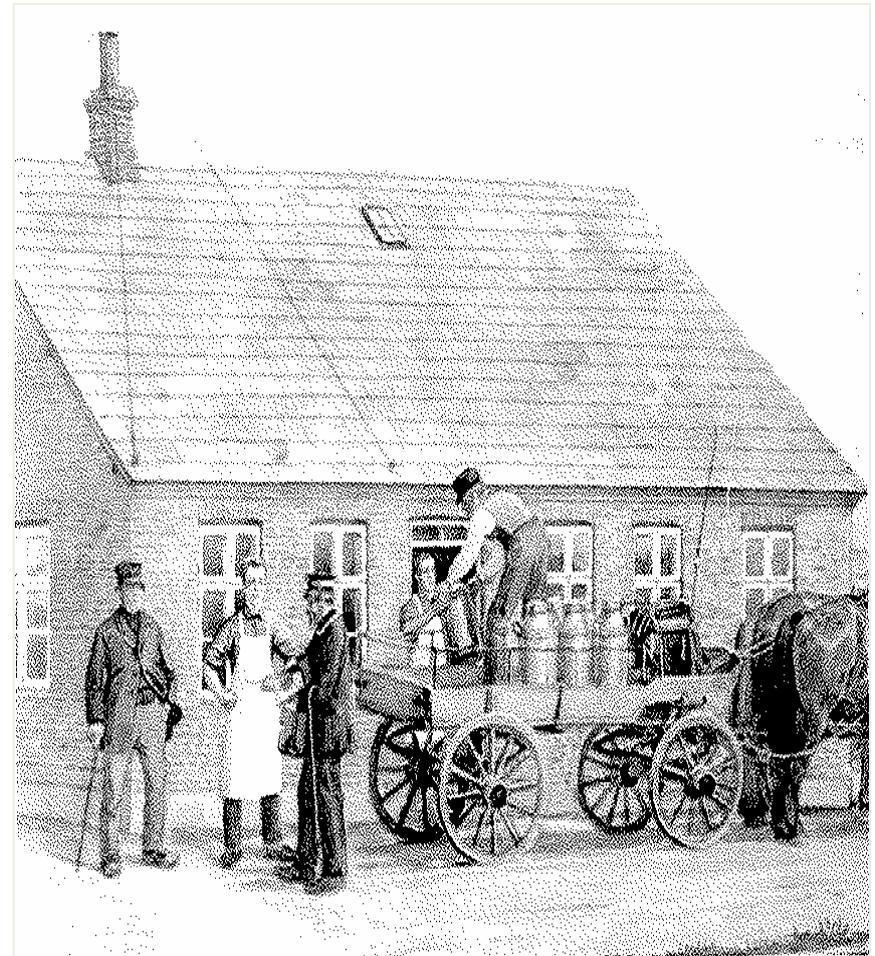
Kilde: Danmark og globaliseringen, Globaliseringsrådet 2005.

Grundtvigianism after 1864

- The loss of Schleswig and Holstein in 1864 discredited the political elite – the national liberals – with the resulting political vacuum being in part filled by movements associated with Grundtvigianism.
- The key institution: People's High School
- From 1865 to 1872 about 50 People's High Schools were established

The peasant and co-operative movement

- Because of the first step toward globalisation crisis in 1870's
- Shift from grain to livestock production
- Dairies and slaughterhouses were established as co-operative companies



The first co-operative dairy 1882

The labour movement

- The Danish Social Democratic Party 1871 (the labour party)
- The first trade union was formed 1871
- A main agreement between the federation of trade unions and the national employers' federation 1899



Denmark for the People

- The Social Democrats came to power 1924-26 and again from 1929-
- 'Kanslergade' settlement 1933 – an agreement between the peasants' party and the workers' party
- “Denmark for the People” 1934
- *Demos* and *pléthos*



The Danish model of cultural competitiveness

Danish innovation

'Flexicurity'

Flexibility

Security

Trust

Common cultural values

Background project:

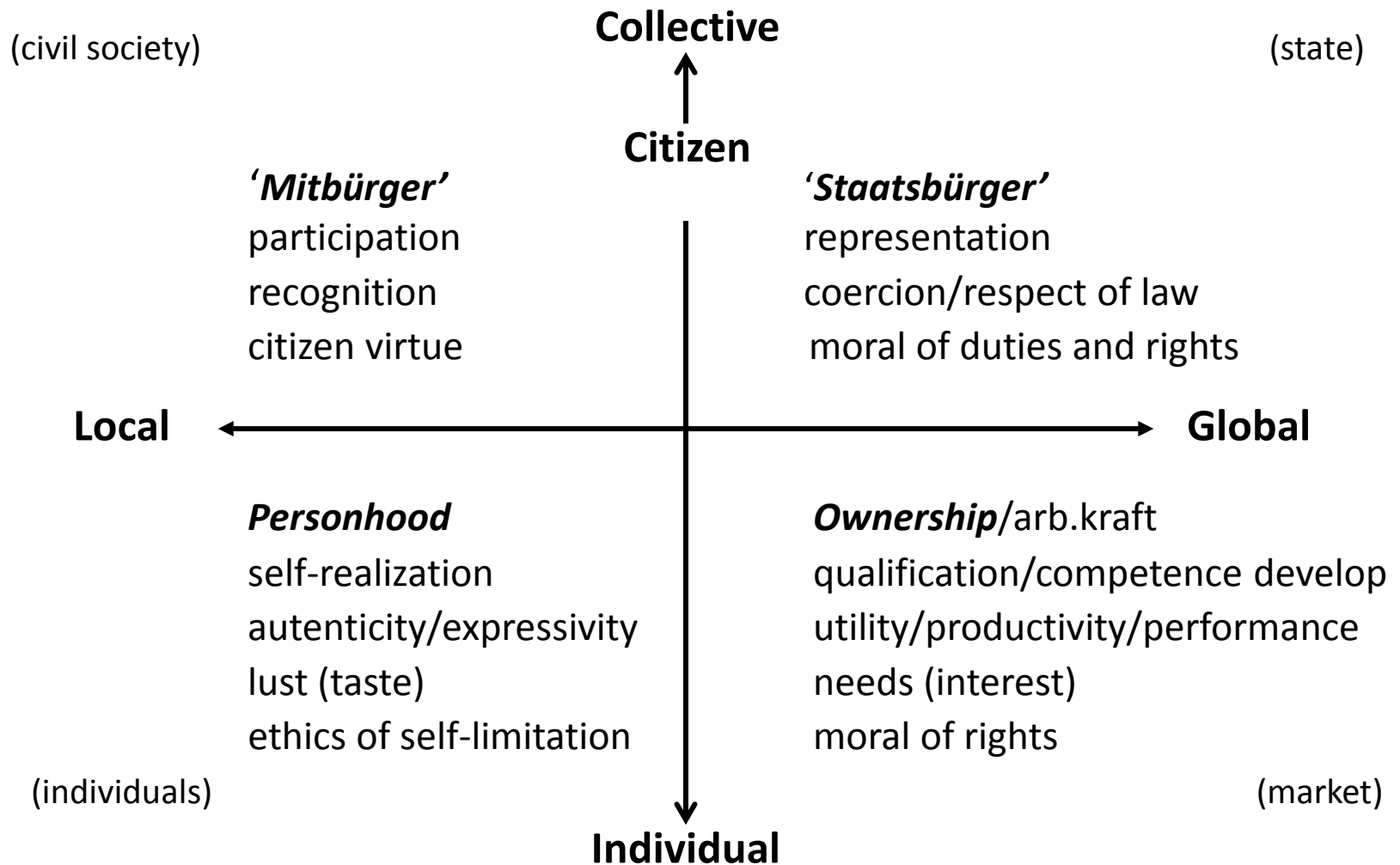
Political education in the era of globalization

1. Globalization has (re-)circulated a range of conflicting concepts of citizenship related to different concepts of democracy og *political education (dannelse)*:
 - The cosmopolitan world-citizen
 - The regional european union-citizen
 - The national citizen (statsborger)
 - The local community citizen (medborger)
 - The individualized 'user-/customer-citizen
 - The national employee (and consumer) citizen

2. Concepts of citizenship and of 'people' and 'population' have always been related to the *state* expressing the sense of belonging and participation in a political society/community

3. Thus important to look for changes in the states and the political communities in the wake of globalization which has turned conceptions of the citizen and of *political education* into an ambiguous and open question...

Modern configurations of citizenship (in the danish context)



Transformations of citizenship (1970-2010)

- I. From the 'passiv citizen' to 'active citizenship' (1970-2000) – due to welfare state crisis and transformations and the rediscovery of 'civil society' as a field of participation
- II. From the national citizenship to union citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship (1990-2000)
 - postnational democratic citizenships (EU and globalization)
- III. From the national democratic citizenship to the 'employee-citizens' in the national competition state (2000 ff): - re-nationalization and economic-cultural mobilization of citizens as 'soldiers of the competition state'

The configurative self description of the national competition state

(civil society)

(state)

Collective

'Sammenhængskraft'
Force of cohesion
and social inclusion

'Sammenligningskraft'
Force of comparison
and rankings



Localization ←
(heterogenization)

Glo-calisation

→ **Globalization**
(homogenization)

'Skaberkraft'
Force of creativity
and innovation

'Konkurrencekraft'
Force of competition
(competitiveness)

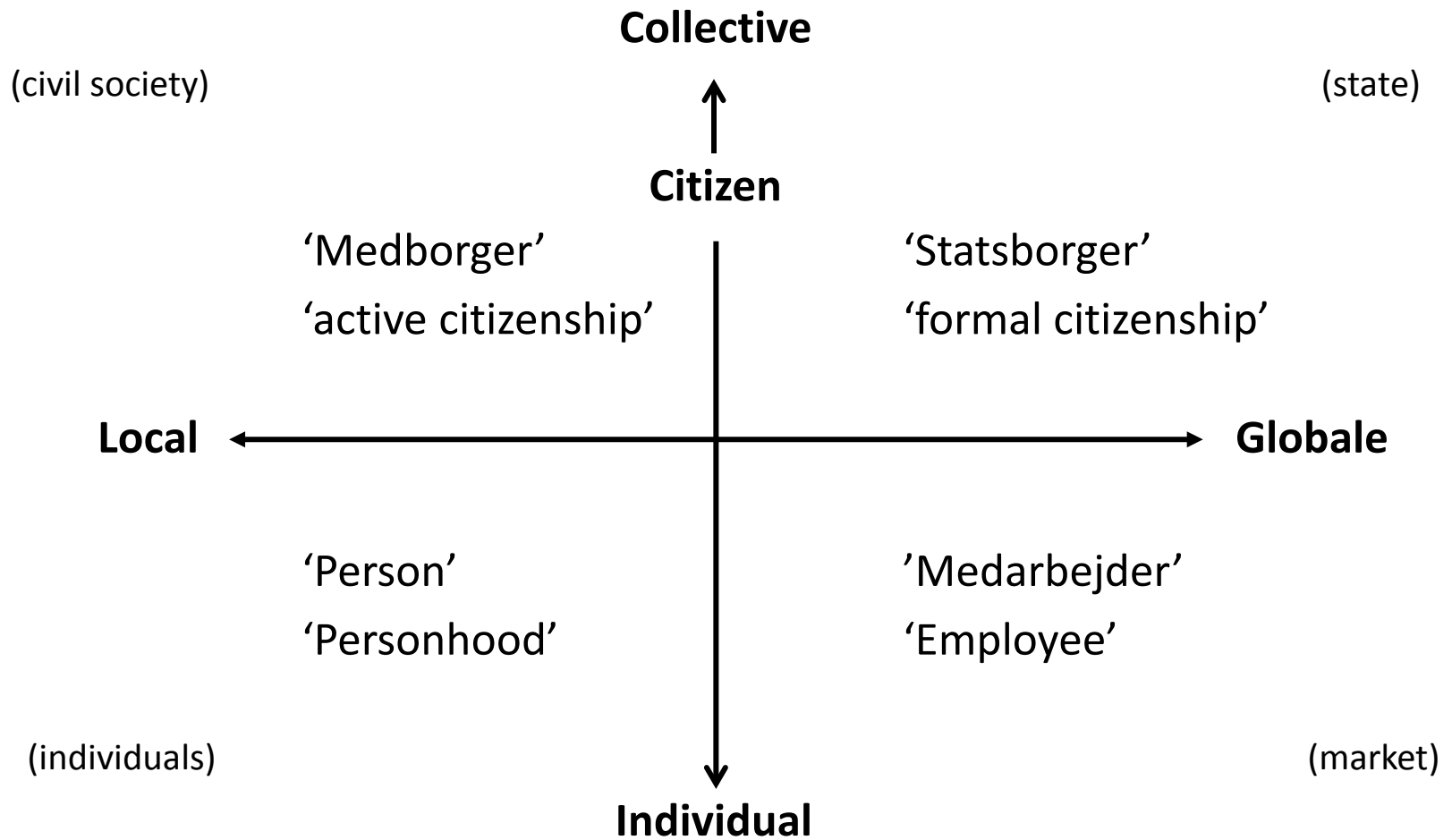


(individuals)

Individual

(market)

Recent differentiations in the role of national citizens



Konkurrencestatens kobling af *konkurrencekraft* og *sammenhængskraft* fordobler forestillingen om statsborgeren og knytter den forpligtende til

- den 'aktive medborger,' der skal aflaste velfærdsstatens ydelser og indsatser
- den nationalt aktiverede 'medarbejder-borger', der gennem uddannelse (= livslang kompetenceudvikling gennem læring) skal udvikle sine menneskelige ressourcer og holde sig fit for arbejdsmarkedet ('konkurrencestatens soldater')

Sammenhængskraft, inklusion og medborgerskab knyttes til arbejde og arbejdsmarkedet – og omvendt indlejres den nationale medarbejder-borger i konkurrencestatens nationale 'virksomhedskultur'. (jf. 'kulturaliseringen af konkurrencekraften' - Søren)

Skærpet konkurrence

Risiko for større skel



**GLOBALISERINGENS
UDFORDRINGER**



DET DANSKE SVAR

Et rigt og helt samfund

Konkurrencekraft

Sammenhængskraft

I. Fra 'statsborger' til 'medborger' (1970-2000)

- Borger- og græsrodsbevægelser, 'medborgerhuse m.v. og betoningen af det basis-demokratisk – den demokratisk deltagende medborger
- Velfærdsstatens krise og transformation til 'velfærdssamfund' med 'genopdagelsen af det civile samfund': fra 'passiv statsborger' (klient) til 'aktiv medborger' (der søges legeret med 'brugeren' i brugerbestyrelse)
- Individualiseringen (som frisættelse for forud givne traditioner, normer, roller m.v.): 'medborgeren' som den pædagogisk-politiske modvægt mod den 'stigende individualisme' (ekspressivistiske og utilitaristiske).
- Inklusion/eksklusion og sammenhængskraft i lyset af marginalisering, indvandring og øget etnisk, kulturel og religiøs diversitet: den 'integrationspolitiske medborger' som vaccination mod 'modborgeren'...

(OKP-tesen)
(civilsamfund)

(stat)

Kollektive



'Den demokratiske borger'

Sammenhængskraft

Sammenligningskraft

'medborgeren'

'statsborger'

nat. virksomhedskultur

'koncernledelsen'

Lokalisering
(heterogenisering)



Glo-kalisering



Globalisering
(homogenisering)

Skaberkraft

Konkurrencekraft

'bruger/kunde'

'medarbejderen'

motivation/incitament

'arbejdsressource'

'Det opportunistiske individ'



Individuelle

(individ)

(marked)