

LEARNING AND THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF ENLIGHTENMENT: DANISH ADULT EDUCATION OVER FIVE CENTURIES

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Abstract – A theme running through European cultural history is the notion of enlightenment, with its concomitant metaphor of the search for light. But what is the source of this light? Does it come from above, from the outside, from within, or from below? Over the centuries there have been different traditions or paradigms of enlightenment which have contended with each other, and each country has its own history of enlightenment and education. Based on Danish history over the past 500 years, five different traditions of enlightenment and general education are described, traditions which to some degree can be found in other countries. The five traditions are: Christian enlightenment, civic enlightenment, popular-national enlightenment, workers' enlightenment, and personal enlightenment. Each tradition is described against the background of the history of ideas, institutions and didactics. The article concludes with some reflections on the past 25 years, which have seen an increasing focus on the personal in the search for enlightenment. This is expressed in concepts such as personal growth and personal development. An important question is whether this emphasis upon the personality will result in a weakening or a strengthening of society.

Zusammenfassung – Eine Thematik, die die europäische Kulturgeschichte kennzeichnet, ist der Begriff der Aufklärung mit der dazugehörigen Metapher der Suche nach dem Licht. Was aber ist die Quelle dieses Lichts? Kommt es von oben, von außen, von innen oder von unten? Über die Jahrhunderte gab es verschiedene Traditionen oder Paradigmen der Aufklärung, die miteinander rivalisierten, und jedes Land hat seine eigene Geschichte der Aufklärung und Bildung. Anhand der dänischen Geschichte der letzten 500 Jahre werden fünf verschiedene Formen der Aufklärung und Bildung beschrieben, die auch bis zu einem gewissen Grade in anderen Ländern vorhanden sind. Diese fünf Formen sind: die christliche Aufklärung, die bürgerliche Aufklärung, die Aufklärung der Arbeiter und die persönliche Aufklärung. Jede Form wird vor dem Hintergrund der gedanklichen, institutionellen und didaktischen Geschichte beschrieben. Der Artikel endet mit einem Rückblick auf die letzten 25 Jahre, in denen der persönliche Bereich bei den Aufklärungsbestrebungen vermehrt im Vordergrund stand. Dies kommt in Konzepten, wie beispielsweise Persönlichkeitswachstum und Persönlichkeitsentwicklung zum Ausdruck. Eine bedeutende Frage ist, ob diese Betonung der Persönlichkeit die Gesellschaft schwächen oder stärken wird.

Résumé – Une notion commune à l'histoire culturelle de l'Europe est celle de philosophie des lumières, et sa métaphore concomitante de la recherche de lumière. Mais quelle est la source de cette lumière? Vient-elle d'en haut, de l'extérieur, de l'intérieur ou d'en bas? Au cours des siècles ont existé différentes traditions ou modèles de connaissances qui se sont mutuellement combattus, et chaque pays possède sa propre histoire par rapport à la connaissance et à l'éducation. Partant de l'histoire du Danemark des 500 dernières années, l'auteur décrit cinq traditions différentes de connaissance et d'enseignement général, qui se retrouvent partiellement dans les autres pays. Ces cinq traditions sont: la connaissance chrétienne, la connaissance civique, la conscience populaire-nationale, la conscience des travailleurs et la connaissance



personnelle. Chaque tradition est décrite dans le contexte de l'histoire des idées, des institutions et de la didactique. L'article conclut par quelques réflexions sur l'évolution des 25 dernières années, qui ont vu naître un intérêt croissant pour l'individu dans la recherche de la connaissance. Cette évolution s'exprime dans des notions comme le progrès personnel et le développement personnel. Une question centrale est si cette importance accordée à la personnalité entraînera un affaiblissement ou un affermissement de la société

Resumen – Uno de los temas que atraviesan la historia cultural europea es la noción de la ilustración con su concomitante metáfora de la búsqueda de luz. ¿Pero cuál es la fuente de esta luz? ¿Viene desde arriba, desde afuera, desde adentro o desde abajo? A lo largo de los siglos han existido diferentes tradiciones o paradigmas de la ilustración que han rivalizado los unos con los otros, y cada país tiene su propia historia de ilustración y educación. Sobre la base de la historia de Dinamarca a lo largo de los últimos 500 años se describen cinco diferentes tradiciones de ilustración y educación general, tradiciones que, en cierto grado, pueden encontrarse también en otros países. Las cinco tradiciones son: ilustración cristiana, ilustración cívica, ilustración popular-nacional, ilustración de los trabajadores e ilustración personal. Cada una de las tradiciones está descrita ante el trasfondo de la historia de ideas, instituciones y didácticas. El artículo concluye con algunas reflexiones sobre los últimos 25 años, que han registrado un foco creciente sobre el área personal en la búsqueda de ilustración. Esto se traduce en conceptos tales como crecimiento personal y desarrollo personal. En consecuencia, surge un interrogante importante: si este énfasis sobre la personalidad redundará en un debilitamiento o bien en un fortalecimiento de la sociedad.

Резюме - Тема, проходящая через европейскую историю культуры – это понятие просвещения и сопутствующая ему метафора поиска света. Но что же является источником этого света? Исходит ли он сверху, извне, изнутри или снизу? Веками существовали разные традиции или парадигмы просвещения, которые соперничали друг с другом, но в каждой стране существует своя история просвещения и образования. В датской истории за последние 500 лет описывается пять разных традиций просвещения и общего образования, традиций, которые в некоторой степени, могут быть найдены и в других странах. Эти пять традиций следующие: христианское просвещение, гражданское просвещение, народно-национальное просвещение, просвещение рабочих и личное просвещение. Каждая традиция описывается на фоне истории идей, организации и дидактики. В данной статье делается вывод относительно последних 25 лет о том, что в центре внимания все больше становится личное в поиске просвещения. Это отражено в таких концепциях, как личный рост и личное развитие. Встает важный вопрос: будет ли этот акцент на личность влиять на ослабление или укрепление общества?

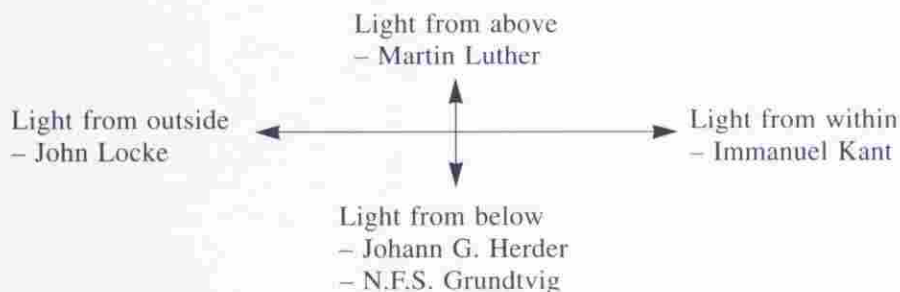
Adult education has its roots in the notion of enlightenment, but its development, like the concept of enlightenment itself, has changed over time and varied from one country to another. As Denmark has played such a significant role in the adult education movement, it may be instructive to examine

how the Danish approach to adult education has reflected changing views of the nature of enlightenment. In doing so, we shall hopefully gain a some insight into how adult education and the notion of enlightenment have evolved and interacted in a broader context.

In Denmark adult education has its own characteristic history, most notably connected with one person, N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), and with a specific type of school, the Folk High School. The first folk high school was established in 1844, based upon Grundtvig's educational and pedagogical ideas. It is beyond doubt that Grundtvig's ideas and the practice of the folk high schools have given Danish adult education a special reputation which has been noticed over the years by many foreigners. On the other hand, this image of something unique has often been an obstacle to understanding that Danish history has much in common with the history of other countries, in adult education as in other fields. This article therefore adopts a double perspective, looking at the history of Danish adult education in the light of parallel developments in Europe as a whole, and vice versa. It is to be hoped that the structural patterns outlined here will assist readers in understanding similar patterns in the educational history of their own countries.

Light from four directions

The word "enlighten" means literally to "shed light on". But what is the source of the light? There is no agreement on this point. In principle there are four possibilities. The light may come from above, as traditional Christianity perceived it. It may come from the outside, as John Locke maintained with his thesis of the mind as a *tabula rasa* on which nature inscribes itself through the senses. It may come from within, as Kant maintained, referring to reason as the only power that can lead man out of his self-inflicted tutelage. And finally it may come from below, as Herder and Grundtvig saw it, with their views about the characteristics of a people and national identity.



As illustrated in the above figure, these four movements can be grouped into two: a vertical and a horizontal movement. Nothing comes from below without being sown as a divine spark from above. And nothing comes from the outside

without at the same time being discerned and adapted from within by reason. Between these two movements of cognition, the vertical and the horizontal, there is a fluctuation. The light comes now from above, now from below, now from the outside, now from within. There is a continuing struggle between different ideals of enlightenment and adult education. Through history there have been different paradigms or traditions of enlightenment and general education that counteract and succeed each other. In a society there will always be a struggle between different views as to which type of enlightenment is ideal. In other words, enlightenment is also a battlefield which social groups try to leave their mark on, although there are, in certain periods, related ideas of enlightenment and adult education that cut across social position, class, gender etc.

Here I shall outline five different traditions of enlightenment (along with their concomitant notions of adult education): Christian enlightenment, civic enlightenment, popular-national enlightenment, workers' enlightenment, and personal enlightenment. The concept of enlightenment is common to all of these traditions, but they vary in their understanding of it.

Three dimensions in the different traditions concerning enlightenment are illustrated here: the basic ideas, the institutional basis, and the professional/media/method basis. This implies a continued shift among three different approaches: one based upon the history of ideas, one based upon the history of the institutions, and one based upon the history of subjects.

The schematic outline below shows the year of appearance of the different traditions concerning enlightenment and adult education, their ideological basis, their institutional roots and the most important educational subjects connected with them.

1536 _____ 1784 _____ 1844 _____ 1871 _____ 1970 _____

The History of Ideas

Christian Enlightenment

Civic Enlightenment

Popular-National Enlightenment

Workers' Enlightenment

Personal Enlightenment

The History of Institutions

The Church

Evening Class

The Folk High School

The Workers' School/University Extension

Educational Associations

History of Subjects

Reading

Writing and Arithmetic

History and Literature

Science and Economics

Psychology and Workshops

Christian enlightenment

It was an important aim during the age of the Reformation to reform popular culture. However, this was not new. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church had tried to create a Christian common culture with festivals and celebrations as the symbols of unity. Thus the reformation of popular culture did not start with the Reformation and the Renaissance, but it was highly intensified, not only by the Church, but also, to a high degree, by the state.

The first Lutheran clergymen faced a task which in many ways was equivalent to that of the missionaries who had to preach the Gospel to the gentiles. After the Reformation the authorities initiated, to a greater extent, punishments and laws against the old rites, which were connected with fertility, health, and vital energy. The clergyman was a key person in these rites. Often the peasants expected the clergyman to take part in the old fertility rites; but the authorities ordered the clergy to abstain from participating. However, these fertility rites continued for a long time, eventually without the clergy.

The Reformation changed the Church into a state Church, an auxiliary arm of the state, which was now able to become gradually part of the autocracy that eventually emerged in most European countries. It is a fact that after Luther the Church became a compulsory church. And with the state as supporter, the Church was in many ways strictly organised and reached more people more effectively than earlier. Thus the Reformation did not mean the abolition of the control of society by the Church, but rather a replacement of one type of control by another. Increasingly the state supported the clergy in preaching the gospel and impressing on the people not only the right faith, but also the right conduct of life. The clergyman was responsible for education, had to communicate official executive orders, had to keep registers, and serve as a model for people. Altogether, the pedagogical activity of the clergy, their influence upon the conscious mental life, and the disciplining of moral conduct became more systematic and effective than earlier.

An important aspect of Protestantism is the shift from action to faith, from body to spirit, from the outer to the inner, from the visible to the invisible. Religion is no longer – as it was in the Middle Ages – focused on outer phenomena such as sacraments, celebrations, processions, dances, games, etc. Religion is an inner faith. This new understanding was expressed in the maxim: you are saved by your faith alone. Protestantism can be considered

as a reaction against the Catholic Church's emphasis on pictures, rites, symbols, and ceremonies.

In the Lutheran service the sermon was highly important. It was felt that people should listen to the Word in their own mother tongue. The prominent role of the sermon demanded a different arrangement of the room. New furniture was placed in the church; pulpit and pews. The church was converted into a sort of schoolroom with desk and benches.

The invention of the art of printing created new possibilities of mass communication which favoured the Reformation. From the beginning Luther and the other reformers were very conscious of this new medium, and they knew how to use it. In their hands the art of printing became an impressive weapon against the Catholic Church.

In the performance of religion Protestantism focused upon the Scripture – which the Bible very characteristically was called – in a quite different way from the Catholic Church. Now the Scripture became the only source of revelation. The long tradition of the Church was no longer important. The right faith could be found only in one specific text, the Bible. Man meets God in the Scripture – without the earlier mediators, among those the Virgin Mary and the numerous saints that are part of Catholic worship. Protestantism places man directly opposite God without any mediators. In the Protestant view there should be no Pope between God and the congregation, only the Scripture.

However, the printed book became more and more important, not only in church life, but also in society, and this was evidently one of the reasons why Protestant Northern Europe both economically and scientifically, eventually gained the lead over Catholic Southern Europe.

The basic book for the Protestant program of enlightening and educating was Luther's little *Catechism*, which gave a minimum of knowledge on the basic ideas and dogma of religion, a knowledge which every member of society not only had to have but also had to be able to explain. Without knowing the *Catechism* it was impossible to receive communion, which was a condition of obtaining certain civic rights. To go to communion without knowing the basic ideas of religious faith was considered to be a sin. What the people had learnt when they were children was not only the entry to the congregation but also to society.

After the Reformation the authorities initiated a massive effort in the field of popular education. The Church became the institution which, on behalf of the state, was at the head of the necessary education, enlightenment, and teaching of both children, young people, adults, and old people. The master of the house had a legal obligation to ensure that everybody in the house learned the *Catechism* and lived according to its basic rules.

The learning and educational efforts during the Reformation were intensified by Pietism at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This resulted in two decisive reforms: the introduction of compulsory confirmation in 1736 and a new Education Act in 1739. Confirmation was a public examination,

and it was introduced to tighten the religious influence upon people. If you failed you were not only excluded from congregational life, but also from society, including marriage.

The transfer of the message of the Reformation to larger groups of the population can be considered the first great popular educational project to be initiated in Denmark. The State was the driving force of the project. The contents were religiously compelling and socially normative. The question was not whether this teaching should be given to the people. The question was only how. It is difficult to imagine a literature which had such a firm hold of people's picture of the world as these religious textbooks had when they were published in connection with the Reformation.

What was learnt about religion when people were children became the basis of the education to become a citizen. Christianity was not only a matter of each person's personal faith, but to a high degree about his or her moral and social relations with other people and with the authorities. It was an absolute necessity to know the basic Christian dogma in a society where Christianity was the ideological basis. Christian enlightenment and education became the connection between the state and the souls of the people.

Civic enlightenment

A great change in the history of Europe was heralded when the Age of Enlightenment appeared in the eighteenth century. The new ideas were formulated by the so-called "authors of enlightenment". They initiated the very idea of enlightenment. They believed firmly that enlightenment would ennoble and free mankind from old prejudice and superstition.

The idea of enlightening the people was further strengthened during the Age of Enlightenment. The thinkers and pedagogues of that time adopted the idea that the people were to be enlightened, but the Bible was exchanged for the *Encyclopaedia*, a universal work of reference published in France in 17 volumes from 1751–72. The aim was to collect and publish the new knowledge and ideas of the time in a popular way and use the encyclopaedia as a weapon especially against the Church.

The philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment tried to create universal criteria of all enlightenment, education, and culture. They did not turn against Christianity as such, but against the Christian belief in revelation. Voltaire, who became the very epitome of a philosopher of the Age of Enlightenment, violently attacked the Catholic Church. However, the attacks were not based upon anti-religiousness but were against an irrational belief in God. Neither did Voltaire turn against the absolute monarchy as such, but against an absolutism which was inaccessible to enlightenment.

To make reason the keystone of enlightenment was an explosive idea, especially because what was demanded was the right to use reason in public. The most important political and controversial issue was freedom of speech. The

new ideas on enlightenment emerged among the bourgeoisie, which was restrained in its advance by an aristocratic upper class and a feudal society of privileges. Now it reacted against these constraints. The bourgeoisie demanded the right to discuss in public the new ideas concerning the State and the Church, the individual and society, education and pedagogy, enlightenment and education.

At the end of the eighteenth century new pedagogical ideas were a focus of public debate in Europe. The debate was, among other things, about the importance of heredity and environment. How important was ancestry in shaping the character of a person? The privileges of nobility were explained by the assertion that their blood gave them the best qualifications. Once a nobleman, always a nobleman. Once a beggar, always a beggar. Of course, a person could be changed in his outward behaviour and behave in a more or less gentlemanly way, but the core of the personality would always remain unchanged. This theory can be called the notion of the predestined personality.

Already Erasmus of Rotterdam had opposed this idea, saying that horses are born, unlike man, who is shaped. However, the most radical objection to this theory came from John Locke when, in 1690, he published the idea of man as a *tabula rasa*. John Locke worked out the basic ideas of educating the British gentleman, and educating the character was the key factor. You are not a gentleman, you become one. Man was not born with a destiny. Through the eighteenth century this theory became highly important.

During the Age of Enlightenment there was a slow secularisation resulting in a gradual weakening of the authority of the Church and the power of religion. Little by little the close relationship was weakened which had existed since the Reformation between the state and the Church. And therefore the question was asked: What, if not the Christian religion, can keep society together? What is the basis of conduct when it is no longer supported by a religious system? When modernity was born this question was asked everywhere. One important answer was: the native country and nationality, and this helped in initiating the shift in the connection between the Church and the school. Slowly but surely the school began to assume the role of the Church as an active element of the state. Through centuries it had been impossible to live outside the Church. Now the school made itself felt as the societal institution which could not be neglected.

To a large extent the new pedagogical ideas – especially those formulated by John Locke and J. J. Rousseau – came to Denmark through the writings of a number of German philosophers, among them J. B. Basedow and F. E. Rochow. In Denmark Ludvig and Christian Reventlow were the central personalities in virtually all school and educational reforms that were discussed and implemented in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. On their own estates they implemented a large number of very impressive reforms, among other things an extensive programme of adult education. The reforms were based upon the idea that more and better education was a decisive pre-

condition for a successful implementation of the current economic and social reforms in the country. The two brothers were members of the Education Committee that was set up in 1789. The Committee sat for 25 years and finished its work in 1814 when the state passed a bill stipulating seven years' compulsory education for children and voluntary education for adults.

The school reforms of the Age of Enlightenment are addressed from the perspective of the State. The state had to ensure that all citizens were educated. In Denmark the civic idea of enlightenment was closely connected with endeavours to strengthen the multi-national United Monarchy which until 1814 consisted of the Kingdom of Denmark extending to Kongeåen (the King's River, approximately from Kolding to Ribe), Norway, the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the North Atlantic Islands, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland. Thus the brothers Reventlow who belonged to the aristocratic German-cultural circles, worked consciously to further a state patriotic way of thinking, common to all nationalities. They fully supported the cosmopolitical ideal of a native country with good and useful citizens, an ideal which had emerged in the Age of Enlightenment. The distinctive mark was not your place of birth, but your diligence. This ideal was challenged by the idea of national enlightenment, which already in the last third of the eighteenth century began to manifest itself, but it was not until the 1840s that this idea became dangerous to social coherence of the state.

Popular-national enlightenment

In the history of language the word folk is connected with concepts like plebeian, plebs, the common people. In both Christian enlightenment and civic enlightenment the starting point was that it was the people who had to be educated and that the educated people were to be in charge of this education. However, at the beginning of the 19th century a new concept of the people emerged – a concept based upon the light coming from below – from the people. From being looked upon as a primitive and uneducated mass, the people now began to be considered to be the basis of enlightenment – and power.

After the French Revolution the path was clear for a new understanding of the concept of the people. The transition from an absolute monarchy to democracy resulted in a radical transformation of the political system. The soul of the people took the place of God. The divine justification of power was symbolically cut when the French king was beheaded according to common laws. Instead power was vested in the people who now became the new legitimate basis of the state and political rule.

The concept of folk ("the people") acquired a new meaning, not only in France but also in Germany. This happened in step with the growth of a cultural nationalism which turned against the universalism of the Age of Enlightenment which had always been most important in France. It all started

with the term "folk songs", which the German historian Herder used as the title of a book that he published in 1778. The book contained a collection of songs, re-created or translated from many different languages. Herder considered the peoples' languages and poetry to be true expressions of the peoples' spirit and creative powers. In a short time this idea penetrated most of Europe. People began to search for folklore, and many followed Herder's footsteps, in Germany the brothers Grimm, in Norway Asbjørnsen and Moe, in Denmark N. F. S. Grundtvig, etc. To collect folklore became a science which was extremely controversial, as folklore was frequently used to further national processes of integration. In a number of cases the same persons worked academically as well as culturally and cultural politically, e.g. Jacob Grimm and Grundtvig.

In large parts of Europe artists and scholars contributed decisively to a common understanding of the concept of "folk". The poets praised the spirit of the folk, the historians created a national literature and discovered long forgotten heroes, composers wrote hymns, and painters contributed with paintings to enhance the national feeling and patriotism.

This new understanding of the concept of folk was of revolutionary importance to education. The presage came from Rousseau, who dissociated himself from the belief of the Age of Enlightenment that science and art ennobled human nature. His passionate view – which was extremely surprising for that time – was that education destroys man's true nature. This was, he argued, because of a glaring contrast between the dominating culture and the innate culture of human beings. This would seem to preclude any type of education. However, Rousseau did not himself draw this conclusion. Rather his idea was that nature should be the starting point and criterion of good education. Man is born with a subject that ideally unfolds like a plant. Self-activity and self-fulfilment become the ideal. Rousseau's theory can be called the idea of the naturally self-developing subject.

In several respects Rousseau and Herder agree. Herder, too, has a taste for using botanical metaphors when speaking of education and development. The child is like a plant, developing from an inner potential. The gardener can only create as favourable conditions for growth as possible. However, with Herder the gardener is more important to growth than with Rousseau. For Herder, the child meets a world that encourages and makes demands. Herder's point of view can be called the idea of an innate potential that develops in an interplay with encouraging surroundings.

Herder summarises his educational ideal in the concept of *Bildung*, which became the byword for a pedagogical philosophy. The essence of the idea of *Bildung* is that man realises an innate potential. With the concept of *Bildung* Herder emphasises the connection between the individual and the people. Each people has its own national character which, however, cannot be inherited, only learnt, and through this learning-process the individual will gradually come to belong to the people. In this process language and history are of decisive importance.

After Herder the concept of *Bildung* became popular in the field of pedagogy, at first in the German cultural sphere and immediately afterwards in the Nordic, later also in the Slavic realm. However, the concept never gained a footing in the Romance and English speaking areas. In the Anglo-American world the concept of "liberal education" was used, which was not completely equivalent to the concept of *Bildung*. In Denmark which was closely connected with the German cultural spheres, the concept of *Bildung* became of the greatest importance via Grundtvig. But the word is not transferred directly, instead the concept of "people's enlightenment" is used; the Swedes, on the other hand, transferred the German word to the concept of "bildning".

This must be seen in the light of the difference between the Anglo-American form of liberalism and the continental understanding of liberal ideas. Liberalism was not taken over undiluted, it was changed to a more nationally oriented liberalism. Nor was the concept of civil society taken over unaltered. In the last third of the 18th century this concept had already acquired its modern meaning. This happened within the so-called Scottish enlightenment where Adam Ferguson so to speak "invented" the notion of society as something independent of the power of the State. A little later his pupil, Adam Smith (1776), recommended that the market be given independent importance in relation to the state. According to the liberal way of thinking the power of the state had to be limited in favour of civil society and the market. Civil society is based upon the idea that all individuals have natural rights that have existed before the establishing of any state.

In the German cultural sphere another way of viewing the relation between the state and the people was developed. The concept of civil society did not gain a footing to the same degree as in the Anglo-American world; it can be said that it was replaced by the concept of the "folk", which Herder was the first to present theoretically. To Herder language, culture, and mentality define a nation and a "folk" (people), not its constitutional status. Just as Adam Ferguson differentiates between State and society, Herder differentiates between the state and the *Volk* (people). So despite their differences, there are a number of common features between the concepts of "civil society" and "folkelige (popular) society". While Ferguson emphasises the individual, civil society, and "the invisible hand", Herder can be said to emphasise the people, the nation, and "the invisible spirit".

To push it to extremes one can say that the concept of civil society was developed by British liberals whereas the "folkish" (popular) society was developed by German nationalists. The liberal understanding of civil society cannot be developed in a cultural cycle that considers the people to be a super-individual concept above the individual. Kant argued in favour of the liberal conception of the state. To him the state is a contract between autonomous individuals. To Herder, Hegel, and Grundtvig the "folk" (the people) was tied together by a super-individual spirit of the people.

The demand for democracy, based upon the principle of the sovereignty of the people, resulted in very controversial relations between the state and

the people in Denmark and the rest of Europe. From the 1830s two democratic and national movements appeared within the United Monarchy, one Danish and the other belonging to Schleswig-Holstein, which made it still more difficult to maintain the state as a common frame of different nationalities. When democracy was initiated in 1848–49 there was a clash of interests, resulting in the civil war of 1848–50, then the war with Prussia in 1864, leading to the final collapse of the United Monarchy. Schleswig and Holstein were lost (with a large Danish minority in Schleswig), and a Danish national state was established. During the following century this defeat made the Grundtvigian Folk High School the most important educational institution, as it had an educational vision which the new national state badly needed.

Rødding Højskole was the first folk high school to be established in 1844 to enhance the Danish national movement in Schleswig-Holstein. As the school was placed in the Duchy of Schleswig it came under German rule after 1864. Immediately after the war a new school was established on the other side of the border, Askov Højskole, which was soon to become the most important Grundtvigian folk high school.

However, before 1864 folk high schools with a more philanthropic and rationalistic objective dominated. To a high degree these folk high schools – or peasant schools as they were called – met the demands of the country people for agricultural instruction. It was after 1864 that the Grundtvigian folk high school began to penetrate. Still, the Grundtvigian folk high schools also offered agricultural instruction.

No doubt, the defeat in 1864 left profound traces on the collective consciousness in Denmark. Many people doubted that Denmark was able to survive as an independent nation. However, at the same time there was an immense mobilising of inner energy, the aim and direction of which was expressed very concisely in the slogan: "What is lost outwardly must be gained inwardly."

The years from 1864 until 1872 were the years of "the great time for the folk high schools". About 60 new folk high schools were established. In most of these popular-national schools, national history and national literature were the most important educational subjects.

The main objective of the folk high school was to awaken and enlighten the Danish national character. Grundtvig became the great ideologist, Christen Kold the great pedagogue, and Christian Floor the leading organisational force. The latter was important, not only to the establishing of Rødding Højskole, but he worked in other fields to make national identity the basic value of society.

According to Grundtvig the grammar school and the university were not Danish schools, as these institutions and the National Church were attached to the classical European tradition of education. Nationalism as an ideology affected the Church dramatically. It implied that the Holy Spirit, the universal spirit, had to be supplemented with or completely replaced by a new spirit, the spirit of the people. While Grundtvig little by little saw a clear

distinction between the national and the Christian, the school and the Church, the majority of the folk high schools were closely connected with both patriotism and Christianity.

What was Grundtvig's view upon the relation between the particular and the common, the national and the universal? Grundtvig is well-known as the initiator of the folk high schools. However, in reality the folk high schools were only part of an extremely ambitious program. His plan was to establish a school system, built on two pillars: a national one and a universal one. One was to carry the folk high school, the other the university. There should be tension and interchange between them. The folk high school was to be built upon the people and be a school of national popular enlightenment, whereas the university was to be a place of general enlightenment, focusing on human life as a whole. The university was intended to be "a spiritual workshop" where united efforts aimed at the all-encompassing, the common, the universal. This should be done by "developing all human knowledge in favour of the interests of life". Arguably the university is the crowning glory of Grundtvig's educational programme. However, only his ideas concerning the folk high school took root in the last century, and to some extent Grundtvig could be blamed for this himself. The universal aspects of Grundtvig's ideas concerning enlightenment and general educational were relegated to the background by the very national movement he was forwarding. Grundtvig's dream of a common Nordic university in Göteborg (Gothenburg) was not realised even though it continued to be a vision.

Workers's enlightenment

In 1848, the "year of Revolutions," Marx and Engels published *The Communist Manifesto*, containing the famous words "A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism," and finishing with the call "Proletarians of all countries, unite". According to Marx and Engels the proletarians have no native country but rather common cross-national interests. These common interests form the basis of a future international society and fraternity. Marx took over Hegel's concept of an antagonism between master and slave and made the class struggle the driving force of history.

Since Marx there has, within Marxism, been a tension between scientific distance and revolutionary fervour. Science and passion compete to be the basis of enlightenment. On the one hand Marxism contains an emotional appeal for class struggle and on the other hand a cool analysis of society as a system or machine, moving logically towards Communism. It is characteristic that Marx based his revolutionary appeal on a scientific analysis of the situation.

In 1871 Louis Pio initiated the establishing of a Danish division of the First International, and thus an independent labour movement was started in Denmark. It was a basic idea with Pio that internationalism and socialism were

inextricably bound together, and more than anything else this idea made him and the movement hated and feared by the nationalistic bourgeoisie of the time. Pio emphasised the ideological and organisational independence of the working class towards other classes.

The workers had to free themselves from the enlightenment and educational efforts of the bourgeoisie by studying economical and social conditions in preference to national history and literature. However, for a long time it was uncertain whether the workers' movement should lay the main stress on demanding better possibilities of admission to the existing educational system rather than establish their own institutions for adult education.

In 1871 cultural leftism was introduced into Denmark. The chief ideologist was Georg Brandes, who has often been called the Voltaire of the Nordic countries. Concerning the history of ideas John Stuart Mill's liberalism and Comte's positivism became a great source of inspiration to Scandinavian cultural leftism. Cultural leftism had an anti-metaphysical picture of the world and an empirical theory of knowledge. There was a great confidence in science and the freedom of thought. Society was to be changed, not first and foremost by political change, but by a liberation of the individual from society's norms and institutions. Criticism became the key word. Like the philanthropists the cultural left were preoccupied with a new approach to pedagogy and education. The Swede Ellen Key became the leading advocate in Scandinavia of a new vision of education. Her leading message was that *folkbildning* and education should emphasise aesthetic knowledge. According to Key, such knowledge was important to the personal development of all people. To lead the art to the people and the people to the art became the essence of her educational program. For many years she lectured at the Workers' Institute in Stockholm where 10,000 persons listened to her, an unprecedented large number.

At the end of the century a new educational institution emerged, the university extension courses, based upon both socialist and radical left ideas. In Great Britain the Workers' Educational Association was the driving force in the development of a co-operation between the universities and the labour movement and established "an extended university education". The establishing of the university extension courses in Denmark 1899 took place in close co-operation with university teachers of the cultural left and workers' leaders who were inspired by Marxism. However, the development of the university extension programme was opposed by the Grundtvigian folk high school movement, which reacted against giving science greater illuminating power than the people. The university extension courses are based upon the idea that the light comes from science and its methods, whereas the folk high school maintains that the light comes from the people, from the language and history, and ultimately from God.

Behind the controversy between the university extension programme and the folk high school movement was the key question: are there fields in life that are not subject to the social struggle in the Grundtvigian sense of the

people's struggle or in the socialist sense of the class struggle? Or are science and knowledge always connected with social interests? Though there have been competing interpretations, the chief point of view of the socialist movement has been that science is neutral in relation to class struggle.

The Great War was of immense importance to the international workers' movement. Before the war there was an almost religious belief that the Social Democrats not only would but also could stop the outbreak of war. The experience was that national brotherhood was ahead of international brotherhood. It was demonstrated that national integration of the labour movement evidently was ahead of the creation of workers' majority in each nation. After the war the international proletariat was replaced by the Danish folk (people). This took some time, but gradually the ideology of the workers' movement focused upon the people, the nation, and the spare time. In return the Social Democrats now vigorously fought to change Denmark into becoming the country of the workers, first and foremost by developing the welfare state.

In the period after the Great War the Social Democrats, with Julius Bomholt as the mouthpiece, tried to build their own institutions and create an independent workers' culture. As a result of this policy the Workers' Adult Educational Association was established in 1924. What is the explanation for the great political pragmatism on the one hand and the sharpened cultural profiling on the other? The fundamental question was, whether the sphere of working life should be maintained as the decisive battlefield between capitalism and socialism, or whether the workers' movement should be interested in leisure life? Those who took the latter view argued that socialism could make progress if the movement won influence in the area of leisure life and culture.

However, this cultural policy, based upon the class struggle, was radically changed when Nazism came into power in 1933 in Germany. Under the motto "Denmark for the People" the Social Democrats changed seriously through the thirties from being a class party to being a popular party, and the motto for the cultural policy became: "Culture for the People". This implied that the workers' movement and the Grundtvigian movement now had a common basis of national and popular enlightenment. During World War II this resulted in close co-operation in the Dansk Ungdomssamvirke (The Danish Youth Association) which was established in 1940 as an umbrella-organisation for work among young people in Denmark with Hal Koch as chairman.

The crux of the matter when the Dansk Ungdomssamvirke was established was whether the aim should be gathering around the national or the democratic. The Nazi challenge placed the relation between the national and the democratic in a focal point. To the folk high schools Nazism meant a special challenge, as some of the Grundtvigian core concepts were part of the Nazi vocabulary: folk, popular, the spirit of the people, popular revival, people's enlightenment, etc. Hal Koch succeeded in obtaining support for the aim that emphasised a strengthening of democracy by making the young people interested in politics. He dissociated himself from the common conception

that the Danish culture unites us whereas the political culture divides us. According to Hal Koch the only uniting force was a political struggle for democracy. After World War II the shift in the ideological basis of popular enlightenment continued: from the national to the democratic.

Personal enlightenment

The concept of personal enlightenment has been chosen as the heading of this section because of the fact that during the past 25–30 years the individual has, in a very dominant way, become the starting point of the educational and enlightenment endeavours of society. That the single individual – and not e.g. the Church, the State, the nation, or the class – has become the focal point is often summarised in the concept of individualisation, where as the opposite is the concept of globalisation.

Globalisation is a new concept which can be defined as intensified worldwide social relations that connect far away places in such a way that local events are affected by incidents that take place far away, and vice versa. Globalisation is not just something that takes place “out there”, but something that happens “at home”. For instance, the body is affected by the food chain, which is directly connected with many different peoples and places all over the world.

Globalisation seems to influence more and more spheres of life. The same economic powers which in their time helped build sovereign national states now seem to undermine national sovereignty. National borders are continuously becoming less important economically and this has created a new political situation for the nation state and national democracy. This is the essential reason why the most important political question in Denmark the last 25 years has been the country's relation to the EEC which was initiated in 1958 with the Treaty of Rome as its constitution. The strongest opposition to the Danish accession to the Common Market in 1972 was found in the folk high schools – which is not difficult to understand, as the folk high schools more than any other institution after 1864 became the main force in creating the ideological basis of a Danish nation state. The concept of enlightenment of the folk high school was deeply marked by the idea of the nation and the people as a collective body and the language and history to keep them together.

However, through the last 25 years 1864 has receded into the background as the fixed point of orientation, and another Denmark is developing. To push it to extremes it can be said that in step with the disappearance of the national as an obvious basis of understanding, the individual has become the centre of attention.

It has become the ideal that each individual has his/her own goal and aim. To an increasing degree the individual has become the authority that tells society about him/herself. This has resulted in further uncertainty concerning

the concept of people's enlightenment, which historically is based upon the people and not upon the individual.

Neither the nation nor the class has the same identity-creating importance as before. This has resulted in spectacular consequences for the folk high school. Since the folk high school system was started in 1844 it has taken care of both educational needs – first and foremost in relation to agriculture – and the needs for a general education in connection with the building up of the nation state. To a great extent the folk high schools have freed themselves from both assignments, although national feelings were appealed to in connection with the EEC referendum in 1972 and the following discussion concerning Denmark's attitude to a supranational co-operation in Europe.

Throughout the past two hundred years the vertical and horizontal light has been attached to both the people and to science. However, during the past few decades these two sources of light have lost their legitimacy. The idea of the people is not longer a key concept for enlightenment and general education, and to some extent this applies also to science. The belief in a connection between scientific development and social development has partly broken down. Especially the left wing has lost its belief in the rationalism of science as a norm for the organisation of society. Severe criticism of the idea of growth – which since the Age of Enlightenment has prevailed in the ideas of developing society – can be traced in the last 25 years of work in the folk high schools and people's enlightenment. But the idea of growth has not disappeared. It has been moved to the personality. During the last 25 years the personality has been the starting point of almost all efforts to further enlightenment and general education. Personal development, personal growth and personal enlightenment are key words in the new enlightenment and general education paradigm which is developing in these years at the threshold of the millennium.

The term New Age is a synthesising expression for various ideas emphasising the development of man's whole potential. It is a basic idea among New Age followers that it is not possible to change society without changing people's consciousness. Like other revival movements, the New Age tries to create mental and spiritual preconditions for changes in society. The endeavour is to see the world in a new light – a cosmic light. However, the New Age emphasises not only the importance in consciousness, but also changes of the body. A new consciousness of the body is the aim. "To listen to your body" is, according to the New Age view, to listen to a great source of wisdom, because the body registers changes in society before the consciousness. The body "thinks" and sends signals which can be interpreted, e.g. as messages of illness and imbalance in the body.

Through the past few decades a large number of subjects and ideas, inspired by the New Age, have gained a footing in adult education. As a result there has been a collapse within adult education of the sharp division between body and spirit, nature and culture, science and belief, that modernity has built upon. By means of new cosmological models many people try to transcend these

divisions and find new connections. This search for the cosmic which the New Age expresses can be regarded as a spiritual movement, connected with globalisation.

Although there are many differences in how the implications of globalisation are evaluated, everybody seems to agree that knowledge is becoming a key factor in the development of society. The strategic resource of society is moving from physical work to "intellectual capital". In the transition from a classical industrial society to a post-industrial society the acquisition of still more knowledge is evidently a human and societal necessity. Education – which until now was connected with a certain period of life – has become a necessary way of life. Therefore, adult education has become a crucial factor in the process of social renewal.

Adult education is in the front line of societal development and is now considered a decisive factor in global economical competition. This is connected with the following facts:

1. Education has become the key factor in determining the individual's job possibilities throughout life.
2. Education has become a key factor in a firm's competitive power in the global market.
3. Education is a key factor in shaping a nation's possibilities in the framework of global competition.

Since the Reformation better education for the adult population has been a common aim of the different educational traditions: Christian enlightenment, civic enlightenment, popular-national enlightenment, and workers' enlightenment. However, if a comparison is made between the present reforms of adult enlightenment there seems to be one decisive difference: while the earlier educational traditions have emphasised a strengthening of common values that were to enhance the ability of society to cohere, the arguments now refer to the demands for qualifications in the context of continued economic growth and global economic competition.

As stated earlier, severe criticism of the economic idea of growth can be traced within adult education. This criticism has not resulted in a rejection of the concept of growth, but rather has led to the idea that personal growth and development is the purpose of education. It is a controversial question whether such an idea will result in societal dissolution or, on the contrary, in an appropriate development of society.

These problems are often discussed under the heading of individualisation. Still, the concept of individualisation is not a new phenomenon, it can be traced far back in history. For instance, Protestantism with its emphasis upon the belief of the individual as the road to salvation, contains a strong element of individualisation. It broke with the Church of Rome as an authority on religious affairs and is instead based upon a personal relationship with God. However, even though individualisation is not a new phenomenon it has during the past few decades first and foremost become a common condition of life.

Broadly speaking, two chief points of view are prominent. One considers individualisation to be lack of socialisation; the other considers individualisation to be a new type of socialisation. Thus individualisation need not be synonymous with a dissolution of society, but it can be a manifestation of a re-organising of social relations. Individualisation can be the manifestation of a new principle of societal order.

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