

The societal potential of culture - visible in both policy and practice?

A study of the European Union's
cultural policy and the museum
institution's societal and democratic
ambitions

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Summary

The European Union's cultural policy has not received much attention by scholars and has remained relatively anonymous also to the public. It is not perceived as crucial to European integration, and its contribution to the economy and other societal areas has not been acknowledged by policy-makers. On a local level, however, there is a trend among many European cultural heritage institutions to assume a social role, and perform actions that affects the community in a positive way, even outside the cultural sphere. The museum, for instance, is using its resources and framework to become a societal actor.

The potential of culture is now starting to gain recognition in the European Union policy. An ideal within the union is lifelong learning, where learning happens not only through formal education but also on other societal arenas and through the whole life, in non-formal and informal ways. Lifelong learning is perceived necessary to create active citizenship, which is a pre-condition for a vital democracy. The museum institution could be one of these non-formal arenas, where active citizenship is promoted. There are also other societal areas where culture could make impacts.

This thesis performs a document study to investigate the concept of culture in the European Union's cultural policy during the last ten years, to find out how it is defined and what suggestions for the use of culture there is. The thesis also involves a case study of two Nordic museums, and their activities in democratic learning, to answer how the museum institution could be an arena for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning. At last, other potential societal effects coming from the museum are also considered, and the relation between museum practice and European Union policy is explored. The results show that there has been a constant progress in the European Union cultural policy, where the concept of culture has carefully but steadily been expanded during the investigated period. Culture is still highlighted as essential to the promotion of a common, European identity, but the possibility of spillover to other societal arenas gains more and more recognition. Meanwhile, on a local level, the investigated museums show several examples of being more than institutions for conserving and exhibiting heritage. The museums involve in activities for promoting integration, social cohesion, and welfare, and cooperate with non-cultural institutions such as hospitals and housing companies. This practice is often in line with European Union cultural policy, but the museums have in some cases also taken their actions one step further. Regarding active citizenship, both museums take their democratic task seriously and show examples of how a cultural institution can be an arena for promoting this. The results suggest that there is more to culture than meets the eye and that the potential of culture is beginning to unleash, in both policy and practice.

Table of content

1. Introduction	5
1.1 <i>Background</i>	6
1.1.1 The fundamentals of European Union cultural policy	6
1.1.2 The call for democratic education	6
1.1.3 Democratic learning arenas	7
1.1.4 Realizing the potential of culture	8
1.2 <i>Purpose and research questions</i>	8
1.3 <i>Demarcations</i>	9
1.3.1 European Union context	9
1.3.2 The European Union and Norway	9
1.3.3 Time frame	9
1.4 <i>Definitions</i>	9
1.4.1 Active citizenship	9
1.4.2 Culture	10
1.4.3 Lifelong learning	10
1.4.4 Museum	11
2. Theory and previous research	11
2.1 <i>Pier Luigi Sacco: Culture 3.0</i>	11
2.1.1 From Culture 1.0 to Culture 3.0 – a historical brief	12
2.1.2 The possibilities of Culture 3.0	12
2.2 <i>Martha Nussbaum: Socratic education</i>	14
2.2.1 The importance of human development for democracy	15
2.2.2 The role of art and humanities in democracy	15
2.2.3 Creating democratic citizens	16
2.3 <i>Previous research</i>	16
3. Method	18
3.1 <i>Qualitative method</i>	18
3.2 <i>Document study: The European Union’s cultural policy</i>	18
3.2.1 Selection of documents	18
3.2.2 Analysis of documents	20
3.3 <i>Case study: The museums</i>	20
3.3.1 Selection of cases	20
3.3.2 Generalization of cases	21
3.3.3 Document study of museum strategy plans	21
3.3.4 Selection of documents	21
3.3.5 Analysis of documents	21
3.3.6 Interviews	22
3.3.7 Interview design	22
3.3.8 Selection of interviewees	22
3.3.9 Analysis of interviews	23
3.4 <i>Reliability and validity</i>	23
3.5 <i>Methodological challenges</i>	24
3.6 <i>Research ethics</i>	24
4. Empirical results and discussion	24
4.1 <i>European Union cultural policy</i>	25
4.1.1 The European Agenda for Culture	25
4.1.2 Creative Europe	27
4.1.3 2015-2018 Work Plan for Culture	28
4.1.4 Horizon 2020: Europe in a changing world – inclusive, innovative and reflective societies	29

4.1.5 Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations	30
4.1.6 Concluding remarks: The concept of culture within the European Union	32
4.2 <i>Democratic learning for active citizenship in the museums</i>	32
4.2.1 Jamtli museum	33
4.2.2 'On the run' role play	33
4.2.3 Vestfoldmuseene	35
4.2.4 'It concerns you too' project	36
4.2.5 Concluding remarks: The museum as an arena for promoting active citizenship	37
4.3 <i>The museum institution in society – other potential effects</i>	38
4.3.1 Strategies and ambitions	38
4.3.2 Welfare ambitions	39
4.3.3 Volunteers at the museum	40
4.3.4 Integration through culture	41
4.3.5 Concluding remarks: Cultural spillover from the museum	42
5. Conclusion	43
Bibliography	50
<i>Unpublished sources</i>	50
<i>Published sources</i>	51
APPENDIX 1: Interview guide	55
APPENDIX 2: List of figures	56

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1. Introduction

When thinking about the politics of the European Union, culture is probably not the first policy area that comes to mind. The European cooperation is rather associated with economic terms, considering the economic and monetary union, with the single currency and the intertwined financial markets of the member states. Alternatively, it could be linked to agricultural policy, an area where the union's legislation extends far. It is also close at hand to relate the European Union to the free movement, which has made it possible for capital, goods, services and workers to move across the national borders. Most European citizens are familiar with these policies. Culture, on the other hand, has remained relatively anonymous in the public eye as well as within academic circles. European integration in the area has been modest, despite that Europe is not only an economic but in fact a cultural entity too.

Consequently, when thinking about culture and cultural policy, an association to the European Union is probably far away too. The main responsibility for cultural policy has remained within the member states' legal framework. In the European Union, cultural policy has mostly focused on facilitating cooperation regarding the cultural sectors, such as supporting the audio-visual industry or improving the conditions for mobility among cultural workers. For a long time, cultural policy has been limited to concern purely cultural issues. In recent years, however, it seems like this have started to change. The idea of connecting cultural policy to questions laying outside the purely cultural realm have begun to grow, in particular on a local level. Cultural institutions such as museums and libraries realize that culture might have a potential that is larger than the traditional framework of cultural policy (e.g. Šraml González 2012), and some argue that the European Union should take the field of culture more seriously (e.g. Sacco 2011, Zipsane 2011). Meanwhile, the political and social landscape in has changed.

Europe has faced several difficulties during the last decade. The aftermath of the euro crisis and the financial crisis is still affecting many of the member states, and numerous people have suffered from the economic turbulence and the following budget restraints and unemployment. Globalization is made a scapegoat by many, and populist and nationalist parties are thriving in the wake of people's concern. Contempt of what is perceived as the political elite has shown, and "independent" media is on the rise offering alternative truths. These different factors have made voices raised regarding the condition of one of the European Union's founding values, which is the democracy (See e.g. Mudde 2016, Ravik Jupskås 2012).

A substantial part of the democratic concept is the role of the citizen. Some point out not only the importance of citizens' rights, but also of responsibilities, and so-called active citizenship is an ideal within the European Union's policy. It expresses the aspiration of people who participate in the European society, in an active and democratic way, not only through voting in elections but rather as a part of everyday life. To identify and define the competences needed to create active citizens is one of the aims in the European Commission's framework for Key Competences of Lifelong Learning (Education and Culture DG 2007). The framework identifies the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that citizens need to acquire to live a full life, as active citizens in a democratic society, within a globalized world. However, where, and how should European citizens acquire these competences? The core of the policy on lifelong learning is that learning is an activity that should take place not only in formal context but also non-formal and informal and that this should occur in all phases of life. This is one area in society where the cultural field could become useful. As cultural institutions are expanding and developing their societal role, promoting active citizenship could be one of its new tasks, and the museum may offer an arena for non-formal democratic learning. As stated above, it could also affect other parts of society.

If policy makers at European level acknowledge this potential of culture, channelled through the museum, to reach the aims of lifelong learning as well as other societal priorities, are the main themes of this thesis. The first part will explore European Union cultural policy, to get an understanding of the concept of culture and how it has possibly has developed. The second part will then focus on a cultural institution at local level, the museum, and how it might be a useful arena for promoting active citizenship. At last, the third part will investigate what other areas in society that the museum might be influencing and if this practice is converging with the concept of culture within the European Union.

1.1 Background

The following section will give a brief description of the foundations of the European Union's current cultural policy, and an introduction to recent ideas about how this could be further developed. It will also give a more detailed account of how the European Union through its policy requests that its citizens receive democratic learning to become active and participating citizens, and how this task traditionally is delegated to and performed by the school system.

1.1.1 The fundamentals of European Union cultural policy

As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the cultural policy of the European Union is not the most characteristic of the different policy areas. Bache, George & Bulmer (2011) argues that even if it might be controversial to refer to a political field as "minor," this simply means that it is an area which has not been crucial to the European integration, and therefore, it has simply not gained that much attention from scholars. Moreover, they suggest that the minor policy areas of the European Union can be divided into four categories: those who have an autonomous function of their own; those who are results of spillover effects from the Single Market; those whose purpose is to support the feeling of a common European identity; and those who origin from the Lisbon Council in 2000 which decided that the European economy should become the most competitive knowledge economy in the world (Bache, George & Bulmer 2011:255-256). Bache, Bulmer & George categorize the European Union's cultural policy as belonging to the category of policies that aim to build a sense of a European identity. This is visible as early as in 1985, in the program for "European cultural capitals," but responsibility for cultural policy was not formally delegated to the union until 1992 with the Treaty on the European Union (Bache, George & Bulmer 2011:358).

The treaty emphasizes that the cultural diversity of the member states must be respected and that the European Union should promote the prospering of culture. The promotion of Europe's cultural heritage is also highlighted (European Parliament 2017). The Treaty of Lisbon, ratified in 2009, is the foundation of the European Union's current cultural policy and enhances this policy. With the Treaty, the role of the European Union within cultural policy became more clarified. However, most of it revolves around encouragement for and support to the member states actions within this field, while terms regarding any harmonization of the member state's legalization are absent (Statens Kulturråd 2017).

Minor or major, all policy decisions must comply with the European Union's overlying strategy, which at this moment is Europe 2020 (European Commission 2010). It is issued as a ten-year strategy for jobs and growth in the EU and arose in the aftermath of the economic and financial crisis, which also characterizes some of its content. José Manuel Barroso, then president of the European Commission, introduces the strategy by wishing for a new beginning for Europe, where it can emerge stronger (European Commission 2010:2). The strategy revolves around employment, social cohesion and smart and sustainable growth for all (Statens Kulturråd 2017). It is suggested that Europe's social cohesion might have been weakened due to the economic difficulties, and a cohesive society is identified as necessary to secure inclusive growth (European Commission 2010:5).

1.1.2 The call for democratic education

The role of culture is quite narrow in the union's treaties, mainly revolving around cultural issues, and the Europe 2020 strategy does not give much room for culture either. However, the field of culture has started to gain more attention, and arguments for its potential to affect other arenas in society besides the cultural have been raised. Before moving on to this, the next section will explain the call for democratic learning in the European Union.

The Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (Education and Culture DG 2007) was published in 2007 and acknowledged that Europe in the wave of globalization and digitalization was facing several grand challenges. Even if it had given many people new opportunities and benefits, it had also made other Europeans feel marginalized and left behind (Education and Culture DG 2007:1). The framework consists of several suggestions of how to make people better adapted to a new and changing society, and one of them is to cultivate democratic citizenship to prevent alienation and erosion of social cohesion that appeared to take place. The framework

highlights commitment to active and democratic participation, which should be achieved by equipping citizens with essential knowledge about democracy, justice, citizenship and civil rights. Basic knowledge about democratic practice should be acquired, as well as a positive attitude to diversity in religion and ethnicity (Education and Culture DG 2007:9-10). The overlying purpose of the framework was to prepare the citizens of the European Union for the challenges and changes assumed to be waiting around the corner.

Ten years have passed since the publishing of the framework and its call for measurements to handle the changes about to come. As stated previously, the European Union has encountered several difficulties, of which not all could have been predicted back in 2007. The vaguely mentioned “challenges” in the framework came to materialize as the euro crisis and the financial crisis, and many are still experiencing its consequences. At the same time, the question of how to handle the current refugee crisis is a hot topic in the European Union, together with the terrorist attacks in Brussels, Nice, and Paris which have fuelled the debate concerning borders, customs, and national sovereignty. The predicted challenges became real and perhaps beyond the expected.

The idea of democratic learning is perhaps even more crucial within this context; a union where the recent years of economic, political and social turbulence ended in a member state voting to leave the union. Not everyone feels like winners after globalization has swept through. Those who experience the loss of jobs, or the feeling of loss of power, may express this through political contempt, turning to more extreme alternatives and paving the way for populist parties. The rise of the far right in Europe and the increased disdain for the “political elites” during the recent years could be an example of this. The internet and social media are complex tools, and the easy access to information has given room for “alternative media.” News are often shared and spread quickly without source criticism, which might increase stereotypes and fuel conspiracy theories. Many aspects and events remind of the fact that democracy is not a static condition. In 2016, the European Commission initiated a review of the framework for the key competences. It will be finished at the end of 2017, with an update of the key competences adapted to society today (European Commission 2017a:5). However, it is already settled by the European Commission that it is still necessary to educate pupils in social, civic and intercultural competences, through promoting active citizenship and democratic values. It also stresses that students should develop critical thinking, especially in the use of Internet and social media (European Commission 2017:8). The ideal of the active citizen remains, not only in the European Union but also worldwide (Brownlee Lunn et al. 2017:4). However, where does one create, and encourage citizens to learn and foster the civic and social competences needed in a democratic society? There is a need for democratic learning arenas, and these may come in different shapes.

1.1.3 Democratic learning arenas

The European Union acknowledges that creating active citizens does not happen overnight. Instead, it treats this as something that requires competences and can be learned, through the development of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Learning activities are naturally associated first and foremost with the educational sector, and institutions such as schools and colleges. It is an obvious first suggestion; the school as a fertile soil where the young citizen gets in contact with her or his rights and responsibilities and becomes prepared for the democratic society. Philosophers like John Dewey (1999) have invoked the Socratic thought of the importance of teaching children to become active, creative and curious. The same goes for Philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2010), who argues that democracies today are undervaluing the importance of teaching the skills necessary to keep a democracy prospering and that schools have an important role in this. Participating in student councils, practicing argumentations skills and learning critical and independent thinking are examples of how democratic education can happen in schools, and it is also the formal education that provides a person with the competences necessary to even participate in such activities, such as literacy and analytical skills. Without neglecting the important role of the formal education, it has however been noted by some that it could be unfair and unrealistic to let the schools carry the whole burden of teaching democracy to educate active citizens (e.g. Biesta 2006:119). If lifelong learning should, in fact, be lifelong, there is a contradiction in limiting learning to the classroom where most of the learners are in their youth. Learning, from this perspective, is supposed to take place all throughout life and concern all groups; thus, lifelong learning arenas cannot simply cease to exist after graduation. There is a rising awareness that other of society's arenas and institutions could and should be used as well, to facilitate

lifelong learning and teach democratic values also in more informal environments. According to the European Commission, this is what lifelong learning is about – the policy states that learning processes should not be limited to formal, educational institutions, but also take place in informal and non-formal settings (European Commission 2001:3). It could be useful to consider what these other contexts could be and if they could be helpful to promoting democratic learning. When the new kind of society brings new challenges, it could be beneficial to investigate potential new tools as well. One of these could be culture.

1.1.4 Realizing the potential of culture

The field of culture has been undergoing several changes during the history, both political and social. From being an exclusive arena that only society's elite could entry, to have become something easily accessed for both consumers and producers, the rules of exercising and participating in culture has changed. This lays the foundation for the ideas coming from the Italian Economist Pier Luigi Sacco (2011), and his argument that this change may have brought some new opportunities. According to Sacco, culture has now entered a dynamic phase where it is time to take it more seriously and acknowledge the high potential of the cultural field to make important spillover effects to other areas in society.

These ideas of culture become materialized when turning to the local, practical level. One cultural institution that in some places have started to move outside the strictly cultural sphere is the museum. There are examples in several places of how the museum has expanded its traditional role of collecting and showing objects, images, and records, to also manage activities which affect the society it operates within (e.g. Grut & Kling, 2011; Šraml González 2012). It is said that the museum used to learn about heritage, but today, learning is performed through heritage (Grut & Kling 2011:1). Some museums aspire to become societal actors, and cases are showing how they take a part of the responsibility for learning social and civic competences (Zipsane 2011), a task which has, as mentioned, usually been delegated to the schools. As stated above, it is established that lifelong learning should not only take place in the formal educational institution, but also in informal and non-formal settings. The museum is now making room to become such a setting, an arena for non-formal learning, and perhaps claiming influence in other societal areas too. The question is if this development has made an impact on European cultural policy level.

The European Agenda for Culture (Council of the European Union 2007) was issued in 2007 and is steering cultural policy within the European Union. The agenda describes culture as something of special status, regarding the common European heritage and values (Council of the European Union 2007:1). The concept of culture is connected to ideas about a European identity and concentrates on the cultural field. However, it is also mentioned that culture should become more acknowledged in future policies, and briefly suggested that culture has potential to stimulate employment, growth and social cohesion. These particular remarks may indicate that something had started to happen to the concept of culture in the European Union's cultural policy back in 2007. Ten years have passed since then – where are we now?

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse and discuss the concept of culture within European Union cultural policy, to explore if the perception of the use of culture is still limited to strictly cultural issues or if it has developed to reach other areas. The thesis will also explore the role of the museum as an example of a cultural institution to promote democratic learning within, as an example of what culture could be used for in practice. Other possible impacts of the museum institution will also be considered, and if the museum practice is converging with the cultural policy issued by the European Union.

The thesis should then be able to serve as a source for policy-makers to gain knowledge of the potential of the cultural sector, in the promotion of the overlying goal of creating citizens who are active and engaged in democracy. In relation to this, the following research questions are addressed:

1. *How has the concept and the use of culture been defined and developed in the European Union's cultural policy during the last ten years?*

2. *In what way may a cultural institution like a museum be a useful setting for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning as formulated by the European Union?*
3. *What other societal areas are the museum institutions involved in and how are their practice converging with European Union cultural policy?*

1.3 Demarcations

This section will explain the limitations of the thesis, regarding the institutional framework and what period that is investigated. There is also a remark about Norway's relation to the European Union.

1.3.1 European Union context

The thesis is set within a European Union context, which means that the concepts will relate to a European Union framework. The definitions of concept will adopt the meaning stated by the European Union. For instance, the idea of active citizenship also exists outside Europe and may have other definitions and meanings in other parts of the world. However, since the thesis is written inside a European Union framework, it will refer to active citizenship and other definitions as they are described in European Union policy.

1.3.2 The European Union and Norway

Norway is not a member state of the European Union but is still relevant to the thesis. Norway is a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and has signed the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA). This makes Norway largely associated with the European Union's agreement on free trade, and Norway is adopting a lot of European Union law, incorporating it into national law (Sejersted et al. 2011). Through the EEA agreement, Norway relates to other policies and strategies as well, for example, Europe 2020 (source). Norway is also taking part of the European Union's programs, for example, Creative Europe, Erasmus+ and Horizon 2020, (EFTA n.d.). Moreover, EFTA identifies cultural affairs as one of its policy areas (EFTA n.d.). Summarized, Norway must relate to the European Union in many aspects, and therefore it is relevant to include a museum from Norway as a case, despite that it is located in a non-member country.

1.3.3 Time frame

The thesis discusses European Union cultural policy issued during the years 2007 to 2016. As stated, cultural policy existed in the union before 2007, but this is a suitable year for this study to depart from. Firstly, the thesis aims to explore the role of culture in the European Union today, and it is the policy documents from 2007 and forward which lay the foundation for this policy area through this period and which are still valid. Secondly, 2007 is also the year when the European Union issued the framework for key competences for lifelong learning and increased the focus on the different types of learning. The framework also highlights the effects of globalization as well as the need for active citizenship. Thus, this is a relevant time frame for the thesis.

1.4 Definitions

This following section will explain the concepts which the thesis revolves around. As apparent in the introduction and background sections, the concept of active citizenship in the European Union is appointed as one of the aims of lifelong learning. The meaning of each of these concepts will be defined, and it will also be deeper explained in what ways they are connected. In addition, the concepts of culture and museum will also be defined.

1.4.1 Active citizenship

Active citizenship is a well-established concept, but hard to define. When searching through policy documents and academic literature for its definition, it is common to encounter different examples of actions that qualify as active citizenship, such as campaigning and protesting (e.g. Reinhold & Zimenkova 2013:137), rather than its actual meaning. It is also possible to look at it from different perspectives. When speaking of citizenship, the field of political philosophy is close at hand, with a tradition of discussing the rights and responsibilities of

the citizen, and whether citizens should be perceived individuals or as a group. One could also look at it from a perspective of citizenship education, focusing on how education policy defines democratic education for citizens.

Active citizenship is a frequently used theme in European Union policy documents and related literature. In the research report *The Characterization of Active Citizenship in Europe* (Mascherini, Manca & Hoskins 2009) active citizenship is defined as follows:

“Participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy” (Mascherini, Manca & Hoskins 2009:10).

It is also further clarified in this report that the mentioning of human rights and democracy in the definition means that action alone does not qualify for active citizenship. The events in Nazi Germany and Communist Europe are stated as examples of participation without democratic consequences. The definition of active citizenship is thus value based (Mascherini, Manca & Hoskins 2009:10). It is a normative view of active citizenship, and other definitions exist. Since this thesis works within a European Union framework, this is what has been leading when searching for a definition of the concept and the thesis relates to this definition. As the European Union also connects active citizenship to lifelong learning, it indicates that citizens need to acquire knowledge about democracy to be able to become active. Therefore, democratic learning is perceived in this thesis as a pre-condition for active citizenship.

1.4.2 Culture

Culture is a broad concept which is used in many different contexts and with different meanings. In the *Communication on a European Agenda for Culture* (European Commission 2007), the Commission states the following regarding the definition of culture, acknowledging it as a flexible concept with various implications:

“‘Culture’ is generally recognized as complex to define. It can refer to fine arts, including a variety of works of art, cultural goods and services. ‘Culture’ also has an anthropological meaning. It is the basis for a symbolic world of meanings, beliefs, values, traditions which are expressed in language, art, religion and myths. As such, it plays a fundamental role in human development and in the complex fabric of the identities and habits of individuals and communities” (European Commission 2007:3).

It is then established that the many different facets of culture will be in focus when developing policies within the European Union (European Commission 2007:3). More could be said about the definition of culture, but as this thesis’ focus lies on the concept of culture within the European Union, this definition is satisfying enough. The thesis adheres to this idea of culture, as dynamic and multi-faceted and not as something static.

1.4.3 Lifelong learning

Lifelong learning is a pedagogical concept that has been discussed and developed within the European Union for many years. Due to what is referred to as the knowledge-based society, it is argued that lifelong learning has become even more important (Commission of the European Communities 2001:6). It means that an individual has capacities to learn all throughout life. The individual is assumed to take responsibility for his or her own education, and actively seek learning. Learning is not limited to educational institutions only, but could also take place in work places and in ordinary life. Lifelong learning is defined by the European Union as follows:

“All learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective” (Commission of the European Communities 2001:9).

Moreover, it is settled that lifelong learning consists of formal, non-formal and informal learning. The difference between formal, non-formal learning and informal learning is defined as follows:

Formal learning is organized and structured, and comes with objectives for learning. The learner always has an intention with learning, to receive knowledge, skills or/and competences. Formal learning typically takes place within an education or training institution, and provides the learner with certification

Informal learning is not organized and have no objectives such as learning outcomes or results in certification. It may be intentional to the learner, but in most cases, it happens randomly. The idea of informal learning is that people are exposed to learning in all situations; at work, at home and during spare time

Non-formal learning is somewhere between the other two learning types. It is not provided by an education or training institution, but it is structured and may have learning objectives. Non-formal learning from the learner's standpoint is intentional (Commission of the European Communities 2001:32-33). Learning at the museum is placed within this last category.

It is also stated that the objectives of lifelong learning are active citizenship, employability and adaptability, personal fulfillment and social inclusion (Commission of the European Communities 2001:9). Lifelong learning is pointed out by the European Union as something that all citizens need. It is about constantly make progress in one's skills and competences, one is never "finished" but instead constantly learning. (Education and Culture DG 2007:1).

1.4.4 Museum

The thesis defines a museum according to the definition issued by The International Council of Museums (ICOM). ICOM recognizes that the definition of the museum has expanded as society develops, and therefore updates its definition to be in line with this. The latest definition of the museum was adopted in 2007:

"A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment" (International Council of Museums 2017).

2. Theory and previous research

This chapter will explain the two theories used in the thesis. To explore the concept and the use of culture in the European Union's cultural policy, a theoretical framework by Italian Economist Pier Luigi Sacco (2013) concerning culture's role in post-industrial society is used. Sacco's theories about cultural spillover effects have gained worldwide attention and are specifically relevant in a European Union context since he encourages European policy makers, in particular, to take the field of culture more seriously and recognize its potential to create spillover effects on other areas. Sacco's theory is used as a lens to review what role culture policy is assigned to the European Union and if policy makers perceive culture as a feasible means to make a positive impact on other societal areas than the cultural.

Sacco's theory is also used to cover the museum's potential spillover effects in society, but a theory regarding democratic learning is added as well. As active citizenship is appointed the goal of lifelong learning, it implies that the citizen's acquirement of democratic knowledge needed to become active is a learning process. To gain a perspective on democratic education, a theory by American Philosopher Martha Nussbaum is used (2010). Nussbaum emphasizes the need for the creation of democratic citizens and argues that the arts and humanities could be useful in educating citizens in democracy. Her theory is mainly directed to the school system but is used in a broader sense in the thesis on the premise that learning is an activity not only limited to the classroom.

2.1 Pier Luigi Sacco: Culture 3.0

Sacco's theory about the potential of culture in the contemporary economic framework is used in this thesis to analyse European Union cultural policy and museum activities. His ideas received attention soon after Global Research Professor Richard Florida in 2002 launched his ideas about "the creative class" and its importance in

the new economy (Florida 2002). Florida has received much criticism since then (e.g. Peck 2005) but has nevertheless contributed to the idea of creativity and culture as a crucial part of economic growth. Sacco too underlines the importance of culture for the economy but also points at other sectors in the society where culture may create spillovers. In this thesis, his framework is used to explore policy documents, to investigate if culture is perceived to have this kind of potential within the European Union; and when looking at the museum activities, to see if such spillover effects have become visible in practice. Sacco argues that we have entered a new cultural paradigm and explains the development of the cultural field through a historical review, showing how it has evolved by describing culture's changing relation to the economy.

2.1.1 From Culture 1.0 to Culture 3.0 – a historical brief

Sacco suggests that the cultural society has gone through a transition from Culture 1.0 via Culture 2.0 to today's Culture 3.0, which is still in development. Starting with Culture 1.0, this was the phase typical for the pre-industrial economy. At that time, the culture was not significant in any economical way, neither was it available to any larger audience. The cultural creators were few, and their provisions were mediated through patrons, people of high social rank who were willing to pay for cultural production and enjoy the status this brought to them. The resources were then coming from outside of the cultural sphere, and the few cultural producers were dependent on this support for their creating work. Thus, the access to and the production of culture were strictly limited, both in economic and in social ways (Sacco 2013:19-20).

The industrial revolution and the political revolutions made the audiences in culture grow bigger. The access to culture was declared a universal right, in the spirit of questioning class privileges. At the same time, the conditions of the working class were improving, and there were more who were inclined to spend money on cultural amusement. Access was still limited, not opening until after the "cultural" industrial revolution with technological innovations making cultural mass production possible. However, the support of culture was no longer only coming from the wealthy, private patrons but also through public resources and it is possible to point to the rise of cultural policy at this time. This was the Culture 2.0 phase, introducing movies, photography, radio and recorded music. One significant difference between Culture 1.0 and Culture 2.0 is that the later phase made it possible for cultural activity to generate economic value and sometimes even profit. However, the cultural sector was at this point still a quite small part of the whole economy (Sacco 2013:20-23).

Due to recent technological advances, Sacco claims that we have now entered the phase Culture 3.0. This is just the preliminary stage, and the society is still in transition. One great difference is the access to cultural production which continues to increase; today, many can quite easily learn and afford to produce their own photography, text, movies and so on. This is what distinguishes Culture 3.0, the increase of cultural producers. The line between producers and users has become more blurred, and the people in the audience have started to act also as creators. (Sacco 2013:24). Another feature of Culture 3.0 is that culture has ceased to be a differentiated entertainment form and have instead become a part of everyday life. Sacco means that we must cease to perceive creative and cultural industries as separated from the rest of the economy and not the least from society. The interdependencies between these industries and other economic sectors, and of society too, should be acknowledged (Sacco 2013:25). It is time to take a closer look at what effects the cultural sector can produce; how spillovers may affect other sectors in a positive way (Sacco 2013:28-29).

2.1.2 The possibilities of Culture 3.0

The fact that audiences have become producers means that they have now started to actively participate in culture. Before, they were merely spectators, but have now become producers as well. This is part of the basis for Culture 3.0: active cultural participation. It means that individuals are not only recipients of cultural work, but are also stimulated to use their skills to create their own. They are reading, but also writing, for example, and the creative process goes both ways. Sacco here refers to Amartya Sen's model of the capacity building process and claims that people who participate actively in culture improve their capacity of expression and reach new insights (Sacco 2013:29). Sacco argues that the positive spillovers can be found within eight different areas: innovation, lifelong learning, local identity, new entrepreneurship models, social cohesion, soft power, sustainability, and welfare.

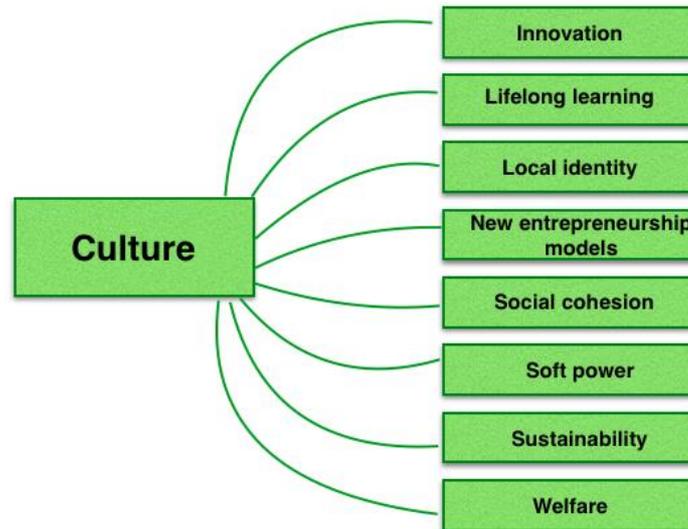


Figure 1: An 8-tiers approach to culture (Sacco 2013)

Innovation is suggested to receive particular benefits from active cultural participation, Sacco claims. If an individual learns how to generate creativity, innovative ideas may rise which can question old attitudes and beliefs. Innovativeness starts with new thoughts, something that active cultural participation may bring about (Sacco 2013:31).

The spillover effects of *lifelong learning* are particularly relevant to the theme of this thesis. It is not a surprising connection, Sacco claims; active cultural participation could even occur as a specific type of lifelong learning where the individual develops skills and competences (Sacco 2011:8). He suggests that this link should be further explored, to investigate if it is possible to connect lifelong learning programs and active cultural access further (Sacco 2013:37).

The third link is made to *local identity*. Sacco draws attention to the possibilities of culture for re-defining the social and symbolic fundamentals of a place; for instance, a specific milieu or region. This could also make this place more visible globally. Sacco argues that local cultural projects should aim at being pro-active, and be designed for active participation. This, in turn, could improve local competences and capabilities (Sacco 2013:39).

New entrepreneurship models are another spillover area identified by Sacco. This one is important to encourage, he argues, because Europe's future competitiveness within cultural and creative sectors is dependent on the development of new creative entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship in other economic sectors receives attention and resources, but the idea of the creative entrepreneur has not fully become established despite its potential (Sacco 2013:36).

Spillover effects to *social cohesion* are also of special interest in the framework of this thesis, as it is settled by the European Union as one of the aims of lifelong learning, together with active citizenship (Education and Culture DG 2007:3). Cohesion is further mentioned in the lifelong learning framework as dependent on people developing their social and civic competences, as it is assumed that shared values such as respect for democracy are necessary to promote and sustain cohesion (Education and Culture DG 2007:10). Sacco's connects social cohesion to culture in suggesting that cultural projects where people participate actively can produce strong effects, for example in segregated areas. It can improve multicultural relations and increase the acceptance among people in a diverse society. Active cultural participation could help to prevent crime, resolve conflicts and tear down stereotypical images. This can happen, Sacco claims, since participation in culture equips people with the

skills they need to change their attitude and reconsider their old beliefs, and at the same time discover new opportunities to grow personally (Sacco 2013:35-36).

Soft power is the sixth area. It is argued that a country's prominence and reputation in all kinds of international relations may increase, due to its cultural and creative industries. It could open new markets, appeal to visitors and investors as well as encourage the development of new strategies for creating value. European countries are doing good in this field, and of importance to succeed in reaching globally is the cultural networks in a country (Sacco 2013:38).

Next appointed spillover area is *sustainability*. To participate in culture could have an indirect role in fostering the awareness of the environment, and resources that are critical. Sacco suggests that cultural practice could spill over to being conscious about environmental issues.

The last spillover area in Sacco's model is *welfare*. He highlights previous research which points to the positive effect it may have on a person's psychological well-being to participate in culture. This regards especially those who are ill and elderly people. Sacco also suggests that there are huge macroeconomic gains to make from the investment in "cultural welfare" if culture could be used in this context, since it, for instance, could result in less hospitalized people (Sacco 2013:34-35).

Sacco claims that Culture 3.0 a new paradigm, with potential and opportunities that should be unlocked through new policies. In a European perspective, he means that the cultural field has been overlooked by policy makers several times and that the European Union should take it more seriously when developing strategies (Sacco 2013:42). Some of the connections have already been discovered within the European Union, such as culture and innovation, but could be investigated further. Other of those connections have not yet been explored (Sacco 2013:43-44).

One concern about Sacco's ideas could be that cultural spillover effects are difficult to measure. "Culture" is not static, it consists of a wide range of different fields and activities, hard to quantify and to put into a logic of cause and effect, both economic and other suggested impact areas. Moreover, when it comes to the focus of culture in relation to the economy, this is not the focus of this thesis, but Sacco constantly highlights the economic possibilities of culture. It could be argued that a lot of the cultural sphere is located outside the rationality of the market and that not all cultural creations are made with profit as its main ambition. Moreover, it may not always be necessary to legitimize the spillover effects concerning the economy, as Sacco does. For instance, benefits in the welfare sector could simply be good because they make the citizens in society feel well and healthy. This should be an end in itself, and not only justified by pointing to the economic gains from having fewer people in hospital care. On the other hand, lifting the potential and utility of culture to the economy could help improve the conditions of cultural performers. With this in mind, Sacco's theoretical framework will foremost be used as a lens, firstly to explore European Union cultural policy documents and the concept of culture within them, and secondly to analyse the museum activities. Not to say anything absolute about effects, but rather about the potential and eventually ambition of cultural spillovers.

To further cover the research question regarding museums as arenas for promoting active citizenship through democratic learning, the thesis will, in addition, use Martha Nussbaum's theory about how to create democratic citizens.

2.2 Martha Nussbaum: Socratic education

The subject of democracy and citizenship has been debated since ancient Greece, and one of its core subjects is the question of how to create a "good citizen." Education theory has been developed by many prominent people, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau who in his classic work *Emile, or On Education* (2005) discussed how the ideal citizen should be educated, and John Dewey in *Democracy and Education* (1999) where he declared the production of democratic citizen an aim. In her theory about human development, Martha Nussbaum returns to both Rousseau and Dewey as she argues for the importance of what she calls Socratic education.

Nussbaum's ideas are also part of the contemporary theoretic tradition; the so-called "capability approach" founded by Indian Economist and Philosopher Amartya Sen (Malnes & Midgaard 2009:321-322). Together, Nussbaum and Sen have influenced the strategies of several international organizations, such as the World Bank, to promote development in poorer countries (Malnes & Midgaard 2009:324-325). They argue that every human being has capabilities, which they should have a possibility to develop, and that it is the task of political authorities to make sure that every citizen has what it takes to develop these capabilities (Malnes & Midgaard 2009:323). Nussbaum's theory about the importance of creating citizens for a healthy democracy and her suggestions for how this could be done are used in this thesis to highlight the discussion about how democratic learning is required to make citizens active. She advocates the "Socratic ideal," which is the ideal for raising critical questions, arguing and thinking for oneself, instead of submitting to authorities or traditions (Nussbaum 2010:48). Her theories are mainly directed to students and the school system but are in this thesis placed in a larger context of learning, an activity that could unfold not only in formal arenas such as the classroom but also in other, non-formal arenas, such as at the museum.

2.2.1 The importance of human development for democracy

Sen's idea of capabilities is placed within the "human development paradigm," which is Nussbaum's foundation as she continues to develop her idea of the needs within in a democratic society since democratic engagement is central to the capability approach (Nussbaum 2010:24). The argument is that if democracy is supposed to flourish, society must take human development into account when it comes to education (Nussbaum 2010:x). For democracy to survive, citizens must learn how to become active and alert. Teaching them to read and listen is not enough because they should also learn to question and be critical (Nussbaum 2010:65). Nussbaum criticizes that skills taught for economic aims, to create citizens who can contribute to the nation's economic growth, are given priority at the expense of skills needed to create the citizens required for a democratic society. If democracy is our preferred system of governing, we must remember that economic growth does not equate democracy; it takes more. People should be trained not only to a profession but also in citizenship (Nussbaum 2010:15). Furthermore, Nussbaum points out how the skills necessary for economic prosperity are not only insufficient but in the end also unequal. She explains this by highlighting that it is not necessary to the economy that all citizens possess these skills; a nation can do economically well even if a rural, poor population lack the basic skill of literacy, for example (Nussbaum 2010:19).

2.2.2 The role of art and humanities in democracy

Nussbaum argues that especially schools must make room and acknowledge the importance of arts and humanities because it is through these subjects that a person learns to "cultivate sympathy" (Nussbaum 2010:96). She finds the ability to imagine the world through another person's eyes as a keystone for democratic citizenship and suggests that this could be done through a participating experience of someone else's position. This, Nussbaum argues, requires the capacity of imagination, which could be cultivated through, for example, literature or theatre (Nussbaum 2010:97). Nussbaum gives a role play concerning Rosa Parks as an example, where the participants are exposed to discrimination, to make them experience the issue of racism. The same could be performed regarding culture, ethnicity or gender, and so on (Nussbaum 2010:108). Her point is that it is within the field of arts and humanities that education for democracy take place, and this is where their value lie. She gives examples of how faculties today must defend themselves against threats of shutdown and budget cuts, by proving their economic value and that they contribute to economic growth (Nussbaum 2010:127). If an economic aspect is necessary to justify the role of humanities and arts, Nussbaum argues that "the cultivation of imagination" is good for business innovation, because innovation requires fantasy (Nussbaum 2010:112), a statement that is also coherent with Sacco's model of cultural spillovers. However, the value of education is not primarily economic from Nussbaum's view, but instead held as crucial because it is through education that citizens are raised to become critical, emphatic and reflective, and learn to respect their fellow citizens (Nussbaum 2010:7). Thus, education should not only aim at the economic profit but also at creating citizens with the skills necessary to keep democracy vital.

There is nothing saying that democratic education is reserved only for the arts and humanities, but Nussbaum is of course as a Philosopher bound to defend and highlight her own research field. The experiences of budget

restraints and downsizing of the faculties are probably a reality too, but a discussion for another time. Moreover, the concerns of how democratic education might be undermined in some school systems could also be legitimate. However, it should also be noted that education in citizenship and democracy is still an essential part of the school curricula in many countries, as well as emphasised in national political agendas (Brownlee Lunn et al. 2017:4-5). The thesis will mainly use the part of Nussbaum's theory presented in the next section, which is her instructions for how democratic citizens are made.

2.2.3 Creating democratic citizens

Nussbaum's suggestion about how to create citizens in and for a vital democracy are the following:

“Develop students' capacity to see the world from the viewpoint of other people, particularly those whom their society tends to portray as lesser, as “mere objects”.

Teach attitudes toward human weakness and helplessness that suggest that weakness is not shameful and the need for others not unmanly, teach children not to be ashamed of need and incompleteness but to see these as occasions for cooperation and reciprocity.

Develop the capacity for genuine concern for others, both near and distant.

Undermine the tendency to shrink from minorities of various kinds in disgust, thinking of them as “lower” and “contaminating”.

Teach real and true things about other groups (racial, religious, and sexual minorities; people with disabilities), so as to encounter stereotypes and the disgust that often goes with them.

Promote accountability by treating every child as a responsible agent.

Vigorously promote critical thinking, the skill and courage it requires to raise a dissenting voice” (Nussbaum 2010:45-46).

2.3 Previous research

Of all the policy areas within the European Union, cultural policy has not received the most academic attention. As previously stated, this area has not contributed a lot to the European integration process, especially not when it comes to harmonization of national policies or laws, and scholars have focused on other policies. Research regarding how to create active, democratic citizens are on the other hand vast. In the European Union, the Centre for Research on Education and Lifelong Learning (CRELL) was established in 2005 to provide research on lifelong learning. One of the research areas is active citizenship. An example of the studies conducted within the CRELL network, is the research article Does formal education have an impact on active citizenship behavior? (Hoskins & D'Hombres 2008). The article addresses the question of formal education's impact on active citizenship, and the researchers claim, just like Nussbaum, that formal education has a crucial role to play in a democracy. Formal education allows the citizen to develop civic competences: knowledge, skills, and attitudes, which could encourage a citizen to become active. As the article's title implies, the emphasis of the research lies in formal education. This is also the case for most of the active citizenship research at CRELL, and for active citizenship research in general. When speaking about where to create active citizens and promote democracy, school is often pointed out as the designated arena, and education and pedagogy researchers have extensively covered the issue (e.g. Dewey 1999; Biesta 2011). Brownlee Lunn et al. refers to learning active citizenship in school to ‘values education,’ as it involves teaching about democracy, justice, moral, and rights and responsibilities (Brownlee Lunn et al. 2017:3). They argue, in line with Nussbaum, that teaching children about active citizenship involve teaching them to be responsible agents and to develop critical thinking and the capacity to reflect on oppressive circumstances (Brownlee Lunn et al. 2017:8).

This thesis adds knowledge to the research on active citizenship and democratic learning, through expanding the view to include other possible arenas for learning in addition to formal education. It explores in what way the museum institution could be a suitable arena to promote democratic learning for active citizenship within, with a focus broadened to a lifelong learning approach, in acknowledging that democratic learning for active citizenship could be directed at other groups except for children and adolescents in school.

A broad view of how to perform lifelong learning is given by Henrik Zipsane (2011). Zipsane argues that the European Union should pay more attention to the possibilities of lifelong learning through cultural activities (Zipsane 2011:1), and is thereby following the same argument as Sacco, in claiming that the European Union do not fully realize the potential of culture. As yet, Zipsane claims, activities in culture has only been linked to the most obvious of the key competences, which are cultural awareness and creativity. He means that there are more to explore regarding culture and the relation to other key competences, such as social and civic competences (Zipsane 2011:1). The paper provides with practical examples of cultural engagement in Europe, with the purpose of showing that culture has a special potential for learning; a potential that has been systematically overlooked. The empirical material illustrates cases of how culture and education have met in “extraordinary” ways. Participating organizations were asked to think about and report if they had seen any interesting, unusual examples of learning through culture in their activities. Many of the examples come from museums, but also theatres, music and the like (Zipsane 2011:3-4). Zipsane concludes that “the cultural sector creates learning activities which reach people in a true and real lifelong and life wide meaning” and that “the cultural sector offers learning of several key competences and cultural awareness is just the tip of the competence iceberg” (Zipsane 2011:1).

Zipsane's research and arguments generates a possibility to continue research in a deeper way. This is made through investigating a specific part of the cultural sector, the museum, and by linking this to the social and civic competences needed to develop active citizenship, to further find out what potential the museum could have in this context.

Furthermore, the research of this thesis could also contribute to empirical evidence concerning trends in practical cultural heritage learning in Europe, which research focus of an article by Jakoba Šraml González (2012). She describes how the perception of the possibilities of heritage has changed during the last decades, as more have started to realize that it could serve as a resource beyond its traditional use. What has received more attention is its use for education; the heritage site as a learning arena, and that many institutions have come to function for social development (Šraml González 2012:3). Šraml González investigates how common this trend is among European heritage institutions, by analysing information given on the institutions' websites (Šraml González 2012:15). While Šraml González' research is located on an aggregated level, with more than 400 heritage institutions in Europe, the thesis closer investigates case examples of museum institutions on a local level. Šraml González research report also compares the institutions' activities with European Union policy. She concludes that the importance of culture is becoming increasingly recognized by international organisations, particularly as a factor that may promote growth and economic development (Šraml González 2012:6). This might indicate that Sacco's ideas have started to take hold within the European Union, at least when it comes to its economic potential. Despite this, Šraml González finds that policy and practice do not always match, especially not when it comes to policies regarding the heritage sector which is her main focus. Instead of following policy guidelines, institutions act on their own initiative because they have realized their potential while policy makers on higher level lag behind (Šraml González 2012:32). The thesis contributes by further explore European Union cultural policy, through a deeper scrutiny of policy documents and give a more detailed insight into these. It will also continue Šraml González's discussion on how well policy and practice match.

3. Method

The following chapter will explain the research design and choice of methods for the thesis. Data was collected from two different levels to answer the research questions. First, a document study was made concerning cultural policy addressed by the European Union. This was to respond to the research question about how the concept and the use of culture has been defined and developed in the European Union's cultural policy during the last ten years. Secondly, the following research questions considering in what way the museum can be a useful arena for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning and what other societal areas that the museums are involved in, was covered by a case study. The case study consists of interviews with museum employees and a document study of the institution's policies and strategies. Finally, the findings from the document study of cultural policy and the case study about the museums were compared, to answer if policy and practice are converging.

3.1 Qualitative method

The choice of a qualitative method as starting point was fairly simple to make, but could nevertheless be explained shortly to gain an understanding of the foundation of the thesis. The qualitative method is associated with research strategies such as case studies, and with methods such as interviews and document studies (Denscombe 2014:276-277), all which are present in this thesis. Furthermore, the research questions address issues of active citizenship, cultural policy and museum practice, all which are complicated to quantify in a way that serves the quantitative methodological tradition right; at least in the framework of this thesis. The concepts could not be treated statically; the research questions required a more flexible approach. With this in mind, a quantitative method would not have served the thesis as well. An inductive, qualitative approach, which made room for description and interpretation, was therefore used.

3.2 Document study: The European Union's cultural policy

Documents are constantly present in political and organizational environments. According to Coffey, if we want to understand organizations, we should consider the different documents related to the activities within them (Coffey 2014:368). To acquire an understanding of the concept of culture within the European Union, the document study was a natural choice. Coffey suggests to perceive documents as serving a purpose, and therefore the textual, as well as the social setting, should also be part of the analysis (Coffey 2014:370). An awareness of the document's context is unmistakably important in the study of political documents since they are of course part of a larger agenda. Focus have been on the content of the policies, but the context surrounding them were also taken into consideration. For example, the large focus on economy and growth in one of the documents could be explained by the previous years of economic crisis in Europe, which had made the issue of economy critical in the European Union.

The document study also comes with some advantages for the researcher. As pointed out by Denscombe, one of them lies in the availability – many documents are public and therefore easy to obtain. A lot of information is available for free, making it a cost-effective method. It also makes it easier for other researchers to control the data sources (Denscombe 2014:239). The documents chosen for the analysis of European Union cultural policy are public and easily accessed from the union's official websites, and are consequently simple to check by going online.

3.2.1 Selection of documents

Another advantage of the document study as a method is that the data is selected instead of collected. It makes this part of the process more efficient and less time-consuming. However, it is important that the selection of data does not become biased (Bowen 2009:32). The European Union issues a vast number of documents every year. These are available to the public; thus, access was not a problem to this research. The challenge was rather to select the documents most crucial to the research, to cover the all the angles and perspectives necessary to answer the research questions. How many documents to include was a question easy to ask at the beginning of the research, but as pointed out by Bowen, the question should not be how many but instead concern the quality and relevance of the documents, and how well they serve the aim of the study (Bowen 2009:33). This

was considered during the selection of documents, and focus was on choosing enough and relevant documents to answer the research question and saturate the findings. There are a lot of documents produced within the European Union, and the ones chosen for the thesis have been selected to get a full grasp of the union's culture policy. Some of the documents consist of overlying, general strategies while others are more detailed, as accurate policy recommendations, which has contributed to give both broad and deep data on the cultural policy. As instructed by Bowen, there has been an awareness about that additional documents might be needed to fill out the data and help to answer the research question (Bowen 2009:33). The additional data is partly used to gain background information to put the documents into a context and thereby gain a better understanding of the data, but also because one document often simply leads to another. It is common that policy documents build upon and refer to previously issued policy documents, and some of the documents in the thesis were found and selected this way during the research when it became clear that it was necessary to include them.

The first document chosen for the research was the European Commission's communication on a European Agenda for Culture in a globalized world (Commission of the European Communities 2007). Several of the other selected documents refer to this document, which made it vital to include as a data source to get a full picture of the development of the European Union's cultural policy. The Council's response to this communication, a resolution on a European Agenda for Culture, is also included (Council of the European Union 2007). The following document is Creative Europe – A new framework programme for the cultural and creative sectors (European Commission 2011), which is a communication from the European Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. It lays out the basis of the Creative Europe program, which was launched to support the cultural and audio-visual sectors and distribute resources to different projects in Europe. It is still the main program for the distribution of funds to the cultural sector in the European Union, and as a cornerstone of contemporary cultural policy, it is, therefore, necessary to include in the thesis.

Moreover, the European Union's current work plan for culture, 2015-2018 Work plan for Culture (Council of the European Union 2014), was also a prominent selection of data. The work plan establishes what the priorities should be in European Union cooperation in cultural policy during the years 2015 to 2018. The document was chosen due to its proximity in time, meaning it mediates the most updated view of the cultural policy within the European Union. It is a necessary piece in understanding the union's cultural policy of today.

Moving on to the Horizon 2020 Work programme 2016-2017: Europe in a changing world – inclusive, innovative and reflective societies (European Commission 2016a) which were also included in the research. As the European Union's largest research program, it is interesting to observe what kind of research that is prioritized and what type of research proposals regarding culture it contains. The Work programme is a large document, with over 100 pages suggesting different research topics, but not all are concerning cultural policy. The research call Understanding Europe – Promoting the European Public and Cultural Space and its underlying topic Participatory approaches and social innovation in culture was chosen for closer scrutiny since it lay nearby the theme of the thesis.

The last document that was chosen was the European Commission's joint communication to the European Parliament and the Council: Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations (European Commission 2016b), one of the latest communications on culture from the European Union. This was selected firstly due to the interest of observing culture being put into a foreign policy context, here assigned a role in the union's international relations. Issued by the European Commission together with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the document is of interest to include in the data selection as it puts the cultural policy in a new setting.

There are a lot of other documents that could have been added to the research data to answer how the concept of culture is perceived within the European Union. For example, there are no documents issued by the European Parliament and no inclusion of any of the frameworks for the different programs for culture. This is due to the limited time and space for this thesis. However, all selected documents except for the Horizon 2020

Work Programme are established by the European Commission as providing the framework for the union's cultural policy. As it is the European Union's organ for legislative and executive power, documents coming from the European Commission are of importance, and the included documents are here perceived as the core of the European Union's cultural policy.

3.2.2 Analysis of documents

Qualitative content analysis was chosen to analyse the documents. It is one of the most used approaches for qualitative analysis of documents, where the researcher seeks for underlying themes in the data material. Content analysis can be used on different types of documents but is best suited for the kind of communication that is straightforward and simple. In that way, the analysis is not as dependent of the interpretations that the researcher makes and less can go wrong (Denscombe 2014:285).

In general, a qualitative content analysis follows a logical procedure. It starts with choosing an appropriate selection of texts, which is then divided into smaller units. What these units consist of varies depending on the focus of the research; it could be each single word but also whole sentences, paragraphs or headlines (Denscombe 2014:283). The researcher then develops categories, or themes, that are relevant to the analysis of the data. The smaller units are after that coded in line with the category, and the text is analysed regarding the frequency of the units and their relationship with other units that occur in the text. When the units are coded, a more sophisticated analysis is possible. The units are then put into relation with each other, and further explained (Denscombe 2014:283-284). In this thesis, the texts were read through several times and then divided into units, consisting of sentences and paragraphs. To use whole sentences was necessary to grasp the text's meaning. Categories relevant to answer the research question about the concept of culture in the European Union's cultural policy were developed, such as European identity. The units were then coded in line with the different categories. Paragraphs and sentences regarding the importance of cultural diversity and cultural heritage in Europe, for example, could then be coded as belonging to the European identity category. When this was finished, the frequency of the categories became clearer, and conclusion could be made, as in the example above, that the concept of culture within European Union cultural policy is frequently associated with the promotion of a common European identity. Vice versa, the absence or low frequency of other themes relevant to the research, such as democracy, was used to assume that culture, at least in the beginning of the investigated period, was not connected to any issues of democratic nature.

3.3 Case study: The museums

The case study as a method is common in social research and mainly associated with qualitative research. Choosing one or a few cases allows the researcher to dig deep into a particular phenomenon or setting and provide for something general from this (Denscombe 2014:54). Two cases were chosen for the research, in the shape of two different museum institutions, with the aim to explore if and how these specific arenas could be used for democratic learning as well as if they could have any other effects on society. This, in turn, was to draw conclusions about cultural institutions and their role in promoting active citizenship and their function in society more in general.

3.3.1 Selection of cases

As described by Denscombe, the selection of a case does not happen randomly. On the contrary, a case is selected due to its known features which are supposed to be relevant to the issue of the research (Denscombe 2014:58). On the topic of museum institutions as arenas for democratic learning for active citizenship, the cases chosen are museums who were known to be more than just locations for conservation and observing of cultural objects. A quick look showed that they were active and engaged in society in different ways. The Swedish museum Jamtli is an institution known for interacting with its visitors and running projects which concern social issues. Consequently, it suited the theme of the thesis well. To provide with another example, the Norwegian museum institution Vestfoldmuseene was selected as a second case. Vestfoldmuseene is an institution consisting of ten different museums, with different orientations. It was chosen because it is the head of a project concerning democracy and human rights, which suits the topic of the thesis, but also to serve as an example of the museum institution in society more in general. The two museums are perceived as suitable choices of cases

in the framework of this thesis. More could have been added, but were not due to the limited time and space. The quality of the case study is the ability to dig deep into a phenomenon, and this is evidently easiest to do if using few cases. Using two different museums appeared as further rewarding as the similarities and differences could be used to draw more robust conclusions. The aim of the thesis was not to compare the two, but differences were nevertheless expected especially regarding the institutions' relation to the European Union, considering that Sweden is a member state while Norway is not. Other differences and similarities were also perceived as a means to receive a deeper insight into the both cases.

3.3.2 Generalization of cases

A common objection to the case study as a method is to question if the researcher can generalize from a case. This concern whether the case is representative, if the results of the data collection and analysis may be of one of a kind and if it is possible to generalize based on just one or a few instances (Denscombe 2014:61). There is no doubt that all museum institutions are different, consisting of many different people and traditions, with various aims and values. The two cases in this thesis are selected because they are particularly engaged and interested in the museum as a societal actor, and cannot be claimed to represent all museum institutions - there are for sure museums which are not the least interested in working with societal issues. One way to approach this is to treat the case as an example. It is in some respects unique, but also an example of a wider category. Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene are in this sense examples of the category museum institutions, and these examples can be used for exposing broader trends. The trend here could be that museums are taking larger societal responsibility, that they are interested in teaching democratic values, and so on. Instead of claiming generalizability, the researcher must make an as detailed observation and description as possible, to provide the reader with enough data to decide if the material is approachable in other contexts (Denscombe 2014:62), and this is what the methodology section aims to do here.

3.3.3 Document study of museum strategy plans

A document study was also used to gain insight into the founding strategies and ambitions of the museums, through investigation of the museums' strategy and activity plans. Additional information regarding the two institutions' activities was also obtained from the museums' websites when necessary. The document study was made previous to the interviews, to gain knowledge on the subject and to have the possibility of asking interviewees to explain further their thoughts on the data found in in the documents.

3.3.4 Selection of documents

The strategy plan leads a museum institution's activities and is, therefore, a good start to gain an understanding of it. The plan lays out the nearest future, the goals and the aspirations of the museums. The selected document for Jamtli, Jamtli Strategiplan 2015-2018 (Jamtli 2014) is valid for the years 2015 to 2018. In addition, the museum issues an activity plan every year which explains the upcoming activities more in detail. The activity plans for the years 2016 and 2017, Stiftelsen Jamtlis verksamhetsplan 2016 (Jamtli 2015) and Stiftelsen Jamtlis verksamhetsplan 2017 (Jamtli 2016a) was also included in the research.

The corresponding selected document for Vestfoldmuseene is Strategisk plan for Vestfoldmuseene 2017-2021 (Vestfoldmuseene 2017a), which is valid for the years 2017 to 2021. Like Jamtli, Vestfoldmuseene issues an activity plan for every year. The activity plan for 2017 was not available at the time of the data collection; hence the research is restricted to the document from 2016, Vestfoldmuseene IKS' handlingsplan for 2016 (Vestfoldmuseene 2015).

3.3.5 Analysis of documents

Analysing the museum institution's strategy and activity plans followed the same procedure as for analysing the European Union's policy documents, with the use of qualitative content analysis. The text was first read repetitively to receive an entire understanding of it. The documents selected contained much information, of which not all were necessary to include in the analysis since it was simply not relevant to the theme of this thesis. For instance, formalities about the structure of the board and the process of developing the strategy plan. Such elements were therefore removed from the data, and the remaining text was after that divided into units which

were coded and grouped into categories. These categories were developed inductively, but formed with the research themes in mind regarding cultural spillovers and democratic learning for active citizenship. As it turned out that the museums had clear ambitions about including newly arrived and refugees, for example, the units treating that theme was categorized as integration which could then be suggested as a potential cultural spillover area in society. In the same way, paragraphs that referred to UNESCO, OECD and the European Union could be categorized as international context, and conclusions could be drawn about the two museums' perception of their position in the global community.

3.3.6 Interviews

The method of qualitative interview was chosen as a complement to the document study. The aim of a qualitative interview is to gain an understanding of the informant's perspective of something (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:42). To receive data about museum staffs' point of view was necessary to explore further how and if the museum institution could serve as an arena for performing democratic learning for active citizenship, as well as affecting other areas in society. It is reasonable to believe that if the museum should perform such activities, it is widely dependent on the employees, both on management and on a practical level.

To be prepared to perform interviews in a satisfying way, the interviews were done after the document study when all the necessary basic data was collected. In this way, the research process could mature, and interviews could be performed with more insight into the topic. Two of the interviews were made over telephone due to the distance, while one interview took place during a meeting. One interview was also made through mail correspondence.

3.3.7 Interview design

The interviews were designed to be semi-structured, which appeared as the most suitable choice to the research. A semi-structured interview means that the researcher prepares a list of topics and questions that she wants to address, but is also willing to be flexible regarding in which order the questions are answered. The conversation is allowed to flow, and the interviewee can come up with ideas and speak about the issues in a broad way (Denscombe 2014:186). The prepared questions and topics for the interviews revolved around the museum as an actor in society and as an arena for promoting democratic learning and active citizenship. The answers to the questions were expected and to lead to further questions to the informant, which could give even more insight into the data and provide the research with additional information. The interviews were designed to start with a few introducing, "light" questions and small talk to make the informant feel comfortable, followed by questions that went deeper into the different topics. This is as recommended by Denscombe, who suggests "easy" questions at the start of the interview, to make the interviewee feel relaxed (Denscombe 2014:194).

3.3.8 Selection of interviewees

It is easy to start by asking how many people that should be included for interviews in a study. Brinkmann & Kvale instruct to interview as many people as are needed to find the information necessary to answer the research question (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:148). In other words, the most important are to find the proper people to include, and any exact number of informants is, therefore, less relevant. In selecting the interviewees, the aim was to speak to individuals who are central to the activities of the museum institution. In order to receive the viewpoint from people with different relations to the issue, both executives and practitioners were selected. In the case of the Swedish museum Jamtli, one interview was made with Henrik Zipsane. He is the museum's CEO since 2002 and a member of the museum board. He has a central role in the actions and decisions of the institution and was a suitable choice to get insight into the policy-making and deciding part of the museum staff. To receive information from someone who works more practical and meet with the museum visitors, pedagogue Malin Bäckström was also interviewed.

The same approach was used for selecting informants from Vestfoldmuseene. One interview was done with Lena Fahre, who is the manager at one of the museum departments and who has also been part of the design of Vestfoldmuseene's strategy plan. To gain a practitioner's perspective, Ulla Nachtstern was also included. She is archive mediator at the institution's branch the Vestfold Archive and responsible for and guide in the project

“It concerns you too – Democracy and human rights in Vestfold” (“Det angår også deg – Demokrati og menneskerettigheter i Vestfold” in Norwegian). Nachtstern has a central part in the museum activities both at the archive and as a lecturer for the democracy and human rights project. Bäckström and Zipsane at Jamtli and Fahre and Nachtstern at Vestfoldmuseene are in positions giving them solid knowledge about their institutions. Their different perspectives since they work on different levels in the institution was valuable to the research, and relevant sources of data to gain the information about the museums that was needed to answer the research questions.

Brinkmann & Kvale identifies different types of interviewees, which may give rise to different challenges and issues. The informants in this thesis could to some degree be classified as “elite persons” (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:175). This group consists of leaders and professionals, some in positions of power, who are used to being asked about their opinions. This may lead to an asymmetric relation between the researcher and the interviewee. Brinkmann & Kvale recommends the researcher to be well-informed, to have “done their homework” on the topic of the interview, to achieve a larger degree of symmetry (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:176). Therefore, the interviews were performed after the document study, which provided with useful knowledge that was helpful during the interviews.

3.3.9 Analysis of interviews

With the informants’ approval, the interviews were done with an audio recorder and after that transcribed. To keep the conversations fresh in mind, the transcriptions were made soon after the interviews. Converting interview data into text is time-consuming, but makes it more structured (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:206). It was also necessary due to the chosen method for analysis, which was again qualitative content analysis. The transcriptions were read through several times. Since the interviews were semi-structurally designed, some parts of the conversations naturally ended up outside of the prepared themes, and these were if found irrelevant to the thesis, removed from the collected data. Technical accountings of the budget of the museums and the consequences of the merging of municipalities in Norway for the museums, were for example considered as not relevant to answer the research questions and were therefore not part of the analysis. The remaining text was then coded and categorized under different categories. As in the analysis of the documents, these were developed with the research themes in mind. For example, when an informant spoke about using the museum for learning about minority groups and reducing prejudices, this was labelled as democratic learning. Other frequent themes were also noticed, such as diversity and availability, which turned out to be important in some of the informants.

3.4 Reliability and validity

Reliability and validity are crucial in research and should be present both during the collection of data as well as during the analysis. However, the concept must be treated differently in a qualitative research setting compared with a quantitative. In most cases, the qualitative research is not possible to measure in numbers, and the results depend on social settings which will change from time to time (Denscombe 2014:297). In this thesis, these changing settings are especially relevant regarding the interviews, since it is a method that involves people who will not give the same answer to the questions if replicating the research. Moreover, qualitative research often means that the researcher is closely involved in both the selection and the analysis of the data, and if repeated by another researcher, the data and conclusions will not be the same (Denscombe 2014:297). The description of the methodological process, from selecting informants to the interpretation of the results, aims to increase the validity in that the reader allows insight into the process and demonstrate that the data is credible and accurate.

When it comes to the document study, establishing the validity of the documents is made by evaluating the document according to four basic criteria: authenticity (the material is real and from a reliable source), representativeness (the material is representative of the type of category it belongs to), meaning (the words are clear and understandable) and credibility (the material is accurate and without errors) (Denscombe 2014:230). As the documents selected are issued by the European Union and accessed by the union's official website, their au-

thenticity as well as credibility are secured. This regards the documents per se, but not necessarily the information within them. The text is clear and understandable to the researcher, but also part of politics and policy which means that the documents are part of an agenda. The information in the document is not neutral or objective. Denscombe addresses a few questions regarding this, to keep in mind when assessing document validity: What is the purpose of the document? Who produced it? At what time was the document produced and in which social context and climate (Denscombe 2014:230)? This has been kept in mind, not to risk becoming a spokesperson on behalf of the European Union, but to convey the information from a critical stance. The same reasoning can be applied regarding the documents issued by the two museum institutions; their strategy and activity plans. These are also coming from a reliable source and is representative of the category. However, at the same time, the content is part of the museums' agendas, and it is again important to keep a critical stance and not become an advertiser for Jamtli or Vestfoldmuseene.

As mentioned, the data used in the document study could easily be controlled by other researchers. The question when considering the reliability of the research is whether other researchers would make the same interpretations and conclusions. As with the interviews, Denscombe suggests that this issue is solved by making the research process open and transparent, in giving other researchers access to the procedures and decisions made (Denscombe 2014:298). The method section in this thesis aims to do this, by providing the necessary details, from selection to the analysis of data to show that data has been collected and interpreted in a fair and systematic way.

3.5 Methodological challenges

To get in contact with people for interviews were not that difficult, but the whole practical procedure of setting up the time for a phone call or a meeting turned out to be a bit troublesome. One of the participants had to cancel the meeting due to illness and therefore asked to answer the interview questions in an e-mail instead. This is not an ideal setting for an interview – as described by Denscombe, there is, of course, a difference between express something verbal compared to in writing. Body language and emotional expressions, for example, will go missing. On the other hand, the time delay that an interview through e-mail means could allow the interviewee time to reflect on the subject, hence giving a more thought-through answer (Denscombe 2014:199). It was important to make the informant feel comfortable and not persuade the person into a meeting, so the informant's premises were therefore accepted. It may be considered a flaw in the research since meeting could probably have resulted in additional data, but overall, the informant answered thoughtfully to the questions needed. The same argument could perhaps also be made regarding interviews over the telephone, in claiming that a face-to-face meeting would have proved more fruitful. However, the experience here is that the phone interviews, after all, gave a lot of valuable data to the thesis and this was also the most realistic alternative considering the physical distance to the informants in question.

3.6 Research ethics

Research that involves interviewing people brings some important ethical considerations, before, during and after the research process. The project is reported to and approved by Norwegian Centre for Research data, previous to the data collection. The participants are informed about the research project and have signed an agreement of consent. They are notified that participation is voluntary and that they at any time can withdraw their participation. The interviews are, with the participants' consent, audio recorded. The recordings are stored on a computer protected by a password which only the researcher has access to and is only used for the specified purpose.

4. Empirical results and discussion

This section will first present the results from the research and analysis of European Union cultural policy, and discuss these findings in relation to Sacco's Culture 3.0 theory. This is to answer the research question about how the concept of and the use of culture has been defined and developed in the European Union's cultural policy during the last ten years. Thereafter, the results from the research and analysis of the museums will be

presented. The second research question, asking in what way the museum could be a useful arena for democratic learning, will be discussed in relation to Nussbaum's theory about Socratic education. The discussion of the third research question, about other effects that the museum might have on society, and how their practice is converging with the European Union's cultural policy, will also be using Sacco's theory as framework.

4.1 European Union cultural policy

How has the concept of and the use of culture been defined and developed in the European Union's cultural policy during the last ten years? Starting with policy documents from 2007, the following section will provide an image of how culture has been perceived within the European Union and how this has developed during these years until today.

4.1.1 The European Agenda for Culture

The European Agenda for Culture (Council of the European Union 2007) was issued in 2007 as a resolution by the Council of The European Union. A resolution from the Council does not have legal consequences but allows the Council to express a statement in a specific political matter (European Union 2016). The resolution regarding a European Agenda for Culture is presented as a response to the initiative by the European Commission, which had requested an agenda of the sort, more specifically "a European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing world" (Council of the European Union 2007:1). The document representing the original initiative by the Commission uses a vivid language to describe culture, making room for a broad concept:

"Culture lies at the heart of human development and civilisation. Culture is what makes people hope and dream, by stimulating our senses and offering new ways of looking at reality. It is what brings people together, by stirring dialogue and arousing passions, in a way that unites rather than divides. Culture should be regarded as a set of distinctive spiritual and material traits that characterize a society and social group. It embraces literature and arts as well as ways of life, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (Commission of the European Communities 2007:2).

The Commission then continues to highlight the common European heritage, how the member states are united through culture, which creates the foundation of the union. It is further claimed that within a globalizing world, this is "indispensable" (Commission of the European Communities 2007:2). The European identity is a clearly present theme, as identified as typical for cultural policy in the European Union by Bache, George & Bulmer (2011:358). As the title of the recommendation suggests so is also the theme of globalization. Put in relation to each other, it is noted that culture is today crossing national borders, not only in Europe but also in the rest of the world. The values in learning from and being enriched by other cultures are highlighted, but it is also recognized that the exposure to other cultures has put the question of Europe's identity on the agenda, and how cohesive and intercultural societies should be secured. (Commission of the European Communities 2007:2). Culture is then described in relation to Europe and receives a kind of special status due to this, which becomes extra highlighted in a globalized world.

Sacco's does not focus on culture's importance due to globalization, or on culture as constituting a special European cultural identity, but rather on the potential spillover effects of cultural policy. The Commission's communication presents culture as having an intrinsic value, crucial to the identity of Europe, and even more so due to global impact. However, Sacco's model contains the area of soft power as a possible field where culture could have a spillover effect. He argues that cultural and creative production could make a country more visible in international relations, and improve its reputation (Sacco 2013:38). On the other hand, Sacco's focus here lies on cultural production while the European Commission rather highlights the European values, defined as "human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for diversity and intercultural dialogue". The concept of soft power is in fact also used by the Commission, but in terms of promoting norms and values to enhance that power (Commission of the European Communities:3), hence, the Commission's thoughts on cultural spillover effects overlap with Sacco's, but their emphasis is different. Furthermore, it should be noted that the focus on values such as tolerance and freedom of expression could be linked to the theme of democracy. Thus, there is an indirect association between culture and promotion of democracy.

Moving on to another relevant theme that is present in the document, which contains a reference to the framework for Key Competences for Lifelong learning. It is suggested that a European Agenda for Culture should focus on these competences, especially 'cultural awareness and expression,' 'social and civic competences' and 'communication in foreign language.' To promote these competences is declared as one of the agenda's objectives (Commission of the European Communities:9). Lifelong learning is one of the areas in Sacco's model where cultural policy is suggested to make impacts (Sacco 2013:37). Hence, his idea of cultural spillover to this area is reflected in the perception of culture in the European Agenda for Culture. Moreover, the mentioned social and civic competences that should be promoted through the agenda are competences that the European Union through the Key Competences for Lifelong learning links to active and democratic participation in society, and knowledge of democracy, equality, and justice (Education and Culture DG 2007:9-10). This is only a short reference in the document, but should nevertheless be mentioned due to the issue of cultural policy, active citizenship and democratic learning. At last, the mentioning of the key competence regarding cultural awareness is again an example of the European identity theme, where culture again is assigned the traditional role of promoting a sense of a common, European identity. Zipsane critiques the European Union for having a too narrow focus on culture and its potential for the key competences for lifelong learning. Cultural awareness is almost always the key competence suggested in cultural context, while the others are neglected, he claims (Zipsane 2011:1). In the European Agenda for Culture, two other key competences have become included.

The resolution following the Commission's communication, the European Agenda for Culture, is presented in a more formally structured document, starting with establishing how the Council perceive culture as something of special status and "crucial in the European integration process, based on common values and a common heritage", repeating the theme of European identity. After that, respect for and promotion of cultural diversity is highlighted. So is also the potential of culture and creativity for personal development, social cohesion, and economic growth. Connecting culture to these different areas presents it as something multifaceted, suggesting that it could be useful for other aspects than to contribute to the European identity, even though it is mentioned quite briefly. Moreover, it is requested that culture become more acknowledged in future policies, and the idea of deeper intercultural dialogue in the international community is also raised (Council of the European Union 2007:1).

The European Agenda for Culture establishes three main objectives to guide further strategies for cultural policy. Firstly, it is stated that intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity should be fostered. Secondly, culture as potentially stimulating creativity regarding growth, innovation, employment, and competitiveness should be acknowledged; and thirdly, culture should be promoted to take an essential part in the European Union's international connections. The second objective where culture is pointed out as contributing to innovation and competitiveness fits well into Sacco's theoretical framework, while the other spillover areas are absent. However, it is suggested that to use culture as a catalyst for creativity, culture and education should be better connected to each other (Council of the European Union 2007:2). To promote interactions between culture and education is also highlighted as one of the agenda's priorities (Council of the European Union 2007:4) It is not mentioned regarding spillover, but at least suggests linking culture to another policy area. Furthermore, encouragement of active participation in cultural activities is recommended to cultivate creativity and innovation, (Council of the European Union 2007:2). This coincides with what Sacco claims is the core of the Culture 3.0 phase, active cultural participation (Sacco 2013:29), but is, as mentioned, limited to the spillover area for innovation.

Moreover, culture's potential effects across borders and in the world are also noted. The third objective is to promote culture in the union's international relations, since it is a "vital element" of those (Council of the European Union 2007:2), and it is emphasised several times in the document that culture could be used on an international level. This is not an aspect covered by Sacco, as his ideas of culture in a global perspective revolves around using culture to increase Europe's competitiveness internationally. The European Union, on the other hand, of course, has an interest in strengthening its position globally, and acknowledge that culture can be used in supporting its cross-border relations.

In the European Agenda for Culture, cultural policy in the European Union is clearly focused on using culture as a means to build a sense of a common European identity, paradoxically while strongly emphasizing the diversity of the member states' cultures. The idea of using culture in other areas is present but is not the core message of the document. However, it is encouraged that culture should be more visible in future policies. Overall, the communication and the resolution on a European agenda for culture is keeping culture in the 2.0 phase. The guidelines of the agenda are quite broad, leaving the interpretation and implementation to the member states, but possibly also making room for policy to develop further within this area. This may indicate that more is expected from using culture in the future.

4.1.2 Creative Europe

Creative Europe (European Commission 2011) is the name of the European Union's program directed at the cultural and creative sectors in Europe. It was initiated by the Commission in 2011, to last between the years 2014 to 2020. Creative Europe gathers already ongoing cultural programs within one framework and aims at strengthening the cultural and creative sectors in Europe. It is displayed as coherent with the Europe 2020 strategy, by arguing that investment in culture and creative sectors promote smart and sustainable growth for all. The main purpose of the program is to create the conditions needed in the cultural and creative sectors, in a strategic way, to make them reach their potential for further growth. The sectors should be assisted in the challenges they are imposed when operating across borders, with the promotion of cultural diversity in mind (European Commission 2011:2).

The main theme of the document is growth. The focus lies on how culture can affect growth; on how the cultural industry could be a part of improving the European economy. As mentioned, the program's framework follows the priorities in the Europe 2020 strategy regarding sustainable and smart growth, and culture is suggested as a possible contributor to achieving the strategy's goals. Further, addressing the main problem identified in Europe 2020 which is the economic crisis, the effects of the cultural industry are highlighted as a means of escaping from this (European Commission 2011:2). The expectations formulated in the program is that cultural and creative industry will stimulate capital investment (European Commission 2011:9) and increase trade within the inner market (European Commission 2011:9). It also is highlighted how the financial possibilities which become available to the cultural and creative sector through the program, will help to release even more of the economic potential of these sectors:

“By improving access to finance for the cultural and creative sectors through improved investment and investor readiness, the new financial facility will increase the capacity of these sectors to attract private finance, strengthen their financial capacity and the commercial potential of works, thereby strengthening their competitiveness and opening up new opportunities for growth and employment.” (European Commission 2011:8).

This far, the expected effects only concern the cultural sector itself. Culture is described in economic terms, referred to as an “industry” that can generate capital. This is also distinguishing for the Culture 2.0 phase in Sacco's theory, where the emphasis lies on the economic outcomes in this specific macroeconomic section (Sacco 2013:27-28). However, the cultural sector is thereafter also described in relation to other themes and highlighted as possibly spreading effects in areas such as education, tourism, social integration and social innovation (European Commission 2011:2). Tourism is easily connected to culture, and not that ground-breaking to predict that cultural policy might have implications for the tourism industry, regarding the many cultural activities the tourist sector can offer visitors. The other areas suggested in the program, however, indicate spillover effects in fields that are more separated from the cultural area. These are mentioned quite swiftly, and in relation to the economic crisis, but nevertheless in terms of cultural impact in other areas, thus, some of Sacco's ideas might start to show here.

The connection between culture and social cohesion is made both straightforward and indirectly. As clarified earlier, social cohesion is one of the areas in Sacco's model, so the European Union and Sacco are using the same language here. It is stated in Creative Europe that the creative sector promotes diversity by encouraging

cooperation across national borders (European Commission 2011:2). Thanks to the program, cultural products such as movies are easier to distribute in a larger and more diverse range and reaches other countries than the one it originates from. This allows cultural producers from different nations to develop their networks and initiate partnerships across borders (European Commission 2011:4). Social cohesion is in this meaning highlighted as mostly occurring in the cultural sector, creating cohesion among cultural workers from diverse backgrounds and nations. It is perceived as an internal effect in the creative and cultural industries, rather than having an impact outside of this field. This is visible also when the program suggests that the increased support to political cooperation across borders will help to strengthen the national political environment, which here regards the cultural and creative sector, not in policy general (European Commission 2011:8). However, cultural exchange across borders could at least be an example of an essential element in the Culture 3.0 phase, which is active cultural participation. People consume, but also produce culture, and the cooperation and networks might facilitate this further.

The Creative Europe program encourages that further measures are taken to unleash the potential of the culture and media sector (European Commission 2011:6). This is the view of Sacco too, but in summary, the Creative Europe program is mostly keeping the guidelines and ambitions for the policy inside its own cultural realm. Some possible spillover areas are identified, but in general, the policy focuses on the so-called creative and cultural industries of Europe. The ambition of the program is mainly instrumental, to facilitate development and cooperation within this sector and its access to funding.

4.1.3 2015-2018 Work Plan for Culture

The Work Plan for Culture (2014) builds on the European Agenda for Culture and the Creative Europe Programme, as well as the union's overlying strategy Europe 2020, making it visible how a chain of policy programs overlap each other. The work plan is adopted by the Council and representatives of the member states' governments and sets out the priorities of cultural policy in the European Union for the years 2015-2018. The policy recalls that the European Agenda for Culture and Creative Europe both aims at promoting and strengthening Europe's cultural diversity, again highlighting this theme. It also mentions that the Agenda presents culture as a stimulator for creativity and that Europe 2020 describes culture's role in smart and economic growth (Council of the European Union 2014:2).

In the work plan, the overall role of culture is further noticed and highlighted. It contains guiding principles for the policy area, and as in previous policy documents, the "intrinsic value" of culture and its importance for cultural diversity is emphasised. The idea of a European cultural identity and culture's role in this remains. The policy also encourages that culture should be integrated into other political areas. It does not specify which specific areas this could be, only that it should be done when "relevant" (Council of the European Union 2014:4), thus, the policy remains a bit careful in its ambitions this far. Nevertheless, it is requested of the union's member states to ensure that culture is included in other policy areas during policy making, implementation, and evaluation. Furthermore, the work plan also states that it should be observed when European Union policy and actions may affect the cultural policy, and member states should inform each other on the subject. It is also highlighted that member states should become more aware of the benefits that culture might have in areas such as employment, education, regional development and social inclusion (Council of the European Union 2014:8). This is clearly one step forward, following the argument of Sacco about unleashing the potential of culture. This is described even more in detail as we move on to the work plan's key priorities.

Four key priorities for the years 2015-2018 is settled in the work plan: accessible and inclusive culture; cultural heritage; cultural and creative sectors: creative economy and innovation; and promotion of cultural diversity, culture in the European Union's external relations and mobility (Council of the European Union 2014). The priority accessible and inclusive culture is connected to the priority "inclusive growth" in Europe 2020, again connecting culture to the economy. This priority also makes a reference to the Key Competences for Lifelong Learning framework (Education and Culture DG 2007a), as it suggests that the competence "cultural awareness and expression" should be developed and integrated into education policies (Council of Europe 2014:9). This is the only key competence in the document, and it connects culture with education, suggesting a cultural

spillover effect into this field. In Sacco's model, lifelong learning is one of the spillover areas (Sacco 2013:37), and this is obviously reflected in European Union's work plan for culture as well. This is also an example of Zipsane's claim that policy makers do not realize that the cultural field can contribute to developing other key competences than just this obvious one, cultural awareness, and expression.

Furthermore, this priority also encourages to promote culture's contribution to social inclusion, asking how public policy can encourage and help cultural institutions to work with other sectors such as prison institutions, healthcare, and social care. The aim is to provide policy makers and cultural institutions with the guidelines needed to perform this (Council of Europe 2014:10). The European Union here speaks of social inclusion while Sacco's model points at social cohesion (Sacco 2013:35), but these two should belong to the same theme. The role culture is given by the European Union in this section is quite straightforward: cultural institutions should assume responsibility for society, by working with other institutions. It could be hospitals, elderly homes, youth detention centres and more; it is open to interpretation. These findings suggest that the concept of culture within the European Union's policy has expanded, to be relevant to use also outside its own field.

The second priority, cultural heritage, mostly remains within the framework for pure cultural policy. The need for protection of cultural heritage is noted, and development of heritage professionals' knowledge (Council of Europe 2014:9), keeping this priority area within the cultural field. The use of culture is expanding, while at the same time keeping its assigned role in promoting the building of a European identity. In the third priority, cultural and creative sectors: creative economy and innovation, culture is again connected to the theme of the economy, specifically targeting the role of public policy to develop entrepreneurship and innovation within the cultural and creative sector (Council of Europe 2014:10). Culture as a policy area is here assigned a role in the pursuit of the aims of Europe 2020. The fourth and final priority, promotion of cultural diversity, culture in the European Union's external relations and mobility, repeats the previous policy documents that encouraged to increase the use of culture in the European Union's international relations. This is expressed more in detail, pushing this part of cultural policy forward (Council of Europe 2014:12).

Overall, even if the work plan is quite practical in its nature, it nevertheless underlines the importance of culture and provides it with tasks that moves outside the conventional, strictly cultural policy area. The suggestion for cultural institutions cooperation with other societal institutions is the most speaking, as the European Union here without doubt encourages that cultural policy should spread to other areas, also in line with Sacco's theory. At the same time, culture is defined through the importance of cultural heritage and cultural diversity, so the traditional idea of culture endures.

4.1.4 Horizon 2020: Europe in a changing world – inclusive, innovative and reflective societies

Horizon 2020 is the European Commission's research and innovation program, set for the years 2014 to 2020. It is the largest of its kind within the European Union, and is related to the Europe 2020 strategy and one of its flagship initiatives, 'Innovation union'. Horizon 2020 is claimed to promote economic growth and create jobs, and research is perceived as an investment in the future. Anyone can make proposals for research projects and apply for funds from the research program, but must answer to the priorities set out within Horizon 2020's so-called work programs (European Commission 2017b). The title of the work program for the years 2016 to 2017 is Europe in a changing world – inclusive, innovative and reflective Societies (European Commission 2016a). The work program contains different calls for proposals, which establishes what topics towards which the research should be oriented.

The document addresses the challenges which Europe is experiencing, such as the fact that many young people are without employment, education or training; as well as increasing inequality and poverty in many member states. Conflicts inside the borders are noticed, together with those in the union's neighbouring countries. The text urges to reflect on the past to understand the present, and acknowledges the need to create societies that are inclusive, innovative and reflective (European Commission 2016a:13). Culture then makes its entry in one of the program's calls, which is titled Understanding Europe – Promoting the European and cultural space. It is suggested that a comprehensive reflection of the cultural and social diversity in Europe is necessary to handle

the social challenges that the European Union is facing today and in the future. It is argued that it is crucial to foster an understanding of Europe and create societies that are reflective (European Commission 2016a:84). Again, it is the theme of a European identity, how it should be promoted and be respected in its diversity. But the call is also adding another dimension to this, which is the importance of inclusion and reflection.

Topics related to this call are suggested, and one that is relevant to cultural policy is Participatory approaches and social innovation in culture. A connection between culture and democracy is made from the start, as it is highlighted how participating in the governance of cultural heritage may promote democratic participation. It is emphasised that this could facilitate managing the social, political and democratic challenges which need to be handled. The participation of the private sector and civil society is also encouraged, to make the cultural heritage sector better suited to contemporary Europe (European Commission 2016a:92). It is not further explained what role civil society or the private sector should play here, but it is nevertheless encouraged that the cultural institutions should reach outside its own area. The suggested cultural spillover to active citizenship and democratic learning is clearly established here. The idea of culture spreading to other areas in society is coherent with Sacco's theory, but he does not recognize democracy or active citizenship as specific areas for spillover. In this thesis, the pursuit for social and civic competences for active citizenship has been identified in the Key Competences for Lifelong Learning framework (Education and Culture DG 2007). Sacco is in fact including lifelong learning as a spillover area in his model (Sacco 2013:37), but he does this without any reference to active citizenship or democracy. These could rather be said to have become identified as areas for spillover by the European Union itself, through Horizon 2020.

Inclusion and availability are other occurring themes in the document. The topic calls for research and innovation actions mainly regarding the cultural institutions. It is requested to explore how cultural institutions handle the task of managing their material resources such as collections, and at the same time succeed in reaching new audiences, if they do. It calls for the investigation of how cultural institutions may include different segments of audiences, such as younger people, minorities, migrants and disadvantaged people (European Commission 2016a:93). The expectations are that new strategies will develop which can help cultural institutions and their networks, partners, and stakeholders to reach out to new audiences and communities. Policies should be updated and the institutions' role within culture reconsidered. This is to foster European culture and at the same time make it more democratic through "mutual and intercultural understanding" (European Commission 2016a:94). This is not an identified spillover area per se but could be said to belong to the constant emphasis in European Union policy on social cohesion, which in turn is highlighted by Sacco. He talks about "spaces of multi-cultural interaction" where the participation in culture could have effects on social cohesion (2013:35). One pre-condition for a cultural institution to achieve this should be the issue stressed in Horizon 2020: its ability to reach all kinds of groups. Only then can multi-cultural interaction occur.

To summarize, Horizon 2020 is further expanding the concept and the use of culture, linking it to questions of democracy and social and political challenges. It also puts the cultural institutions in the spotlight, addressing the importance of their ability to be inclusive and available to different groups in society.

4.1.5 Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations

The Strategy for international cultural relations was issued by the European Commission and the High Representative in 2016. The High Representative, an office currently held by Federica Mogherini, is the union's chief diplomat and responsible for the foreign, security and defence policy in the European Union (European Union External Action 2016). This means that the concept of culture is set within a global, foreign policy context. The strategy states that improving the European Union's intercultural relations will make the union a stronger global actor, which is one of the Commission's priorities. Those intercultural relations should be promoted through 'cultural diplomacy' (European Commission 2016b:3).

The strategy is to a large part characterized by an international perspective, describing in different ways how the European Union through cross-border cultural relations could contribute to stability and peace in third

countries. Contemporary potential conflict topics such as radicalization, extremism, migration flows and economic turbulence are given as examples of where culture could play an important part (European Commission 2016b:6). To connect culture's possible impact on such serious issues is an obvious changing in the perception of what culture could be used for. Intercultural dialogue is highlighted as an essential tool to promote mutual understanding and reconciliation (European Commission 2016b:11). The same goes for another issue in the document, which is the subject of protecting cultural heritage. The strategy here refers among other things to the recent happenings in conflict areas in Syria and Iraq, with the destruction of cultural heritage. The protection of cultural heritage is stated as crucial for cultural diversity and besides that also as contributing to tourism and economic growth (European Commission 2016b:12). The importance of protection of cultural heritage has been in focus also in previous cultural policy documents but is emphasized even clearer in this strategy. This appears as a natural development, considering the current world situation.

Culture's relevance in a democracy is underlined several times in the document; it is claimed to foster respect for cultural diversity and free speech and can, therefore, support democratizing processes (European Commission 2016b:7). It is suggested that culture should be promoted through already existing European Union programs and frameworks, and the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights is given as an example. The purpose of this program is to assist and consolidate democratic development, through promoting freedom of expression and freedom of opinion (European Commission 2016b:5). Democracy, in turn, is frequently connected to diversity; diversity in general and cultural diversity. It is emphasised that cultural diversity is one of the European Union's integrated values, and that diversity should be encouraged (European Commission 2016b:2). A tolerant and pluralistic approach to intercultural and international relations is suggested (European Commission 2016b:3). Active citizenship is also mentioned in passing. Promotion of an active civil society is proposed as one of the methods for increasing European Union cooperation. Civil society is given as an example of an actor participating in the cultural connections between the European Union and third countries, and it is suggested that the European Union should provide more support to civil society organizations who are active within the cultural field (European Commission 2016b:14). European Voluntary Service is also mentioned as one of the means for mobility and exchange, which could improve international connections (European Commission 2016b:15).

Spillover effects from culture to democracy, the promotion of human rights and an active civil society is not, as mentioned previously, are not part of Sacco's theory. As in the case of Horizon 2020, it appears as something that is identified by the European Union itself. In contrast, social cohesion is a frequent theme in the strategy for international cultural relations. It is suggested that cities' and regions' social cohesion could be improved through investment in cultural projects (European Commission 2016b:8). The initiative 'European Capitals of Culture' is held as an example of how cities may profit from giving resources to culture, and these experiences are to be shared with other countries (European Commission 2016b:9-10). Hence, the policy connects the use of culture to both active citizenship and social cohesion. Another spillover effect from Sacco's model, local identity, may also be visible here. Sacco suggests that investment in new, cultural projects may provide for example a city with global visibility (Sacco 2013:39), and the European Capitals of Culture is one clear example of how this could be made.

The strategy establishes that culture is not an isolated area. A guiding principle for European Union action is to "encourage a cross-cutting approach to culture":

"Culture is not just about the arts or literature. It spans a wide range of policies and activities, from inter-cultural dialogue to tourism, from education and research to the creative industries, from protecting heritage to promoting creative industries and new technologies, and from artisanship to development cooperation. The proposed strategy therefore encourages opportunities to promote culture within the EU's external policies. Culture is also a key element of sustainable development insofar as the creative sector can promote reconciliation, growth and freedom of expression on which other fundamental freedoms can be built" (European Commission 2016b:4-5).

This passage legitimizes culture's place within foreign policy and international relations, and as relevant in more areas than just the cultural. It clearly indicates an ambition to detach the cultural policy from its traditional framework, and start and continue to interact with other policy fields. Cultural policy is added to the broader policy agenda.

To conclude this section, the EU strategy for international cultural relations assigns culture a rather substantial role. It is presented as having a potential as a peace-making force, that can strengthen fragile societies and make international relations stronger. The strategy makes references to the Europe 2020 strategy, but also to the United Nations 2030 Agenda for sustainable development, thus placing culture in a larger context. Culture is highlighted as a natural part of the new, smart and creative economy, and as a means to secure sustainable development and growth for all. It is also put in the context of democracy, fundamental freedoms and human rights, as well as a part of the foreign policy of the European Union. Culture is given a role in the Commission's priority to make the European Union a stronger global actor and a valuable international partner. Not all these themes can be categorized into the areas in Sacco's model, but the idea of positive spillover to other fields is clearly present. The policy issued by the European Union could even be interpreted as suggestions to new spillover areas in a future model, where international relations could be one area and democratization another. The concept of culture and the perceptions of what culture may be used for has evidently expanded.

4.1.6 Concluding remarks: The concept of culture within the European Union

The previous section shows how the concept and the use of culture has been defined in the European Union's cultural policy during the last ten years. The results show that the concept of culture is evolving through the investigated policy documents, from the agenda for culture in 2007 where focus lay on culture as contributing to the European identity, to 2016 and the strategy for international cultural relations where culture is given more tasks and is described in more and more multifaceted ways. The emphasis on culture's crucial role in the European identity is continuous but is presented in a more reflective way in the Horizon 2020 research program. Culture is increasingly connected to other societal areas, such as education, tourism, and portrayed as promoting democracy and social cohesion. The policies are often vague when describing the concept of culture, such as in the suggestion that culture could be used for 'personal development' in the European Agenda for Culture. Sometimes are they more direct in the instructions for the usage of culture, as in the Work Plan for Culture where cultural institutions are urged to cooperate with other institutions in society. Even if the cultural policy of the European Union is not imposing any laws or regulations on the member states, but must stick with guidelines and recommendations, there is obviously an actual interest in the union to continue to push cultural policy forward. It becomes apparent since there are constant remarks of developing the use of culture in future policies, for example by suggesting that it becomes integrated with other policies. The development of the concept becomes especially clear at the end of the investigated period, where culture is assigned a role in the European Union's external relations. It also shows that context matters, as in Creative Europe where actions to facilitate reaching the goals of the Europe 2020 strategy were in focus, a consequence of the economic downturn. It is also visible in the Strategy for international cultural relationships, recognizing the troubled world situation. It shows a development of the concept of culture, not existing within a vacuum but affecting and becoming affected by the outside world. If culture has reached the phase 3.0, as Sacco argues, it appears as if European Union's cultural policy has started to align with this during the investigated years.

4.2 Democratic learning for active citizenship in the museums

The second research question regards in what way the museum institution could be a useful arena for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning, as the European Union formulates it. Democracy is a founding value of the union, and it is established that there is a need for democratic knowledge to encourage active and participating citizens. The following section will present the results of the empirical investigation, where promotion of active citizenship and democratic learning has been explored on a local and practical level within two museums. Nussbaum's theory about how education for democracy could be performed is used to discuss the results. There will be a brief introduction to the respective museum, before moving on to discussing the programs and projects that they are running on the subject.

4.2.1 Jamtli museum

Jamtli is an open-air museum founded in 1912, in Östersund, Sweden. It was founded with the purpose to create an arena for folk tradition, with craftwork, folk dance and music festivals. The museum has since then developed, especially during the 1970s where the trend went from hosting pure exhibitions to actively using these for learning and experiencing. The pedagogical section has also expanded (Jamtli 2017a). Today, the museum consists of an indoor museum with both permanent and temporary exhibitions, and an outdoor recreational area with historic houses, farms, and animals. Jamtli offers a range of different activities and attractions such as children's activities, lectures, role play and seasonal Christmas and spring fairs (Jamtli 2017b). The museum is owned by Jamtli foundation, which consists of Östersund municipality, Jämtland county council, local history association Heimbygda and Jämtland County Art Association. Jamtli museum employs about 120 people (Jamtli 2017b). The museum offers the visitors a range of different exhibitions and experiences, and are creative in using the seasons for different themes.

Malin Bäckström is the leader of the pedagogic section at Jamtli, and reasons that the museum as an institution should not work as well if its purpose was purely historical. The museum needs to be urgent for others beside those with interest in history. Bäckström suggests that what makes the museum special, is the possibility to use history as a tool to create an awareness of more current topics. One exhibition addressed the theme of exclusion, with a historical part which described how society has treated sexual minorities, the poor, the Sami People and other minorities, and another part which focused on society today. The point of the exhibition was to make the visitors reflect on the issue of exclusion (Bäckström 2017). Another program that also addresses issues about values that is returning to Jamtli every autumn, is the role play 'On the run.'

4.2.2 'On the run' role play

The role play 'On the run' ('På flykt' in Swedish) was created by Jamtli together with the Red Cross, Save the Children and the Swedish Migration Agency, and has been ongoing at Jamtli for 13 years. It turns to youth in secondary school and is presented as a program that addresses value issues. The aim is to equip young people to be able to debate and talk about refugee issues (Jamtli 2016b). The role play starts with giving the students an introduction to refugee politics and the refugee situation in Sweden and Europe today. After that, everyone is assigned a role as a refugee. They get to know their character, who they are and from where they come. They might also receive some belongings, such as a piece of jewellery or a photo of their mother. Some of them get a passport too. After this introduction, the role play begins, with 'smugglers' entering and bringing the participants to Sweden, where they go through an asylum process. They meet with the police, get registered, get in contact with the migration agency and are after that sent to a refugee camp, where they meet with help organisations. After a few hours, the participants receive the decision regarding their case: whether they got a residence permit or not. When the role play is over, the next exercise begins, where the class discusses why things went as they did (Zipsane 2017).

Nussbaum highlights the role play as a method to educate citizens in democracy. She argues that the ability to see the world through someone else's eyes, to put oneself in another human being's position, is a way to cultivate sympathy, which is a necessary part of being a democratic citizen (Nussbaum 2010:108). These are obviously present themes in the case of Jamtli, where 'On the run' role play assigns the participants with the role of a refugee and the experiences this contains. Nussbaum suggests that such imagination could happen through for example through literature or theatre (Nussbaum 2010:96), but the museum in this case appears as an alternative arena where this could happen too. It also appears as a decent example of how to make Nussbaum's instruction to "develop students' capacity to see the world from the viewpoint of other people" (Nussbaum 2010:45) a reality. Furthermore, Brownlee Lunn et al. (2017:3) argues that part of active citizenship education is to encourage reflections about moral, and care for others. The role play aims at and contains elements of precisely that: to develop the concern for others, and encouragement of debate.

Bäckström confirms that the concept has been successful, and is requested by schools every year. 'On the run' reaches almost the whole region, with about 40 schools classes participating every autumn. Bäckström suggests that working with emotions and feelings in this way makes the program special:

“The students are exposed to difficult things. It is a physical experience; they run through the woods, travel on flatbed trucks, get locked up in a container and are put through quite provoking interviews where their identity is questioned. They are not used to this, so it is an extraordinary museum experience” (Bäckström 2017).

Bäckström confirms again that the purpose of the program is to give the students the tools they need to understand the world around them, broaden their perspective and reconsider their values. They should be encouraged to discuss the topic with each other and perhaps change their mind. Critical thinking and reflection are evidently present themes. Moreover, Bäckström’s understanding is that ‘On the run’ has become steadily more relevant, as the world has changed. She describes how they back in 2004 had to start by explaining what “asylum” means, which is no longer necessary. The refugee situation is more present, and the students may even have new classmates who have fled from, for example, Syria (Bäckström 2017). As described by Bäckström, the theme of democratic learning is evidently present in the idea of the role play. Discussion, debate, and to equip the children with tools to participate in this could all be categorized as parts of democratic learning.

Nussbaum’s evoking of the Socratic ideal is clearly present in this reasoning at the museum. To ask critical questions and shape one’s own thoughts and arguments is what ‘On the run’ revolves around. The students are given input and information about the refugee situation and the processes it means to flee from one’s own country. They are encouraged to discuss the topic, both at the museum and afterward, in the classroom.

Evaluation of “On the run” occurred last in 2005, where Mid Sweden University investigated if the student’s attitudes had changed after partaking in the role play. The results showed that the girls, in general, were less xenophobic after undergoing the role play. The boys’ attitudes remained about the same, before and after (Bäckström 2017). Bäckström acknowledges that there is a lot to take into consideration when interpreting the results from an investigation of that kind, and states that the idea of the role play is based more on gut feeling than on any scientific evaluations. The pedagogues noticeably experience that the students become involved in the issue. They can also give examples of students who enter the role play with strongly xenophobic attitudes, who two hours later feel upset because their character was not granted asylum, perhaps contributing to a small attitude change. Bäckström also confirms that the students’ teachers assert that the discussion also continues after leaving the museum and that it could also work as a starting point for other types of debates (Bäckström 2017). Zipsane (2011) points out that the social and civic competences from the Key Competences for Lifelong Learning framework (Education and Culture DG 2007) are often addressed through engagement of culture, and that this might be suitable since participating in cultural activities often includes challenging of attitudes (Zipsane 2011:16). ‘On the Run’ appears as an example of how this could be done.

The students who participate in the role play are in ninth grade, meaning that they are in the ages 15 to 16 years. In the initiation of the program, in 2004, high school students were included as well. However, the older students turned out to be more difficult to reach. Bäckström perceived them as a bit more politically correct, acting as what they thought were expected of them. Ninth graders, on the contrary, are more outspoken about their attitudes and opinions (Bäckström 2017). This shows that the staff at Jamtli are aware of the possible impacts the role play might have on the participants and that this is a desired effect. Therefore, the program is aimed at ninth graders, to make sure that the role play succeeds in reaching the recipients. Thus, the focus group is still students, but the arena for learning has shifted from the school to the museum, and the learning is non-formal instead of formal.

In the light of Nussbaum’s theory, “On the run” role play appears as a solid example of democratic learning. Several of the essential elements are present, such as empathy; to be able to see the world through another person’s eyes. Nussbaum underlines that this is important especially when it comes to those who are perceived by society as “lesser” (Nussbaum 2010:45), which could be true when it comes to the image of refugees. She also instructs that democratic education should consist of teaching about other groups. In her example, she refers to other groups as racial, religious, and sexual minorities, and disabled people (Nussbaum 2010:45). The role play does not focus on any specific group of people except “refugees,” which is, of course, a large and

heterogeneous group. Nonetheless, refugees, in general, are often subject of stereotyping and prejudices. Jamtli aims to give the participants in the role play an insight in the asylum process, which could increase the knowledge about and give more nuances to the image of what it could be like to come to Sweden as a refugee. This has naturally become even more crucial due to the large migration flows that Europe has experienced during the last years, which has become a hot political topic where xenophobic attitudes can be distinguished in the debate.

Furthermore, Nussbaum emphasizes that a vivid democracy need citizens who have the capacity to think for themselves and question and criticize authorities (Nussbaum 2010:48). The participating students are encouraged to talk about the topic when the role play has ended, to reflect and exchange their views on what happened. The discussion continues in the classroom. It is clear that the purpose of “On the run” is to stimulate the students’ thoughts, make them broaden their view and look at the subject from different points of view. The pedagogue staff does not tell the participants what to think, but to reflect and debate. The Socratic ideal is present in this process.

The long-term effects of the role play are of course difficult to measure, and any evaluation of that kind has not been made at Jamtli. Bäckström and her staff trust their gut feeling, and they experience that the children become affected and involved. Since the program has been running for over a decade and reached thousands of students since the start, it is safe to say that it has become a popular feature at Jamtli and that school staff in the region find it meaningful to let their students participate. The effects may be unsure, but “On the run” still appears as a concrete action for teaching children about values, and as a solid example of how the museum could be used as an arena for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning.

4.2.3 Vestfoldmuseene

Vestfoldmuseene was established in 2009 when nine museums and one archive in Vestfold County in Norway merged under one name. The owners consist of nine municipalities in Vestfold, together with Vestfold County Council. Vestfoldmuseene has 69 employees distributed across the different departments, and it also has its own board (Vestfoldmuseene 2017b). The museums have different themes, for example, one department consists of Norwegian artist Edvard Munch’s house, and another one is the Whaling Museum which tells the story of the Norwegian whaling tradition (Vestfoldmuseene 2017c). Vestfoldmuseene is financed by the owners, together with state support and through its own revenues. Vestfoldmuseene profiles themselves through their key values, which state that they are current, authentic, brave and respectful (Vestfoldmuseene 2016).

Lena Fahre is the manager for one of the departments, Slottsfjell Museum, located in Tønsberg. She has also been part of designing Vestfoldmuseene’s strategy plan, where democracy is a theme, mainly in stressing that Vestfoldmuseene should contribute to a democratization of culture. Inclusion and diversity are stated as necessary in the pursuit of this. It is also noted that Vestfoldmuseene should promote human rights, democracy, and diversity in public debate. It is further settled that the institution should participate in these debates, and through exhibitions inspire and stimulate to discussions about current social and political topics. The aim is to make visitors gain new insights and to encourage critical reflections. Fahre suggests that this can be done through actualization, which means to place history in a context which makes it relevant also today. One example is Slottsfjell Museum’s upcoming exhibition about the Crusades in the Middle Ages, where Christians went to war against Muslims in the name of religion. Fahre connects these historical events to conflicts of today, between Islamic fundamentalists and the Christian conservative right in America, and suggests that reflections over the past could help explaining problems in our time. It is a clear ambition to stimulate to debate, critical thinking, and reflections of both the past and the present. Additionally, Fahre confirms that the aspects of democracy and human rights are always present in the museums’ exhibitions, programs, and projects. There are always elements of topicality, which deals with democracy or social understanding (Fahre 2017). The democratic dimension of culture and heritage is clearly present at Vestfoldmuseene, and this becomes even more clear when turning to one of the institution’s projects, where a gloomier side of the region’s history is used for promoting democratic learning for active citizenship today.

4.2.4 'It concerns you too' project

Vestfoldmuseene is responsible for the program 'It concerns you too – Democracy and human rights in Vestfold' ('Det angår også deg – Demokrati og menneskerettigheter i Vestfold' in Norwegian). The program focuses on World War II and the Holocaust. Vestfoldmuseene motivates the project by pointing at the rise of anti-Semitic attitudes and an increasing trend in society today, where stereotypical prejudices and xenophobia have gained more ground. Vestfoldmuseene wants to assume responsibility and help to combat these currents in society (Museumetikk 2017). The program cooperates with volunteers and has resulted in participation at local events such as the marking of Victory in Europe Day and International Day of Peace. The project aims at students in upper secondary school as well as other interest groups, and more than 6000 people have taken part of the program so far (Nachtstern 2017).

Vestfoldmuseene takes a clear stance as they motivate the project. It is outspoken that the institution takes responsibility for battling prejudices and racism, and tries to do this with history as a tool. Combating prejudices is one of the features of Nussbaum's theory for how to create citizens for a vital democracy (Nussbaum 2010:45), and visible in the "It concerns you too" project. The starting point is the Holocaust and anti-Semitism, but the perspective is after that widened for society today, to include the issue of xenophobia in general.

The program activities take place in four of Vestfoldmuseenes' departments: Larvik Museum, Hvalfangstmuseet, Vestfoldarkivet and Slottsfjell Museum, as well as the cities where these museums are located and in Berg prison. The locations are chosen for historical reasons: all of them are places where violations against Jews and opponents of the Nazi regime occurred during World War II (Museumetikk 2017). In Larvik and Tønsberg, for example, visitors are told the stories of Jewish families who lived here, who were arrested and deported during the war. Another location is Berg Prison, that was established in 1942 under the Quisling government, to intern Jews and political opponents. Berg is still used as a prison but is also open to visitors. Not much of the old internment camp is left, except for some of the jail cells. Parts of the old railway has also been left, in memory of the Jews who were transported by train to Oslo, and from there were sent to Auschwitz (Riksantikvaren 2017). There are also references to the so-called stolpersteine, stumble blocks, which are small blocks of concrete put into the ground with a plate with names of the victims of the Holocaust. Vestfoldmuseene is not responsible for the constructions of the stumble blocks (Fahre 2017), but the project tour may include a visit to them where the story of these people is told. In Tønsberg, for example, 16 stumble blocks have been put down in memory of the Jews who were deported and murdered during the war (Museumetikk 2017).

Ulla Nachtstern is archive mediator at the Vestfold Archive, and she is also guide and lecturer of the tour in Berg Prison. Nachtstern has a personal connection to the project, in that her grandfather was, in fact, one of the interns in Berg internment camp. He was sent to Auschwitz and was one of the few who managed to survive and return to Norway. With her grandfather's fate as a starting point, Nachtstern tells the participants the story of Berg internment camp and the Jewish men who lived there during World War II (Museumetikk 2017). She highlights that few people realize that Holocaust happened locally; that people from Norwegian cities became arrested, put into camps and thereafter deported to Auschwitz where they were murdered. Nachtstern reasons that this was possible since individuals in the local environment did nothing to stop it. The purpose of the program is to provide knowledge about the local Holocaust history, but also to show the consequences of the individual's choice, of decisions and laws, and point at that someone, in the end, is responsible. The project has not yet been evaluated, but Nachtstern and the other staff involved experience that the participants become engaged and affected (Nachtstern 2017).

The 'It concerns you too' project is a clear example of learning in a non-formal arena. It is a history class outside the classroom, without tests or evaluation. It is a cultural heritage site, used for telling the story of the past but is also forward-looking, aiming at preventing racism and extremism today. This is coherent with the European Union's definition of active citizenship, which states that active citizenship should be performed with mutual respect and without violence. The project contains elements of Nussbaum's theory for educating democratic citizens, such as the encouragement of critical thinking and reflection, as well as combating prejudices.

Nachtstern's emphasis on the individual's responsibility also coincides with Nussbaum's ideas. Nachtstern stresses that we are accountable for our actions and even our failure to act (Nachtstern 2017) and Nussbaum argues that every child should be treated as a responsible agent, to promote accountability (Nussbaum 2011:45). 'It concerns you too' show how cultural heritage sites such as the former houses of the Norwegian Jews in Vestfold are used not only to tell the story of the past but are also to stimulate contemporary discussions. Nussbaum focuses on the art and humanities in school, but it appears as the museum institution in cases like these is well suited for the promotion of active citizenship and democratic learning. This might even be the very particular nature of cultural heritage; the possibility for a person to physically be within historical settings and learn about the past while being encouraged to reflect on contemporary society. To step into the former prison cells on Berg simply differs from sitting in a school desk and taking a test about World War II. Zipsane refers to it as extraordinary meetings, where culture and education meet and a synergy effect occurs (Zipsane 2011:7).

Moreover, Nachtstern argues that museums are in fact responsible for making society more democratic. The museum should create awareness among young people, about democracy and human rights, and make them capable of identifying undemocratic processes in the future. She also thinks that the societal role is intrinsic in the museum as an institution, but that the responsibility that this role entails is assumed to different degrees in different museums. To take responsibility is an active action, she argues. The museum could do it through taking a position, debating, actualizing collections and exhibitions, and not being afraid of controversies, but show that reality is multifaceted and not solely black or white (Nachtstern 2017). This perception of the museum suggests that it is an arena that could, and as argued by Nachtstern also should be used as an arena for promoting active citizenship. It is implied that the museum institution holds an influential position, which it must use responsibly.

As in the case of Jamtli, it is hard to say anything about the effects of the 'It concerns you too' project that Vestfoldmuseene operates. However, it is pronounced by Vestfoldmuseene that the aim of the project is to promote democracy and human rights and that this is a way to face the democratic challenges that society is facing such as racism and extremism. Thus, Vestfoldmuseene is another concrete example of how the museum institution can be used as an arena for promoting democratic learning for active citizenship. 'It concerns you too' coincides with many of the elements from Nussbaum's education for democracy theory, applied in a non-formal environment.

4.2.5 Concluding remarks: The museum as an arena for promoting active citizenship

The aim of this part of the research was to find out in what way a cultural institution like a museum can be a useful setting for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning, as formulated by the European Union. This issue is not strange to the people working in the investigated museums, on the contrary, they are aware of the potential in their institutions. The two museums are showing in different ways how to approach it. Jamtli does it through a role play and by addressing the refugee issue, while Vestfoldmuseene highlights the events during World War II that took place in the region, through tours and lectures. Both are examples of non-formal learning, where learning is structured but not provided by an educational or a training institution. Neither does it come with a test or offers the participants any certificate, but it still has learning objectives. Overall, both 'On the run' and 'It concerns you too' contains several of the elements in Nussbaum's theory about how to create democratic citizens, in that they aim to encourage the participants critical thinking, stimulate to debate and make society more democratic. These are in turn components which are necessary to be able to perform active citizenship as it is described by the European Union.

It should also be noted that these two cases show how the museum institution can be an arena for promoting active citizenship, both by linking the question to heritage and without doing that. Vestfoldmuseene uses the local history of the region as a tool to address issues of democracy and human rights, while Jamtli's role play is not connected to any of the museum's exhibitions or associated with any specific historical events. Thus, Jamtli has stepped outside the historical framework that a museum is usually associated with. This could, of course, implicate that the case of Jamtli is "special" as a museum, perhaps being more progressive than many other.

However, it also shows the possibilities of the cultural institution more in general, demonstrating the options that are available when moving outside the traditional structure.

The cases confirm the trend among cultural institutions described by Šraml Gonzáles (2012), where the perception of the use of cultural heritage has expanded from the traditional view. The heritage site is now, in some contexts, seen as a learning arena which allows cultural institutions to also work for social development and not only as conservators and exhibitors. The collaborations between the school and the museum also fit into the idea of extraordinary meetings which has been identified as sometimes happening when formal education and culture meet (Zipsane 2011).

4.3 The museum institution in society – other potential effects

The previous section showed that both Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene are aware of their institution's position in a democracy and that they both run projects and activities that contain several of the elements in Nussbaum's democratic education theory, and aim to promote social and civic competences for active citizenship. Culture, then, can evidently have spillover effects for lifelong learning, active citizenship, and democratic learning. However, the empirical results further show that the museum institution as a simulator for active citizenship is not the only societal context that the museum acts within. The following section will present how the museum institution's role is perceived by its employees, what other activities that goes on and what other parts of society it affects. It will also be put in relation to the analysis of the European Union's cultural policy, to explore if policy and practice converge or if they differ from each other. This is to answer the third research question: what other societal areas are the museum institutions involved in and are their practice converging with European Union cultural policy? This section will start with presenting the content of the museums' strategy plans, since these present the guidelines and the goals of the institutions, before moving on to consider the societal areas where the museums are involved in.

4.3.1 Strategies and ambitions

Jamtli's strategy plan sets the terms and ambitions for the function and activities of the museum and gives insight to the ambitions and plans for the museum. The current strategy plan for Jamtli is valid for the years 2015 to 2018. (Jamtli 2014:1). From the introduction of the document, it is obvious that Jamtli's ambitions are not limited to concern only the local community. It is settled that the institution should adapt and be shaped to fit the reality of today, both European and global. It is also declared that changes such as digitalization, globalization and increased individuality affect the museums (Jamtli 2014:2). Zipsane explains what this means to the museum in practice:

“There are three perspectives that matter. The first regards that we must keep up an interest in Nordic, European and international culture policy. We must know what is happening, and it is important to us to read what is issued by UNESCO, by OECD, by the EU /.../ We need to know in advance and be prepared. The other one is about helping refugees. We have a global culture, and the museum should, of course, be part of that. To make people feel welcome. However, the third perspective is a bit complicated. We do not have the competence /.../ to choose the objects, the stories, from, for example, Syria. The Syrian refugees are important to Jamtli museum. What may attract Syrian visitors in 20, 30, 40 years? How do you do that?” (Zipsane 2017).

This suggests that Jamtli as an institution and the staff at the museum are aware of the context they are operating in, and take it into consideration in their work. They are not acting in a vacuum, but are responsive to signals coming from outside the institution. Moreover, the mentioning of the European Union's cultural policy obviously points at an awareness about this as well, which is further emphasized in the strategy plan in that it refers to the Europe 2020 strategy. It mentions how it is an ambition in the European Union to connect cultural policy to other policy areas (Jamtli 2014:2). Jamtli is seeking to connect its activities to the European Union and expresses a will to position itself in a larger, global context. Zipsane's statement about refugees could be connected to social cohesion, is emphasized several times in the European Union's policy documents. It also answers to the Horizon 2020 research topic with the focus on inclusion and availability, asking how cultural

institutions act to reach new audiences such as minorities and migrants (European Commission 2016a:93). This perspective is clearly present at Jamtli.

Many of the same ideas are found in Vestfoldmuseene's strategy plan (Vestfoldmuseene 2017a), which is valid for the years 2017 to 2021. It is emphasized in the strategy plan that it is not limited to apply to a Norwegian context only. On the contrary, the institution is placed within an international context in addition to the local and regional. This regards the art exhibitions, which the strategy plan suggests should consist of both international, contemporary art as well as projects that are more regionally connected, but it is also established that Vestfoldmuseene is part of a bigger society both in a national and international sense. But instead of turning to the European Union, the strategy plan refers to the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the International Council of Museum's definitions of "museum" and "archive" (Vestfoldmuseene 2017a). The EEA is mentioned shortly in the institution's activity plan, in a passage suggesting that Vestfoldmuseene should evaluate means and projects connected to this, to become more involved in national and regional environments for research and development (Vestfoldmuseene 2015:4) The absence of European Union references may not be a huge surprise since the museum institution is located in a state that is not a member. Nevertheless, there are parts of Vestfoldmuseene's strategy that is coherent with European Union cultural policy. For instance, Fahre stresses the importance of protecting world heritage, and that international cooperation is needed in this area. She reminds of the Taliban attack and destruction of the Buddha statues in Afghanistan, highlighting that not all nations have as well developed cultural heritage policy as Norway (Fahre 2017). The subject of protecting the common cultural heritage is frequent in the policy documents explored in this thesis, for instance in *The Strategy for international cultural relations* (European Commission 2016b). This is still restricted to the cultural area, not creating any specific spillover effects outside of this, but the ambition could be part of a trend where both policy makers and practitioners are seeking for more cross-border cooperation in the cultural field. It is also an apparent example of how the European Union cultural policy and the ambitions of the museum are converging.

Moving on to another prominent theme in Vestfoldmuseene's strategy plan, which is the museum as a societal actor. It is stated several times in the document that "Vestfoldmuseene should be a clear and active player in society" and it is also highlighted that focus should lie on the institution's outreaching activities and that it should contribute to public debate (Vestfoldmuseene 2017a). The strategy plan clearly seeks to present the museum as playing a substantial role in society, a role that is extrovert and active. Fahre confirms this image of Vestfoldmuseene, as she refers to the museum as a public arena with room for discussion and critical reflection. She argues that even if the museum is a place for presenting historical events, it cannot only be a place for nostalgia; history must be put into context. One must be aware of the museum's public role (Fahre 2017).

The strategic image of the museum is this far still quite general, and not directed at any specific areas in society. However, it could be said that this perception of the museum's role in society follows the Culture 3.0 phase. The audience should not only be receivers but also participate and be encouraged to use culture as a starting point to reflect and discuss. The idea of how the museum institutions, both Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene, assume a public role is also an example of the museum trend in Northern Europe as described by Sraml-Gonzales (2012), where museums become increasingly used for social development.

4.3.2 Welfare ambitions

Another significant aspect regarding the mentioning of Europe 2020 in Jamtli's strategy plan, is that the museum staff has considered the ambitions of this policy and how the museum could be a resource in reaching some of its goals. Zipsane mentions the problems in Europe and Sweden regarding dropouts from upper secondary school, which is also one of the stated issues in Europe 2020. Almost 15% of European youth fail in their education, and Jamtli is trying to offer support within in this area:

"It is a tragedy if people do not acquire the basic competences, and it is important to us to find out if we may act as a complement if we can help. We have been working with this for several years, which is why we have

quite many positions for internships, trainees, as well as European projects and regional projects.” (Zipsane 2017).

This claim is also supported by Bäckström, who suggests that Jamtli is a good place to come to for those who find themselves in a sort of middle position:

“If you have been on sick leave, or unemployed for a long time, Jamtli is a good place to be as you are moving on to the next step. We cannot hire all, but we can bring them in for a while. That is definitely an area where we can help” (Bäckström 2017).

Again, Jamtli’s practice is coherent with the European Union’s. Interactions between culture and education were suggested already in the Council’s resolution on a European Agenda for Culture in 2007 (Council of the European Union 2007:2). It becomes further clearer when considering the union’s Work Plan for Culture, which directly suggests that cultural institutions should cooperate with other societal institutions (Council of Europe 2014:10). The perception of Jamtli is that the museum is a possible resource in an area traditionally dominated by other institutions, such as the school, the employment office, and the social security office. It is common that different organizations and companies accept trainees and interns, for instance via the employment office, but it appears as Jamtli actively is seeking to address these issues and present itself as part of the solution. Zipsane emphasizes that the museum should not step in to take the role from another institution but merely serve as a complement when possible. Another of his statements make it further evident that Jamtli’s ambitions and actions is reaching outside the cultural area, and is also showing how European Union cultural policy and museum practice are converging:

“At the hospital in Östersund, there are children who are ill and have to stay there for a long time. Some of them can come outside, and it is fun when the nurse or the parents bring the children to Jamtli. They get an enjoyable experience at Jamtli, and this is an important part of culture policy” (Zipsane 2017).

This connects the cultural institution to another institution in society, the hospital, as encouraged by the European Union. There are several potential spillover areas present in Jamtli’s actions in these areas. It aims to affect societal issues, such as employment and health care. In Sacco’s model, this could be identified within the welfare area. Here it is suggested that active cultural participation could have a positive effect for those who are ill (Sacco 2013:34), which is coherent with both policies in the European Union and practice at Jamtli. As demonstrated here, the museum can evidently reach other groups in society as well, such as those without employment and school drop-outs.

4.3.3 Volunteers at the museum

Turning now to another characteristic of both museums, which is the many volunteers engaging in the activities. The volunteers are central at Jamtli, and it is written in the activity plan for 2017 that this will be developed further during the year. On the one hand, it says, the voluntary activity contributes to the attractiveness of Jamtli, in that it makes more room for activities. On the other hand, it also makes it possible for more people to take part, to be included (Jamtli 2016:2). The word “volunteer” may bring the concept of active citizenship to mind, however, the overall volunteer activities at Jamtli are not political in the sense that active citizenship means in this thesis but has more to do with history telling.

The departments of Vestfoldmuseene cooperate with different organizations and volunteers within their local community. An interest group manages the old internment camp at Berg, and Fahre also mentions the Red Cross and different handicraft teams performing such activities as textile crafting and traditional cooking. Moreover, Slotts fjell Museum collaborates with local festivals, such as Tønsberg medieval festival and Tønsberg Viking festival, and will contribute to the creation of a Nordic medieval park. The museum lends its premises to different groups and organizations for events and arrangements, which makes sure that the rooms are coming to use for all. Fahre thinks that the museum in this way can be a stimulator for different organizations and associations. They contribute to the community, and the museum institution can help them in doing this:

“The house in itself becomes important, and the location, as a culture house function. We are open for input, we do not have all the ideas, but others might have, on what the rooms can be used for /.../ And of course, when a new, nice museum is built, it is important that it is used” (Fahre 2017).

The phenomenon of volunteering is not present in the European Union cultural policy investigated within this thesis but is nevertheless noticed within the European Union for example during through the European Year of Volunteering in 2011 which clearly made the connection between volunteering and citizens participating in democracy (Commission of the European Communities 2009:2). There is also a clear connection between volunteering and active citizenship. Thus, even if it is not explicitly mentioned in cultural policy to bring volunteers into the cultural area, Jamtli’s and Vestfoldmuseene’s actions in this area is following an ideal in the European Union and could be another helping factor in creating active citizens.

There are several possible spillover effects from Sacco’s model that may result from the voluntary activities at the two museums. One of them could be lifelong learning, since participating in volunteering likely involves learning new skills and competences, maybe gaining new knowledge and attitudes. The service as a volunteer is also something that a person could add to his or her CV, increasing the chances to get a job. In this way, the activities initiated by the museum may create ripple effects for the individual and in the long run, contribute to society on different levels as well. Another possible spillover area could again be social cohesion, since participating in civil society in various ways may increase solidarity and other shared values. In this, the institutions become a part of the chain where social cohesion is promoted and strengthened.

A third spillover effect could also be local identity. Sacco suggests that cultural institutions might make a region gain global visibility (Sacco 2013:39). Not all the projects that the volunteers are involved with might receive attention globally, but at least nationally or regionally, helping to promote the area. Sacco also mentions that culture can contribute to re-define social and symbolic foundations (Sacco 2013:39), which is observable in collaboration with the interest group at Berg. Once a camp under Quisling’s rule, today a proof of what went on in this region during the war, and now used to teach about democracy and human rights.

4.3.4 Integration through culture

The challenge that Zipsane expressed about how to attract different groups, such as those of Syrian heritage, to come to the museum is recognized by Fahre at Vestfoldmuseene as well. How to make Norwegian culture and history interesting to people who are newly arrived in Norway is on the institution’s agenda. Slottsfjell Museum has applied for money to fund a project where refugees coming to Tønsberg could be offered entrance to the museum, to get to know Norwegian culture and local history. The museum also collaborates with Tønsberg adult training, which offers Norwegian language courses for immigrants (Tønsberg Voksenopplering 2017). In December 2015, for instance, Slottsfjell Museum invited participants to decorate the museum’s Christmas tree and gave them an introduction to Norwegian Christmas traditions (Vestfold Idag 2015). Fahre also suggests that the museum could perhaps be part of the ceremonies where people are receiving their Norwegian citizenship, and give them a “welcome package” to come and visit Vestfoldmuseene. However, she says, the most important area to invest in are the schools:

“School is mandatory, so if you reach the schools, you reach everyone. That is the answer. However, you have to think long-term” (Fahre 2017).

Integration is not a frequent theme in the European Union’s cultural policy investigated in this thesis but is clearly recognised as an important area by Vestfoldmuseene where the museum should take responsibility and be an influence. This is also visible in the case of Jamtli, which has brought this issue one step further by initiating a project to build a small housing district in the museum area. The project is a collaboration between Jamtli and the housing company Östersundshem and Östersund municipality, that aims to contribute to the building of homes and increase opportunities for newcomers and others without a permanent home. Some of the builders at the project are construction workers who are newly arrived in Sweden, meaning that the project creates opportunities for those who are new to the Swedish labour market. It is also established in the activity

plan for 2017 that the residents should be involved in the museum activities, to increase intercultural dialogue and contribute to the community (Jamtli 2016:24). Zipsane points at two motives for building the houses:

“We are doing two things at the time. Firstly, we are helping people, here and now, who need help. The other part has a long-term objective. Today, 21% of the Swedish population are not born in Sweden or has parents born in another country. That is a fifth of the population. Imagine ten, twenty years ahead. Wouldn't it be sad if a fifth of the population does not feel at home at Jamtli? It is supposed to be for everyone. This is our social mission, but there is also actual money in this. The refugee families coming to live here will hopefully become ambassadors for Jamtli, put their mark on Jamtli and create a relation to Jamtli. They will come back as visitors, and they will spread the message to others. It is a short-term and a long-term operation” (Zipsane 2017).

Accommodation for refugees has been a hot topic in Sweden during the recent years. Racist and xenophobic voices have been raised, and several refugee accommodations have been set fire to (e.g. Lek et al. 2015; Björk & Håkansson 2017). Within a political climate like that, Jamtli's project is controversial to some eyes. Zipsane argues that there comes responsibility with the task of being the head of an institution such as Jamtli:

“If you are the head of such a large cultural institution like Jamtli, you have been assigned a mandate, a mission, which means that you have to take a stand /.../It is a great trust, but if you do not use that trust, you are not using the incredible tool that the museum is.” (Zipsane 2017).

In writing, three out of nine houses are finished, and the first families are expected to move in May 2017 (Frånberg 2017). Any detailed plans for how those living in the houses could be involved in the museum activities are not available yet, but Zipsane again refers to the European Union when speaking about future projects. He states that the union's cultural policy is always present, and is hoping for an economic contribution (Zipsane 2017).

The house building project with its different aspects and motives spans over a range of different areas. The combination of culture and house construction is somewhat unexpected; the museum is making a small impact on a strained housing market through collaboration with a housing company. The theme of social inclusion for the importance of intercultural dialogue is close at hand, but also the economic issue to the institution itself as it, as confirmed by Zipsane, is securing future visitors through the inclusion of minorities. Furthermore, private individuals who are releasing rooms in their homes to help refugees could be an example of active citizenship. The museum is not a private individual but an institution, which through this project becomes active in society. The action to build houses for refugees on the museum area is not obviously categorized within any of the areas in Sacco's model. It could be perceived a type of new entrepreneurship model, or maybe Jamtli, in fact, has reached a whole new area for cultural spillover. At least it is an example of the creativity within the cultural sector.

Integration is not mentioned as a specific, possible spillover area in Sacco's theory, but could be argued to belong in the social cohesion category. However, integration as an own area could very well become positively influenced by the museum. The actions mentioned by Fahre are possible methods where culture could be used to integrate newcomers into the Norwegian society. Learning about a nation's and a community's history should be a useful basic step for a person to become familiar with society, and the museum is obviously an arena well suited to do this. Such as small act as a Christmas celebration could contribute to include a newcomer in the community, and indicates a larger ambition at the institution to make an impact in this area. It could also be argued that integration constitutes a societal area of its own, especially as it is identified as relevant to the museums, and in practice appears as a separate spillover area.

4.3.5 Concluding remarks: Cultural spillover from the museum

The research question asked what other societal areas the museums are involved in besides promoting democracy and active citizenship. The results show that both Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene perform activities which affect other fields than the cultural. The museums are cooperating with other societal institutions, such as

hospitals, schools, and voluntary organisations, and aim at making an impact regarding welfare, integration and social cohesion. The question was also if these actions are converging with the European Union's cultural policy, and the answer is that they do, but to a different degree and within various areas at the two museums used in this thesis. Diversity is valued by both institutions, while the idea of promoting a common, European identity does not receive any mentionable attention, in contrast to in European Union cultural policy. Sometimes, the museums go further than requested by the cultural policy. Šraml González suggests a bottom up-movement, where the museum institutions have realized their potential and are acting on it, which further unfolds as stakeholders approve (Šraml González 2012:32). This coincides with the museums in the thesis, which are following a broader trend that is present in European Union policy but are also initiating their own projects and activities. Jamtli's housing project is an example of taking it one step further. This becomes visible also in relation to Sacco's theoretical framework and his spillover model: the museums have clearly entered the Culture 3.0 phase where people are participating in cultural activities. Several of Sacco's spillover areas are visible, such as lifelong learning, social cohesion, and welfare. In addition, other spillover areas created by the museums are identified. Integration, as mentioned, is significant here. The museums are also eager to place themselves in a larger, international context – this too is coherent with European Union policy, where intercultural relations and cross-border cultural cooperation is constantly emphasised.

It is interesting to notice that it is clearly important to Jamtli to be updated on European Union's latest policies and to approach these through the institution, such as the mentioned priority area of youth dropouts. It could be argued that Jamtli is an 'extreme' case and that other museums may not care about or know anything about European Union policy and priorities. However, turning to the case of Vestfoldmuseene, situated in a non-member state, it appears as if actions at the museum are still in line with European Union policy. For instance, regarding the protection of cultural heritage, and the cooperation with other societal instances; Vestfoldmuseene is performing activities and expressing ambitions that match with the cultural policy of the European Union. However, these are still only guidelines and recommendations which are not binding for member states or cultural institutions. The museums are free to act on their own, and this is visible in the two cases of the thesis. They are turning policy as well as their own initiatives into practice, and broad political guidelines materialize as concrete action.

5. Conclusion

It is often claimed that the European Union operates at different speeds. Some areas are far developed, such as the economic policy area, while other policies are less advanced, such as cultural policy. The aim of this thesis has been to take the temperature of culture in Europe today, in policy and practice. On how the concept of culture and the use of it is defined in the European Union's policy, and what effects it might have in practice, channelled through the museum institution. These two levels could also be claimed to operate at different speeds. The results show that role of culture in the European Union has developed through the investigated period, and member states have increasingly been encouraged to use culture in more areas than the cultural. Democratic learning for active citizenship is one area where the cultural institution, the museum, has taken measures to make an impact, but the results also point to other societal areas where culture may cause spillover effects. There is a clear ambition in the European Union to expand this policy area further, but the museum institutions are in some areas one step ahead.

1. *How has the concept of and the use of culture been defined and developed in the European Union's cultural policy during the last ten years?*

This research question is answered through scrutinizing European Union documents concerning the organization's current cultural policy, to gain an understanding of the perception of culture in the European Union. The results show that the concept of and the use of culture is attributed with different meanings during the investigated years. For each new policy document, the concept of culture has to some degree expanded or been assigned new tasks, while at the same time keeping its status as something of intrinsic value.

From the start of the investigated period, culture is upheld as something special. Continuously, the unique nature of the different cultures in Europe is highlighted. Emphasis on respecting the diversity that shapes the European cultural heritage in Europe's nations is frequent. This concept of culture follows the one described within the union's treaties, with emphasis on diversity and intercultural dialogue, and is valid for the whole investigated period. Culture is used for promoting a common, European identity. However, the most recent issued documents add additional meaning to this concept, suggesting that reflection and understanding about Europe's cultural and diverse past should also be used for shaping the future when facing both opportunities and challenges. As part of the European Union's treaties, the concept of culture associated to a European identity is probably hard to exclude in cultural policy. However, future policies might offer a more reflective view of this idea, as the Horizon 2020 program does. With the constant influence of other cultures to Europe, the enforcement of the idea of a common culture may become less relevant.

There are suggestions already at the beginning of the examined period that culture might be useful in other areas, such as social cohesion and economic growth. There are also requests for further inclusion of culture in future European Union policies. The definition and the use of culture at this time is traditional but encourages for a development of the concept and the ideas of it, steadily pushing policy forward. In the context of the economic crisis and the following Europe 2020 strategy, the benefits of culture for the European economy becomes more highlighted. Creative Europe suggests that the cultural industry will contribute to reaching the goals of Europe 2020: smart and sustainable growth. Other areas are also briefly suggested: education, social innovation, social integration, and tourism. The lack of details indicates that these may be little more than buzzwords, but it is still a development in the perception of culture, nudging policy ahead.

The concept of and the suggested use of culture is further expanded in the Work Plan for Culture. It keeps its emphasis on issues that are traditionally cultural, such as cultural heritage and promotion of cultural diversity, but also suggests integrating culture into other policy areas. It urges cultural institutions to initiate cooperation with actors in society located outside the cultural sphere. Culture is assigned a bigger, societal role. In addition to this, the policy encourages the inclusion of culture in international relations. The current work plan for culture gives culture a breakthrough in the European Union's policies, connecting it to other societal areas.

This concept is further established in the European Union's research and innovation program Horizon 2020. The program's call for proposals with the theme "Participatory approaches and social innovation in culture" is clearly an order of more research on culture and its use in society. Culture is also clearly connected to issues of democratic nature in this document. It suggests that participating in cultural heritage may encourage participation in democracy, which is important to handle the problems in Europe today, both democratic, political and social. Culture is hence assigned a role in the democracy. Within the framework of Horizon 2020, which is not really a policy document but a research program, the concept of culture is allowed to unfold. It acknowledges that Europe has problems where culture could be a part of the solutions. It is also a document that calls for concrete action. In contrast to the other policy documents, it does not consist of broad recommendations and directions about how culture should work in the European Union, but is a direct appeal to conduct research and launch projects on the subject.

Finally, the policy on a European Union strategy for international cultural relations makes culture part of the union's foreign policy. The strategy means to improve the union's intercultural relations, to make it a stronger actor globally. Cultural relations across borders are suggested to help in conflicts regarding radicalization, extremism, migration currents and economic difficulties, again making the context that the document was developed in visible. Culture is evidently connected to "heavy" political issues that are at the top of the political agenda, far from the cultural field. The cultural part, however, is still relevant, but also put into a larger perspective. The document emphasizes the protection of cultural heritage as necessary due to cultural diversity. Furthermore, culture is again pointed out as crucial to democracy and social cohesion. It gives culture a multi-faceted role which can act on several different levels.

This part of the research was analysed by using a theory by Economist Pier Luigi Sacco. The results show that several of the spillover areas from Sacco's model present in the European Union cultural policy, but to different degrees and with different motives. In some cases, a spillover area is visible but approached by the European Union from another viewpoint than Sacco. Also, other potentially areas for spillover are visible as well.

Not all priorities in the European Union cultural policy are relevant to Sacco's theory. The constant emphasis on the European cultural identity and how to strengthen this in a globalized world is not present in his framework, which rather focuses on how cultural industry and production may strengthen a country's position in international relationships. He identifies this as the spillover area soft power. European cultural policy focuses on enhancing European identity and values, and this too could be characterized as a soft power spillover area, but with a perspective emphasizing values rather than competition advantages. Elements of Sacco's theory are more visible when putting culture in the economic context, as in Creative Europe. The economic potential of culture is highlighted several times by Sacco, as he describes Culture 2.0, where the economic potential of culture is starting to gain acknowledgment. Creative Europe also mentions that culture is crucial to social cohesion, which is another spillover area identified by Sacco. However, social cohesion in this context is mainly described as happening within the cultural sector and not as creating external effects.

Cultural policy takes a leap forward European Union's work plan for culture, which encourages that culture should, when relevant, be integrated into other policy areas. This statement embraces the core of Sacco's theory, where he tries to convince policy makers to realize the connection between culture and other sectors and the implication this could have. The work plan also gets specific when suggesting that cultural institutions should cooperate with other institutions of societal functions, such as health care and prison service. This too is coherent with Sacco's model, where welfare is another spillover area, but the motives to why this should be done differ. This action is suggested by the European Union to foster social inclusion and make culture accessible and inclusive. Sacco, on the other hand, highlights the economic benefits.

Sacco's spillover areas are not as prominent in the Horizon 2020 research program's calls for proposals. Cultural spillover to social cohesion is highlighted in the program, but the focus lies on how culture and cultural institutions may be used to promote democratic societies that are including and reflective. The same goes for the EU Strategy for international cultural relations, which suggests that culture can be used to strengthen human rights and active citizenship. Culture's contribution to democracy is thereby recognized by the European Union, but not explicitly by Sacco. This could be suggested as a ninth spillover area to be added to Sacco's model.

Exploring the policy documents from the years 2007 to 2016 in the light of Sacco's model, it becomes apparent that the concept of culture within the European Union policy has become expanded to be relevant also outside the cultural realm. The policy does not deviate much from the traditional path, where the importance of cultural diversity and the status of culture is constantly noted, but continuously assigns culture more tasks. The economic value is stressed but other spillover areas are also prominent, and collaboration between sectors is encouraged. Some of the areas from Sacco's model are more visible than others; social cohesion and lifelong learning are for example frequent, while new entrepreneurship models and sustainability are less noticed. The European Union also adds other areas where culture should take place, such as in international relations and as a promoter of democracy. Sacco offers a theoretical framework for culture but also a suggestion to policy-makers, urging them to realize the potential of culture in its new phase, Culture 3.0. The results of the investigation in this thesis strongly indicate that ideas like these have started to grow.

2. *In what way may the cultural institution like a museum be a useful setting for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning as formulated by the European Union?*

The research question is answered by using two cases; one museum institution in Norway and one in Sweden. The results show the different ways the museums are promoting democratic learning, which is a necessary condition for active citizenship, as well as focusing on values concerning human rights and diversity. Democracy is one of the European Union's founding values, and active citizenship is one of the goals of lifelong

learning. The museums in this study, as non-formal learning arenas, are clearly aware of their role and potential to contribute to active citizenship. Especially Vestfoldmuseene show in their strategy plan that they aim at being a societal player which promotes discussions and critical thinking, and there is an awareness of the possibilities and responsibilities a cultural institution has in using its framework to do precisely this.

Jamtli is promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning with their program 'On the run' roleplay. The program is an obvious example of how the museum can be a useful setting, in that the museum attempts to stimulate discussion and reflection, about value-based topics such as asylum seeking, borders, citizenship, migration, and residence. The focus group, mostly students from the upper secondary school, are encouraged to participate in and identify themselves with the situation of refugees, and discuss the subject with each other afterward. The activities and programs at Vestfoldmuseene also serve as an example of how a cultural institution can be used as an arena for promoting active citizenship through non-formal learning. In contrast to Jamtli, the investigated project 'It concerns you too – Democracy and Human Rights in Vestfold' uses the cultural heritage and local history through the nearby environment to perform this. The project's title indicates what the project aims at achieving, and the tour at Berg Prison and other remnants from World War II and the Holocaust is used as much to give a history lecture as to stimulate discussions and reflections about democracy in society today. The fact that Jamtli's program is not anchored in anything historical or any of the museum's exhibitions, further show that a museum institution has a potential to serve as an arena for promoting active citizenship, even without the historical context. Using history as a tool, like Vestfoldmuseene does, is one method, but there are evidently other alternatives.

It is hard to say if there has been any actual learning output or impact on the activities at the two museums since it has not been measured or quantified. The museum staff at both Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene experience that they manage to reach out to the participants, and give examples of changes in attitudes and new ideas and thoughts that come up. The absence of tests and exams, or any measure of learning outcomes, is also the very nature of non-formal learning. It is not up to the museum to evaluate the participants' performance. The fact that both 'On the run' and 'It concerns you too' are connected to the school institution, however, creates a bridge between non-formal and formal learning, where the latter may contribute to the learning output in a more formal way. This way, formal and non-formal learning institutions could benefit from each other; school is equipping students with democratic knowledge which they can use in other non-formal arenas, to become active citizens. It should be noted, however, that the museums' focus on children and adolescents also means that it is not entirely coherent with the idea of lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is about learning for all ages. However, the choice of the focus group is understandable, since teaching youth about values and democracy is widely recognized as important. It is also likely that the museum could provide lifelong learning through other types of projects and programs, that aims at a broader audience.

The study of the two museums suggests that the staff clearly perceives their institution as part of democracy, and as a promoter for democratic learning. They describe the museum as a tool, which can be used to equip people with new ideas and perspectives. This point of view goes for statements coming from the individual museum workers but is also coherent with the content in the museums' strategy plans. Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene are progressive, as they use culture for impact in other areas, such as in these cases democracy, but they are not necessarily unique. Both pedagogues and managers describe that this is a tendency visible in the museum community and not limited to their institutions. They differ in that Jamtli performs the democratic task independent of any historical context, at least in the case of the role play, while Vestfoldmuseene stresses the importance of connecting the past to the present, not only showing the visitors the heritage from the war but also urges them to ask questions, reflect and critique. The latter is present also at Jamtli, as in the exhibition about exclusion. The engagement to do this is present at both institutions, and as democratic learning and active citizenship are understood in the thesis, this is clearly two examples of how this works in practice. The structure and framework of the museum institution make it a useful arena for promoting these issues.

Philosopher Martha Nussbaum's theory of Socratic education was used to analyse the empirical results from the investigation of the museum institution as an arena for democratic learning. Even though her ideas mainly

are directed at the school system, several aspects of her theory turned out to be present in the museum institution as well. Both the ambitions and the concrete actions at the two institutions investigated contains elements of Nussbaum's framework for democratic education, such as combat against prejudices and promotion of critical thinking. The role play at Jamtli follows one of Nussbaum's main ideas for democratic education, which is the ability to imagine the world through another person's perspective and her suggestion that this could be done through for example a role play. It is perceived as a way to cultivate sympathy. This point of view is present also at Vestfoldmuseene, through the tours where the visitors can step into the former prison cells at the internment camp, and experience the locations where the Jewish families lived and worked before they were sent to Auschwitz. Democratic education in Nussbaum's theory calls for imagination, and the museums are suitable arenas to stimulate this. It is clearly expressed that the different activities and exhibitions at the museum should make the visitors discuss and reflect, which is crucial in Nussbaum's theory.

Regarding if the museum activities for democratic learning come with any output, this shows a little maladjustment between the empiric results and the use of theory. There is a difference between education and learning. Education belongs to the category formal learning where an educator and educational objectives are present, and this belongs to formal learning. As stated previously, learning at the museum is a form of non-formal learning, and this is less organized, missing clear learning objectives and a profiled educator. Therefore, Nussbaum's theory does not fully cover the full range of the learning activities in the museum, but the crucial features of what democratic education should include are still present. Nussbaum points at the arts and the humanities as suitable for democratic education, the playfulness and loose framework which stimulates fantasy. In non-formal learning, the museum institution could act as a counterpart to the arts and humanities within formal learning. The use of the museum as a learning arena is also highlighted by Zipsane, who points at the "extraordinary meetings" that can take place when education and culture meet. The learning activities performed at the museums are examples of what these extraordinary meetings can be.

3. What other societal areas are the museum institutions involved in and are their practice converging with European Union cultural policy?

The results of the investigation of Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene show several examples of other societal areas besides the cultural where the museum institution could make an impact. The museums' activities are direct or indirect affecting areas regarding education, employment and labour market, integration, health, housing, local identity, social cohesion, and welfare. These areas come in addition to the learning activities for active citizenship as explained previously. It is evident that influencing these areas is the museums' intentions since they both express an ambition to be a societal actor on multiple levels; local, regional, national, international. It is an aim to keep the museum institution relevant. The museums' practice is to a large part converging with the European Union's cultural policy, but to different degrees, sometimes taking practice farther than what the policy guidelines express.

Jamtli is conscious about guidelines from the European Union, while Vestfoldmuseene is looking at other international organisations such as UNESCO and ICOM. This focus is not too surprising since Norway is not a member state of the European Union and policy coming from this level may not reach Norwegian cultural institutions to the same degree. At the same time, it seems that the staff at Jamtli have a particularly pronounced interest for policy coming from the European Union, which is not necessarily generalizable to all cultural institutions in Sweden, even if their location is in a member state. Nevertheless, the activities at both museums converge with the European Union's cultural policy in several areas, but more or less intentionally.

Jamtli's action for building homes for refugees and others in need of housing is the most advanced example of spillover of the two cases and spans several societal aspects. The museum crosses the line of the general idea of what such an institution should be occupied with and merges two different sectors in bringing a housing project into the museum's cultural area. It meets a societal need, in times of housing shortage, and also offers occupation for newly arrived constructional workers, inviting the labor market to the museum sphere as well. In addition, these measures are part of another important societal area, which is the integration of newly arrived

people and immigrants into society. Jamtli states this as one aspect of their actions, and the idea of use the museum for integration is also found at Vestfoldmuseene, for example with the initiative to offer immigrants entrance at the museum to learn about Norwegian culture and traditions. Integration is an area identified by the museums as important more explicitly than in the investigated European Union cultural policy. It does not mean that the museums' practice is deviating from the European Union's cultural policy, but rather that the museums are expanding their societal role and taking initiatives to activities that bring practice one step further. The housing project at Jamtli is an example of how this is made, and Vestfoldmuseene also shows that they are aware of the integration issue.

As the institutions are operative in several areas in society, it is also reasonable to assume that the museum could work as a catalyst for cohesion and inclusion in their respectively local societies. The museum could be a place for meetings, to get in contact with the local history and to become involved in different activities. Arrangements such as annual Christmas fairs at Jamtli and the Medieval Festival in Tønsberg may help strengthen the local identities of these regions, bringing people together and attracting tourists. It is possible that this could create a sense of belonging, supporting social cohesion. Social cohesion is a frequent theme in the European Union policy, especially after the years of economic and financial crisis, which has made it a concern to stimulate cohesion. The mentioned activities at the museums could be methods to accomplish that through culture.

The cases of Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene show examples of on what areas in society the museum institution might have an impact. It is evident that the idea of what a museum is has expanded from just being a building conserving and displaying old subjects. Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene cannot speak for all museums, but they are part of a tendency that at least in northern Europe implies that the museum institutions have begun to take social responsibility. Neither are the suggested areas exhaustive but merely shows what have been useful in these specific regions. Depending on its location, another museum could have an impact in other sectors, such as climate and environment. The museum could also cooperate with other institutions suitable, such as retirement homes, prison service, and youth centers. Jamtli's cooperation with the city's hospital, for example, is not a complicated measure but could easily be done in other museums as well. The core of it is that the museum institution can affect other areas beyond culture, which is clearly present at but not limited to the cases of Jamtli and Vestfoldmuseene. The cooperation between the museum and other societal institutions is also coherent with the European Union's cultural policy, which encourages precisely this.

Sacco's theory was used in this part of the research too, to analyse culture's role on a practical level, at the museum institution. Even if his framework mainly aims at policy areas while the results from the museum showed more concrete examples of practical action, it turned out to be fruitful to use Sacco's model to categorize the museum activities in case of visible spillover areas. Social cohesion is clearly a possible spillover area, as the museums do a lot of different activities which may bring people together through active cultural participation. The importance of volunteers in different activities is one example of this. The museums also make efforts to promote integration. These actions could be said to be an enhanced form of promoting social cohesion, but as the issue of integration has become more crucial in Europe during the recent years, it could also constitute a spillover area of its own. Furthermore, the welfare area in Sacco's model is present since the museums cooperate with institutions such as hospitals and employment offices. Jamtli's housing project is one obvious example. Local identity is also a proper category to analyse the museum's activities, as the museum not surprisingly turns out to be useful in promoting the local heritage. To sum up, Sacco's theoretical framework is useful not only on policy but also on a practical level, as museum activities and management are connected to different spillover areas. One aspect of the empirical results that does not fit into Sacco's framework is, however, the global perspective. The results show that museums perceive themselves in an international context, and the consequences of globalization are highlighted. The museums acknowledge that they need to adapt and learn to operate within this larger context. Globalization is not featured in Sacco's theory, as he mainly focuses on culture within a European setting. When Sacco talks about the global picture, he mostly refers to how to increase European competitiveness. This is not necessary a flaw in the theory, but cultural institutions

and policy-makers in the European Union as well are obviously feeling a need to address globalization in our age, with its challenges and its possibilities.

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The definitions of the main concepts constitute the framework of this thesis. Culture is a wide concept, easy to throw into a sentence but harder to define. It can refer to many things depending on the context, such as classic paintings and opera music on one hand, and a society's norms and values on the other. This is acknowledged also by the European Union, as culture is defined as complex and multifaceted. This view of culture has been accepted in the thesis, treating it as a larger concept with room for many different ideas and activities, changing with time and political trends. It is an interesting topic to investigate in a European context; European Union policy highlights the value of cultural diversity and how it is remarkable for Europe, and at the same tries to promote the common European identity. At the same time, political parties use cultural differences as an argument towards globalization, immigration and multicultural societies. Culture as a concept can be used both for unity and fragmentation, and is expanding as a policy concept to influence other areas. Likewise, active citizenship is a debated concept. As an ideal, it is normative in its meaning, suggesting that citizens are obliged to participate and engage in society, and develop their knowledge about democracy and its values. It is stated by the European Union as the aim of lifelong learning, which calls for learning that is not only formal as in schools but also non-formal and informal. In this thesis, learning at the museum has been the example of how learning is performed in a non-formal way. The flexibility of the concept of culture, and in the cultural institution's structure, suits learning in this form. As example of a cultural institution, the museum was used. Another type of institution could have been used, such as the library, but of course given other results. The two museums used in the thesis shows the uniqueness of this institution: how cultural heritage can be used for learning as well as supporting other areas in society. There are probably as many examples of how this can be done as there are museums. The results in this thesis indicates that the potential of culture is beginning to unleash, both in policy and practice.

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APPENDIX 1: Interview guide

Introduction

“Small talk” to make the informant feel comfortable.

What is your occupation at the museum and what are your daily tasks?

How long have you been working at the museum?

The museum’s role in society

A short introduction of the research theme.

What are your thoughts on the museum’s role in society?

How do you think that your institution handles this role?

Do you think that the museum has a societal responsibility?

In what ways can the museum affect society?

Can the museum take a stand in political issues? Should it?

How can the museum contribute to strengthening societal values?

How can the content in your institution be connected to our society today?

Which societal areas would you say that your institution is involved in?

Democracy and active citizenship

How do you think that your institution can contribute to strengthening democracy?

What can the museum do to promote active citizenship?

Why should the museum be involved in such issues, and not just stick to its traditional role of conserving and exhibiting?

What are you good at in your institution regarding such issues?

What can you do better?

Policy

What guidelines is your museum relating to internationally?

What is your museum’s relation to European Union cultural policy?

Do you experience that culture’s role is being acknowledged on a political level?

Closure

Is there anything you want to add that we have not spoken about?

APPENDIX 2: List of figures

Figure 1: *An 8-tiers approach to culture* (Sacco 2013)