

The neoculturation of life-modes during the current transformation of state system and world economy

The challenges, variations and changes in cultural life-modes

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Summary

Departing in an ethnological research project carried out around 1980 this project seeks to further develop and update the life-mode theory. As a cultural and social theory, the life-mode theory proposes that it is possible to localize and specify a number of mutually dependent and often conflicting life-modes. Each life-mode is characterized by certain way of organizing life, as for instance, being self-employed, wage-worker or as a career oriented manager. As a cultural theory, the life-modes concepts can be applied to the analysis of internal societal differences and their role in the ongoing transformations of state and society.

The project will take its point of departure in the life-mode concepts that were identified thirty years ago and which can provide the basis for the examination of the empirical transformation that has taken place since then. Secondly, on the basis of new empirical field studies the research will examine and question new life-modes that in turn require a further theoretical examination and elaboration. Finally, the diverse design of the subprojects will enable a theoretical understanding of the particular relations and structural features, which in conjunction create (and recreate) a new totality of contrasting life-modes in state and society.

General project description

The general idea

This first part of the project description describes the general idea of the project. This is done by focusing on the theory-developing potential of the project and its conceptual and analytical logic, which it is the purpose of the four subprojects to challenge and consolidate. Hereafter it will be described how the subprojects will contribute to this discussion through studies of selected empirical areas. Finally the four subprojects will be individually presented

The life-mode analysis is based on conceptual specifications. This means that it develops its concepts in a root structure that enables it to specify each concept and to examine on which level of specification it is necessary to rectify the conceptualization when the theory is challenged by the researchers' experiences of applying it. Inspired by Louis Hjelmslev's method of specification the life-mode theory develops concepts that enable the examination of the principally different ways to organize life that structure the everyday practices of a society as well as the deeply different conceptual worlds that are hidden beneath the seemingly uniform national language (Hjelmslev 1966).

Around 1980 the life-mode theory made it possible to show a different social landscape contrary to the prevalent notion that the Danish working population was mainly structured by work and leisure time. Instead there could be found at least four different life-modes. Three of them were structured principally different from the wage worker. Seen from within the conceptual logic of the theory the three other life-modes did neither contain the, for a wage-earner specific work and leisure concepts nor the contrast and the means-end relationship that give these two concepts their particular meaning for the wage-earner (Højrup 1983).

Even though work and leisure time were broadly applied, the meaning attached to the concepts were in principle different. The first life-mode theory could specify:

- 1) A conceptual world where the concept 'free' is connected with *being free* as an independent trader or producer whose enterprise is a means which is an end in itself (the daily work as self-employed) – i.e. with no or little contrast between working and being free.
- 2) A conceptual world where *leisure time* is the opposite of *working time*, and where one is seen as the free time and the other as duty hours.
- 3) A conceptual world where the personal engagement in unfolding one's creativity and expertise gives *freedom to create a career* across companies, because the content and quality of work is the end while the companies are means to realizing one's creative engagement.
- 4) A conceptual world where the freedom to develop and invest capital in companies where growth is expected to be highest, is the core of the *freedom to dispose* whereby a timely used risk-taking is the

means to optimizing one's rate of return and vice versa. The central argument was that the four contrasting life-modes mutually presupposed one another (Appendix 1 illuminates the suitability of the mode of analysis in studies of a Danish reality).

In the 1980s the wage-earner life-mode's conceptual world formed the basis for the prevalent idea that society had become monocultural. It was solely in this life-mode however, that working time versus leisure time was a meaningful conceptual structure. To the rest of the population it basically made no sense. Today it appears to be the career professional life-mode that forms the basis for the dominant monocultural notion about how modern people live or should live. Again there is a need for examination of the particular conceptual structure this parlance is derived from as well as which principally different conceptual worlds that – under the seemingly common linguistic surface of our time – are necessary for state and society as a whole (Hemmersam and others 2010).

Neither in biology nor ethnology can a life-mode exist alone. As in (the theory about) an ecosystem a societal system is also (but in a different way) composed of life-modes that are so complementarily different that they simultaneously make up each other's necessary conditions of existence. The concept of life-mode centrism is derived from the difficulty – from the conceptual world of a given life-mode – to comprehend other life-modes because their conceptual structure implies fundamental differences and everyday concepts. When the contrast involves blindness to the contrast itself, it is furthermore difficult to recognize that there exist other life-modes at all – and not just variants (lifestyles) of that mode of life which oneself and all other modern people (with the 'same' language) are seemingly living (Højrup 1995).

The theoretical problematic of the life-mode analysis is thus based on the cultural dialectic of complementarity: In their practice life-modes are mutually necessary to produce the preconditions for each other, however because this complementarity entails that they are principally different, their conceptual worlds are similarly blind to one another's particularity and thus existence as different life-modes. This constitutes the so called life-mode centrism. The general world view of a society can be marked by the centrism of one or more life-modes dominating the discourse and way of thinking.

This project will examine how society throughout the past thirty years have gone from an ideologically dominant wage-earner centrism to a new kind of prevalent monocultural discourse which also fails to capture the conceptual worlds of the population. Thus it is theoretically necessary to study the changes and new (variants of the population's) life-modes that imply each other all the way around through the complementarity's relations of: mutual necessary dependence, mutual conceptual contrast and mutual conceptions of one another that altogether form a complete whole of necessary life-modes in state and society, which is able to survive in the state system of our time. Sustainability and suitability are features and concepts that will be challenged and developed in this project. The current crisis and structural change of the state system show that not all modes of existence can survive (Jul Nielsen 2004). But it also challenges the ability of the analysis to show whether the disappearance of a given life-mode is a token of necessity or the result of an ideological struggle for recognition and rights to existence with other life-modes.

This approach is philosophically and scientifically differentiated from postmodern cultural and social analytical approaches and aims to enrich a continuous scientific dialogue with the (opposite) way of thinking which conceives the specification of theoretical concepts (that mutually entail one another with

complementary necessity) as irrelevant for comprehending a (seemingly more structureless) postmodern world. Our basis is, on the contrary, that the scientific focus on a coherent conceptual framework is useful to the practical task of examining the features and life-modes necessary in every state and society in order to tackle the challenges in a new world order which is rapidly developing (Bolving & Højrup 2007). Europe's way of handling the crisis displays how the demand for the reproduction of the life-modes is crucial to whether or not a societal culture is sustainable.

The project will develop this thinking by examining the complementary relations of which it is theoretically possible to localize and specify a complex of mutual dependent and contrasting life-mode concepts that is suitable (in Hjelmslev's sense) for analyzing the ongoing formation of our time's state and society in Denmark. The project will thus: 1) be based on the life-mode concepts which were identified thirty years ago and which can thus form the basis of an examination of the intervening empirical process of change, 2) on the basis of empirical field studies explore which new structural life-mode features it is now possible and necessary to specify theoretically in addition to the already known life-modes, 3) enable the subprojects to contribute complementarily to the consolidation of the theoretical understanding of the particular relations and structural features, which in conjunction create (and recreate) a new discourse and totality of contrasting life-modes in state and society (Højrup 2002).

Since the life-modes are characterized by their *relative autonomy* each subproject will be based on the study of a particular life-mode complex which will be examined on its own premises. At the same time both its theoretical constitution and its empirically realized creation and recreation have to be seen in conjunction with the other life-modes which it presupposes, negates and relates itself to in its material and linguistic practice. This concretely means that all subprojects will examine: 1) through which specific relations the life-mode features concerned *presuppose one another*, i.e. how the studied life-modes of each subproject produce one another's conditions of existence, 2) whether and how it is possible to develop a more strictly logical and concise *theoretical distinction* between the structural features which entail that the life-mode concepts with necessity must be principally different and self-determined, 3) how the co-existing life-modes from each conceptual world *conceive one another* and in this light how they conceptually think and understand their own practice and identity, 4) how the *state* in practice *can relate* and empirically take a position on the life-mode features concerned – whether in coherent or contrasting ways – in order to promote its sovereignty work externally as well as its inner reform work under the influence of the new challenges of the state system (Jespersen and others 2006, Bolving & Højrup 2007).

The empirical material will be collected through ethnographic fieldwork techniques along with composition of ethnological field notes and recordings that comprise observations, dialogues, surveying, interviews, photos, written material, material from media etc, which altogether illuminate an empirical problem.

The overall idea manifested in four subprojects

We have chosen to study four subprojects in depth that are all inquiring a life-mode complex, are intimately connected and in conjunction contribute to making explicit the complementary life-mode features that are to be considered as necessary parts of the societal whole which is and has been under formation and re-formation since the 1970s.

The first subproject will have its basis in the self-employed life-mode of which the concept was developed from empirical studies of family holdings, small business partnerships and shareholder fisheries. These are

all concerned with production of material goods. Thus quality, quantity and prices are crucial to the mode of reproduction of the life-modes and thus the theoretical understanding and specification of the life-mode's *differentia specifica* in relation to the capitalistic mode of production's (Højrup 1983, 2002). Today the common understanding of this life-mode needs to be confronted empirically and developed theoretically in the light of new production of knowledge, service, communication, brands and similar not (in the same way) quantifiable trades. And moreover in the light of new niches in traditional sectors which in Denmark experience increasing entrance costs but decreasing large-scale advantages. The hitherto known variants still exist empirically, however new modes are developing. It requires a specifying consolidation (if necessary: a reconstruction) of the concept to contribute to the analysis of the current societal totality. Whether or not it by renewed examination can, and if so, must be kept theoretically separated from the wage-earner life-mode one the one hand and the career life-mode on the other, is the problematic that points out the life-mode complex of this subproject.

The second subproject has its basis in the wage-earner life-mode of which the concept was developed early on through studies of classic routine-work at manufacturing enterprises and its professional organization on the labor market (Højrup 1983). Both were conditioned by acquisition and disposal of working time through collective bargaining that condition the features that were necessary to the specification of the concept of the life-mode (Jul Nielsen 2002). Since then both features and conditions have changed and we have to ask whether one can still empirically talk about a wage-earner life-mode. Or have we in the current version of the concept only found one of its variants while other variants are possible and necessary to discover and specify (Jul Nielsen 2004). This is crucial for figuring out whether this life-mode is on its way out of the cultural history or if it, in completely other variants than the hitherto expressed, is still possible to distinguish theoretically from the self-employed life-mode and the career professional life-mode as well as from the features we find in big professions of the welfare state (Buus 2001). Globalization of markets for capital, goods, services and manpower, individualization of collective agreements, the competence development of work and new forms of management constitute principally new conditions. The question is which ones it is that with necessity make a difference to the fundamental features of this life-mode complex.

The third subproject has its basis in the career life-mode of which the concept was at first developed from studies of the empirical 'spiralists'. This is people who jumps and spins up through the hierarchies of the big companies through engaging in and being engaged by the very same companies that are in need for the creativity and expertise of certain career people. This concept arrived from the contrast of the self-employed that remains faithful to his family enterprise, as well as the distinct contrast to the wage-earner who raises collective demands to the company (Højrup 1983). The two contrasts was the occasion for making explicit that the career oriented employee makes individual demands to him- or herself with the purpose of being preferred to one's competitors when the company is appointing a new employee at the next level of the hierarchy. Engagement and advancement is here the essence of the good life (Rahbek Christensen 1987). Today it is a prevalent Scandinavian discourse that we all must live of knowledge, expertise, creativity, entrepreneurship and innovation. Does this mean that the specific features of the career professional life-mode have become common while the life-mode as a particular practice has disappeared? Or are we still waiting to discover and specify variants of this life-mode concept, which enables us to inquire the new urban groups of knowledge-based entrepreneurs to whom are attached great – and possibly principally diverse – expectations of securing the financial survival of the country? Can

one specify a structural contrast to a possible knowledge-based wage-earner life-mode and to a self-employed life-mode based on immaterial production – or are we dealing with cultural convergence? This question of convergence or co-existence of opposite features makes this subproject stand out as a complementary field of subject to the three other subprojects.

The fourth subproject has its basis in the investor life-mode of which the concept was originally developed as a contrast to the career professional life-mode in order to get a theoretical grasp on the practice of the holder of capital, which can be just as mobile as the career oriented employees. However, its mobility consists of the ability to move one's investments in a way which is presupposed by the career professional life-mode and the wage-earner life mode as necessary conditions of existence (Monrad Hansen 1989). In line with the globalization of the finance markets, new forms of ownership, institutional investors, mergers and competitive states it has become necessary to conceive the concept of the investor life-mode, and especially its relation to the concept of the career professional life-mode, as both the principal distinction between the necessary features of the two concepts as their mutual conditioning are challenged by the empirical development and thus requires a theoretical consolidation. The thesis is that their internal connection and contrast can be a methodological jump off point for a new challenge regarding which conceptual logic it is that differentiates them theoretically from the other life-modes' knowledge-based and immaterially based variants as well as the contrast and relation to the classic life-mode features of the state civil service. The subject of this subproject is thus the life-mode complex which is based on the concept of the two previous investor and career professional life-modes, and it needs to be tested, related and contrasted to the inquiry of the wage-earner and the self-employed life-mode in the three other subprojects. This subproject particularly contributes to the overall and principal analysis of the life-modes' mutual relations that enable and in itself is consolidated by the three more empirically based subprojects.

The concept of *neoculturation* emphasizes the relation that life-modes constantly have to deal with the changes of the external conditions which constitute their necessary conditions of existence. This development of the life-modes and of the existing conditions is subject to the life-mode centrism and thus it is a process which is full of struggles between different conceptions of the good life. The problematic of the neoculturation will through the internal coherence of the subprojects be the key of which the project as a whole enables a further development of the life-mode theory, which the radical restructurings of our society's global conditions make possible.

Subproject 1: A new generation of self-employed?

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Introduction

Both urban and rural areas contain businesses influenced by a culture of entrepreneurship as well as life-modes that have their own small or medium-sized enterprises' viability and independence as their main goal. These life-modes are structurally different from the life-modes related to the capitalist mode of production, which in its composite form constitutes the basis for the other subprojects. The simple commodity production and its self-employed life-mode is in contrast characterized by its organic form. Through its size and flexibility the simple commodity producer can adjust costs, quantity, price and quality to the available niches and economic conditions and thus survive under conditions where capitalist profit-seeking companies would normally move their capital to other activities. The workload of the self-employed family for instance, can be increased without this resulting in further labor costs. Its home, house and production unit can in practice be one inseparable unit. In some periods the unit can thus be running with a deficit, however with the purpose of surviving until the economic conjunctures are favorable again. The aim is thus not in itself growth, profit or full production; instead it is to remain independent as a production unit. This has implications for the meaning attached to the working life as well as the social relations in the family, to the co-workers, the neighbors and to the local community. The most common conditions of existence of the simple commodity manufacturer are found in niches and areas where capitalistic large-scale advantages cannot be established and where the smaller and flexible unit of production is advantageous. The first life-mode analysis in the 1980s showed the simple commodity production's viability as well as its prevalence in agriculture, fishing and in a large number of service enterprises earning a living from the range of assignment coming neighboring farms and industries.

A new generation?

The self-employed and partly family-based enterprises, which were in focus in the first life-mode analysis, appear today to co-exist along with a new generation of companies that are based on new technologies, knowledge and food production. The past three decades have in Denmark been marked by a development towards large-scale industries and an increased use of information-intensive technologies in the production. In addition the entrance costs in the traditional primary productions such as agriculture and fisheries make it almost impossible for young families of today to see a meaningful life as entrepreneurs in these fields (Høst 2012). Further, the technological development and the resulting qualitative changes in production have removed the preconditions for the many self-employed occupied with servicing farms and the productive industries in their local area. The point is that the increasing use of information technology, information and science in the production and public administration creates new niches for smaller enterprises that can earn a living from delivering knowledge-based services. The above-mentioned changes in the basic conditions of existence mean that there once again is a potential for examining the different self-employed life-modes in both urban and rural areas.

Research areas

It is the main objective of this subproject to examine how a reproducible and meaningful life can be developed and composed as a self-employed life-mode as well as how the new conditions have principal implications for this way to structure a livelihood. In order to grasp the diverse challenges the self-employed life-modes face, the ethnological research and fieldwork of this subproject is divided into two

distinct fields. One explores the self-employed who deliver knowledge-based services while the other focuses on food producers who deliver products that are different from those of the large-scale producers.

The self-employed life-modes in the knowledge-based society

This research field will examine how work life and family life is organized in the niches where the object and final product is distinctly knowledge-based. How are the family's labor force, network and knowledge drawn into the day's work? What role does the workplace and home address play when the product is principally not geographically anchored? Are there qualities of the larger cities or the rural areas that enable particular new forms of this practice? Fundamentally one can ask, whether the increasing dominance of knowledge and it-technology challenges our approach to work life and production, as the newer theories about for instance 'The creative class' propose (Florida 2002).

The new food producers

The rural areas are currently in a particularly vulnerable situation where the developments of large-scale farming to match global competition have resulted in fewer and fewer actually being involved in the conventional agriculture and in food manufacturing. Throughout the past decade however, a number of new food manufacturers has set up businesses – for instance the many new micro-breweries – which often use the particular character or history of the place to develop the qualities of the product as well as the brand of the company. None of these compete on price with the large-scale producers, but instead they create brands around niches like health, ecology and quality. Here the image of rural nature and livelihood is reshaped as a contrast to the image of a challenged and declining rural Denmark. More and more it seems that rural areas are being articulated as a recreational resource. What are the potentials and implications in the new role of the rural areas as a recreational resource to the life-modes that are living there? How are the resources and the networks of the families drawn into this production? Which new ideas and competences are added to the use of the area, and how do the new "micro" manufacturers coexist with the conventional volume production and remaining population?

Self-employed in society

In combination the two fields of research will give a substantial insight into the conditions of the contemporary self-employed life-modes, and will provide a basis for understanding this way of life in relation to the other life-modes. Along with the other subprojects this research project can illustrate how knowledge and education become part of different social forms as well as the different ways the challenges of globalization are handled. The relationship to the hired staff in the self-employed enterprises is a particularly interesting issue. How is the loyalty and commitment necessary for the uniqueness of small producers kept at a high level? How are we able to principally distinguish their mutual interest and differences from each other? Which life-mode centrisms are played out in the interplay between them, and how are these dealt with locally and organizationally? At a more general level the two fields provide insights to how the urban and rural can interact and whereupon the place as a specific notion itself receives a new meaning as a resource to the new niches, products and services.

Growth and vulnerability

The self-employed entrepreneurs are small and vulnerable but are in Denmark considered as important with regards to employment, growth and creativity. National and regional support schemes are set in place to help entrepreneurs and newly established self-employed, however at the same time the schemes are

setting specific frames that reflect strategic objectives at a national and European level. However the special needs and urge for independence in the entrepreneurial culture itself are often in conflict with the bureaucratic principles in the institutions set up to help them. The self-employed entrepreneurs need to handle the vulnerability of their own practice-mode through their own resources and opportunities. This dialectic will be examined by studying strategies and initiatives in these environments, where the family's own work, skills, resources and network are put into play in different ways, and where at the same time pressure is put on the political framework both locally and nationally.

The hidden transformation

The question is to which degree this development reflects an economic, cultural and ideological transformation. In the cities self-employed and entrepreneurs are considered in the planning as a part of a so-called experience economy as well as a creative potential that contributes to the city's identity externally. In the rural areas different life-modes are struggling with each other to define the brand and identity of the area and thus also to shape the organization of its economy and cultural status in society as a whole. The struggle is on a concrete level about the shape of physical planning and about attracting means from public and private funds such as EU's rural development funds (through for instance Local Action Groups) and development project supported by large foundations. Here, the examination of the self-employed and their conceptions of especially the wage-earner and the career professional life-mode will give us an insight into how they conceive and position one another in a new relation between country and city and between the life-modes in the contemporary society. Concepts such as 'experience economy' and 'the new rural paradigm' have a tendency to hide the social restructuring, which also underlie a rural or urban area's transition from an agricultural and industrial economy to a tourism and knowledge-based economy (see among others Pine and Gilmore 1999, Lund 2007). This subproject will contribute to the understanding of the paradigmatic transformation and its contradictions between life-modes that take part or are in other ways entrenched in the rapid transformations.

Subproject 2: Wage-earners in a new world order

PhD and associate professor Niels Jul Nielsen

Wage work and wage-earners in a new world order

Throughout the 20th century the wage-earners obtained a steadily increasing societal influence, and the Social Democratic Party, which in particular supported the interests of this life-mode, was in power for the most part of the period. This key position was related to the international political struggle between east and west (Jul Nielsen 2004) and its consequence was that the organization and regulation of the labor market to a large extent rested on premises that presumed an understanding of work with clear limits to the amount of tasks, a clear distinction between the various areas of responsibility, as well as a clear distinction between work and leisure time. At the same time the political attention to the wage-earners' conditions meant that their material situation was substantially improved. Accordingly life as a wage-earner, after the Second World War, often made it possible to acquire a house, a car and a holiday cottage.

The wage-earners were not culturally a homogenous unit, however they shared one central condition, namely that the life-mode was conditioned by wage work which principally required an ability to monopolize the work. In life-mode theoretical terms one can argue (Jul Nielsen 2002 and 2004) that this

monopolization in *theoretical* terms constituted the key to understanding the specific character of the wage-earner life-mode; partly vis a vis other life-modes partly in relation to its (often neglected) internal conflicts. The argument is as follows: on a labor market that sells predefined labor-tasks (which theoretically speaking make up the contrast to the unicity of the career professional life-mode) the wage-earner is dependent on the presence of a tariff-defined wage (often but not necessarily secured through labor market organizations) that does not have a certain product-price like other commodities but instead only the value, which can be won through monopolizing the vending of labor. This prerequisite can be met if the workers appear as a unit with a monopoly on the negotiating rights for exactly that labor which is being negotiated – this way the employer cannot simply conclude an agreement with others. If the monopoly is to be effective however, it does not alone require the inclusion of everyone in a certain area who is qualified to sell this sort of labor, it also requires an exclusion of those who does not qualify. It is only through excluding others (as opposed to sharing with everyone) that a union can optimize the sale of its own members' labor. And it is only if the counterpart to the employer is not a monopoly of all the workers in the world that venture capital can be moved to investments outside the scope of a negotiation monopoly, where the labor is cheap enough for investors to implement a profitable production. The classic monopolization of the negotiating rights is thus principally always particular and implies both the unit and the differentiation that, seen from a cultural historic perspective, has turned out as, for instance, distinctions between skilled and unskilled workers, between different crafts and between different countries' labor organizations – a differentiated solidarity which is a crucial condition of existence for the social life as a whole, the home and the leisure time in the form of large status differences internally between the working-class families. In a state like Denmark, people in the 20th century shared the idea that life as a working-class family rested on the right to monopolize the wage-labor, and the thorough regulation which this entailed was recognized by the state, the employers and the colleagues.

The challenges and changes of the 21st century

The labor market in Denmark and the EU has for a couple of decades been characterized by deregulation and decentralization and has, simply speaking, moved towards a steadily increasing liberalization. The EU has in this context balanced between two general considerations: on the one hand the aim has been to secure low production costs by improving the intern competition across professions and borders in order to strengthen the EU countries' collective global competitiveness. On the other hand the EU has sought to adhere to the idea of a certain European social labor market-profile, in the effort to increase the public backing to EU and avoid a too vehement challenge to the intern cohesion during the expansion that in 2004 included several Eastern European low-wage countries. The increasing global competition throughout the past decades along with the current crisis has put the first consideration at the top of the agenda. It is thus a policy towards increased flexibility, by making the labor force more mobile and prepared for changes, combined with wage restraints and hereby increased competitiveness that characterize the labor market regulation in both the member countries and at an EU level.

In this light the Danish employees experience a challenge from two sides: on the one hand an increased competition from other EU countries' migrant workers whose border crossing search for work is generally supported through European legislation. On the other hand they risk that manufacturing companies move their production overseas. Both immigration of man power and emigration of capital make new demands to the wage-earner life-modes in Western Europe. Both are difficult to meet as the strength of the trade-

unions is decreasing, while more compelling tendencies in the international economy are increasingly dragging investments towards the large Asian economies.

Construction workers on new premises and co-existence of innovation and production

This subproject will examine partly how to comprehend these challenges theoretically and – in close interplay with this – partly how they can be handled in the everyday practice, mainly among the wage-earners themselves and secondarily by the employers, labor market organizations and politicians whom are all crucial to the decisions that challenge and enable wage-earner life. Especially the distressed European states are in need of figuring out how to take a position on the challenges, in order for them not to cause people to be marginalized as a result of unrealistic demands to changeability and flexibility, which can lead to self-perpetuating tensions at the labor market as is currently the situation in several European countries.

This subproject hence contains two fields of inquiry that – in conjunction enable one to examine the wage-earner life-mode's challenge from the global competition – in a necessary way complement each other because one field examines the challenge from immigrating manpower while the other examines companies that move overseas. There will be field studies and recordings on:

1. working places that function in a fundamentally different way than just ten years ago, due to a large amount of migrant workers.
2. working places that markedly venture on innovation and knowledge-work as the means to maintain a domestic manufacturing company as necessary for product and method development.

Ad 1.

The construction sites of the country are well suited for inquiring the first problematic. They are obviously not threatened by outsourcing as the main part of the activities is bound to the place where the building activities are taking place. Demands for putting out to competitive tendering and potential access for foreign entrepreneurs, service operators and employees mean however, that through the past centuries – enhanced by EU's east expansion in 2004 – a rapid change in the composition of the working force has taken place in the industry. It is mainly the Polish employees who are present in large numbers as wage-earners on larger construction sites – whether they work for Danish, Polish or other foreign employers. The latter often functions as subcontractors for a Danish main-entrepreneur.

There is no doubt that this development challenges the previously mentioned monopoly of the negotiating rights to this work of the Danish labor organizations and that this causes a notable reduction in the wage and the working conditions of the construction workers. If this situation is viewed from the perspective of the Polish migrant workers however, it is an attractive opportunity to enhance their situation. An opportunity which they get access to by offering a certain 'Polish' work effort, meaning one that is flexible and not craft divided. This opportunity is often realized outside the regulation which hitherto has handled the complexity on the labor market. Furthermore it looks as if the work, which among others Poles offer, can be framed as contracts that are provided by a service-company. This way the labor is being sold as a principally different article from the tariff-determined working time – even though the labor carried out is physically the same. These challenges to the monopolized sale of working time both within and outside the, by the organizations negotiated, agreements cause changed relations, conflicts and demarcations in

between trades and colleagues at the working places. It creates new conditions for even the larger contexts of wage-earners' lives. The sub-study will thus examine which life-perspectives, planning-horizons, family lives, housing choices etc. that are possible under these circumstances. At the theoretical level this transformation and the contemporary situation challenges the approach and the frame of understanding – based on the concept of monopolization – that proved successful in explaining fundamental features in the development of the wage-earner life-mode throughout the 20th century. The monopolization of the negotiating rights in organizations and clubs at the individual workplace requires recognition from the state, employers and other associations, and it is relevant to ask if one can meaningfully say that today's fundamental conditions of existence to a wage-earner life-mode is an organized monopolization, if large parts of the labor market are based on salaries that do not rest on negotiated and agreed tariffs in the above-mentioned specific sense? Can one speak of monopolization-modes which we have hitherto been blind to? Or must we change our thinking and conceptual logic in order to grasp the new forms of wage-labor as a sustainable basis for a life-mode?

Ad 2.

The second sub-study deals with the part of the labor market where the challenge consist of maintaining the production in a Danish setting and where the wage-earner life-mode's challenge is whether there is any work left locally at all. As have been mentioned in the general description of the project it is often emphasized how Denmark must survive through its innovative qualifications. Also it is pointed out that the key to survival is flexibility and knowledge-based growth, and there is no doubt that many knowledge-based companies only to a very limited extend demand physical and craftsman based labor in Denmark, cf. subproject 1 and 3.

However, in these years it is being discussed whether certain forms of knowledge and innovation are better developed in a close connection to manufacture and production (see for instance Thelle and others 2011). It is here put forward that Denmark's innovative qualifications within trades, where technology plays a huge role, cannot be developed competitively in the long run if the R&D department and manufacturing enterprise are separated. An example of this way of thinking is the cooperation between industrial companies, the municipality and universities (inspired by the so-called Triple Helix-model) regarding development of especially climate and energy technology that has taken place in Lolland the past years (Hausenberg 2009). To the wage-earners the challenge is to develop a new kind of monopoly on cooperation within this work, which for instance is based on being able to distil the concrete experiences of the production labor with processes that can be optimized, to display experimental flexibility as well as creativity with regards to the continuous process and product development - features that have the potential to compensate for a Danish, and compared to Asian countries higher, wage.

A partnership-characterized cluster-cooperation entailing the possibility that Danish labor will get a new more future-proof role does have parallels in other countries. Not least in the regional development projects supported by the EU, ventures on innovative centers occur. Here growth is created by uniting specific competences that utilize and develop knowledge of a certain field which the locals traditionally have been experts of (for instance Keating 2003). On the other hand there is rarely focus on keeping local production-oriented labor, instead focus is on attracting specialized foreign knowledge-workers. In such projects – as well as in the studies conducted of them – it is rarely of scientific interest to perceive the wage-earner's situation as part of the whole.

In this sub-study it is possible to inquire into detail whether and, if so, how wage-earner life-modes can develop in a knowledge-based context and thus exist as a future component in a locally and nationally anchored innovation economy. At the same time however, it is crucial to ask whether there is any theoretical meaning at all in speaking about manual labor conceived as 'wage-work', or if it rather is a variation of what must theoretically be understood as a unicity-production and thus the rationale of the career professional life-mode.

Both substudies will methodologically study the subject in depth through field recordings at selected workplaces, in families and in companies where it, through recordings and participant observation studies with both employers and employees, becomes possible to examine how the global transformation of the labor markets makes people with different cultural life-modes collide, coexist, neo-culturate or change their cultural practice at an everyday level. At the same time it is obvious that local, national and transnational authorities play a decisive role as organizers of new conditions. Not least the EU is important here as it is a significant part of the project to examine not only how but also why the EU and the national states urge certain initiatives while established forms of regulation are abandoned.

Subproject 3: The career professional life-mode: The life-mode to save the country?

PhD and external professor Sigrid Leilund

Introduction

The current financial crisis has enhanced the economic and political discussions regarding growth and innovation. Today it is conceived to be an inescapable fact that the future is only secured through increased growth founded on an innovative edge, which cannot immediately be caught up with by the competitors. Nowadays the life-modes and companies, which despite high wage levels can create growth, jobs and profit for new investments, are more needed than ever. 30 years ago the Danish welfare state was still capable of protecting the domestic market and its life-modes, however today the neoliberal world market imposes tough demands on the Danish companies' as well as the competitiveness of the state (Pedersen 2011). The modernized and rationalized information and transport between the continents has made it physically possible for companies, which previously benefitted from the European domestic market, to overtake and to be overtaken by competitors from other parts of the world. In a country with relatively high wage levels distance does not in itself ensure an advantage with regards to seizing and retaining one's share of the market. In addition, the current financial situation has enhanced this tendency, which has been underway for the past 20 years. The work, which a Scandinavian country must live off in the future, cannot primarily be traditional material production founded on salary intensive labor. Instead it must be based on self-transcending knowledge work, which constantly develops new products and methods, able to seize new markets.

Through the discourses of today, the career professional life-mode is conceived as the innovation and growth creating life-mode. However, innovation is only significant with regards to the ability of competing and creating surplus value if it cannot be emulated by others. In the concept of the career professional life-mode it is necessary to specify this attribute in a two-dimensional unicity, which is the precondition for the reproduction of the life-mode. First of all it must be possible to produce solutions of which the unicity gives

the company a monopoly which is difficult for its competitors to challenge. Secondly, it must be possible to develop these solutions through a methodology, which is in itself difficult for the competitors of the career professionals to emulate. It is the ability to specify the inner coherence between these two levels, which shows how the people constituting this life-mode make themselves so indispensable and irreplaceable that the companies' demand of their practice and conceptual world fundamentally differs from the need for and paying for wage-earners.

In practice the unicity of the career professional life-mode can take many different forms and be found in diverse areas. This may be as a research team developing new medicine, a consultant developing new ways of optimizing a company merger, a key account manager creating hitherto unknown customer relations or a CEO reformulating the company's strategy, making it more difficult for competitors to emulate. It is essential for the reproduction of the life-mode that it is conceived as indispensable and irreplaceable, while simultaneously its pay and specific work conditions are being met. These necessary conditions enable the career professional life-mode to develop the unicity, which gives the company the required lead – in relation to its competitors – that is vital for its ability to further pay the unicity, which is the basic condition for its survival. Hence the pay of the career professional life-mode has nothing to do with wage; instead it constitutes the price, which competing companies are willing to pay in order to get ahead of their competitors.

When the first life-mode analyses were carried out during the late 70s, the national social research conceived modern people to be living a life consisting of work time as well as leisure time with both to be allowed for in order to constitute a good life (Højrup 1983, Hansen 1980). Based on this notion the state strived towards supporting the organizations of unions' and employers' joint regulation of working hours, work environment and their efforts of achieving increased equality. From the perspective of the life-mode analysis this meant that terms taken from the conceptual universe of the wage-earner life-mode were used as the basis for the prevailing social research and legislation (Jul Nielsen 2004). The thesis of this project is that in sync with the end of the Cold War, the globalization and liberalization of the markets, the growth of the BRIC countries and the financial crisis in Europe, a paradigmatic change is created in the political discourse. In contrast to the domination of the universal welfare-conception the strategies of globalization and the education reforms strive towards organizing society as supporting and increasing the features that are conceived through concepts derived from the culture of the career professional life-mode – however without one being aware of its specificity in relation to the population as a whole. Hence the question is whether or not we see a new kind of dominant life-mode centrism? This subproject will examine the life-mode centrisms that are conflicting with one another in new ways, if such a relation of domination exists, and if herein new variants of the career professional life-mode and its conceptual universe are incorporated. For instance it is the aim of the incumbent government that 95% of a youth year must complete a secondary education and that 50% will continue in higher education. The hope is to enable the youth to manage the knowledge-based career jobs of the future. However, it is far from all functions that contain the two dimensional unicity, which is the premise of the career professional life-mode. As it has been conceptualized previously they must be applied to the premises of other life-modes. Here the subproject is required to produce ethnological material in order to develop improved concepts and analyses.

A new everyday life in a new world order

The empirical field studies of the subproject will make it possible to examine the lives of the career-minded environments, as well as the demands it imposes on the surroundings. State, welfare society, workplace and family must be able to make specific preconditions available for the life-mode. Hereby the project will be a significant supplement to the existing research, which stresses changes at a macro level (Pedersen 2011 mfl.), and an alternative to the studies that only examine the so-called knowledge-based society from the perspective of the working life (fx Ekman 2010).

The subproject will be based on the following research questions: How does a prevalence of the career professional life mode result in new patterns with regards to education, career development and family life? How can new features of the career professional life-mode be specified as concept variants, and thus provide insight in the strategies and chains of reasoning that constitutes the types of everyday life and careers, which the fieldwork exposes in the environments – and among the people – that have a key role in the current development. The subproject will both be carrying out fieldwork in the new settings of research-based career jobs and development departments, and collect field data about the significant displacements of family life, which originate from the fact that both partners increasingly contain features from/of the career professional life-mode in these environments.

The new field of career work

The first life-mode enquiries discovered that in the management of the larger private companies, milieus which, compared to that of wage earners, consisted of a markedly different life and conceptual world. These milieus could be characterized as a proper life-mode whose specific culture was distinguished on the basis of the known types of business-, industry and finance companies of that time (Højrup 1983, Monrad Hansen 1989). The planning, managing, decision-making and developing manager in a presentable suit, with a high pay, large time consumption and dedication to the company became the easily recognizable symbol of the career professional life-mode. Later in the 80s it was possible to make a clear empirical distinction between the yuppie's career professional work and the industrial wage labor. This contrast encapsulated the distinction between on the one hand the work done *con amore* as well as the creative commitment in the company's success and on the other hand the time-bound, monotonous duties. Today this contrast appears less distinct in many contexts, and hence there is a need to understand the specific relation of the career-bound life-modes to the knowledge-work, which is regarded as a marker of post-industrial and postmodern work (fx Florida 2002, Giddens 1991).

With a growing level of education in the population and a reorganization of the traditional production there is an ever-increasing need for knowledge-based work. In all levels of both public and private companies qualified, devoted and committed working capacity is demanded. The innovative and creative is becoming a norm to be sought after, which can displace the ideals of the monotonous and temporary work – in any case at the workplaces, founded on knowledge-based work, where self-management and responsibility is delegated to the employees. But does working with knowledge necessarily imply a practice as career-oriented theoretically? Or is it necessary to deconstruct the normative discourse of knowledge-work in order to create a new view on where and how it requires the career professional life-mode's concepts of the innovative and devoting tasks – and make all knowledge-work appear as career-oriented, even though this is far from true? This subproject will inquire whether and how the concepts of the career-professional life-mode of engagement, unicity, its irreplaceable role and innovating challenges are taken over and

generalized and thus dispersed, however, with a different significance that varies along with the other life-modes. This analysis is necessary with regards to figuring out how much of a significance the various life-mode-features in fact has in what is characterized as expanding knowledge-work.

The new knowledge-based career jobs are first and foremost occupied by an increased number of academics, whose qualifications are rooted in research-based university lectures. A large part of these candidates are either employed in the HR and IT departments of the private sector as consultants, in communications positions or they start their own businesses as entrepreneurs. Many of these job functions impose demands of a professional expertise, personal skills and social competences on the employees. The employees are expected to formulate the tasks themselves as well providing new solutions. On the other hand the positions are often in the interlayer of the company, where the employees are not necessarily expected to disregard the fixed working hours as well as they do not receive extraordinary emoluments for their effort. In other words it could also be features, which only look like the structural features of the career professional life-mode on the surface. However, we must open up for the possibility that these structural features can be found on all levels of a company, from the top management to the new employees earning a starting salary, since a career is a life-process – a way to seize one's opportunities – that has its roots in one's study period. Furthermore a career can include times when the next move towards developing one's indispensability consists of establishing one's own business in order to ensure the optimum conditions for developing a new idea.

Across this field this subproject will inquire *how* the various challenges are created, dealt with and imply reasonings about whether one should change the points, find a new place of employment, establish own agency, get more training, try out difficult tasks, follow the management or go in different directions from making use of the technologies and methods, which the management prefers, and thus seeking employment in another business environment. On the average these employees stay in the same position for two years and thus their moving from position to position is important to inquire into in order for the empirical reasonings to be of the further development and consolidation of the concept and its logically possible structures. Theoretically this implies an enquiry of whether there is a need for specifying new versions of the career professional life-mode as a whole that can explain the empirical differences – as well as point out the logical interfaces with other life-modes. These variants are particularly important if it can be shown that they can make principally different demands to the legal, organizational, financial and other societal preconditions, because it then becomes possible to develop the analysis from their potential of co-existence with type-features, which they differ from but whose practice they possibly depend on simultaneously.

The analysis will be based on field work in environments and ethnological records with people that represent the diversity of the knowledge-based career jobs. Because of the fact that the career work is not defined by the workplace but exists in all sectors in both large, small, private and public companies it is a methodological emphasis that the field of enquiry is not limited to a particular professional environment or a given social group. On the contrary the enquiry will [exploratively] be dealing with where, under which conditions and in which forms the career professional life-mode utilizes its potential today.

From working life to life as a whole – and the implications of understanding a family today

Family is at least as important to every life-mode as the working place. The family is still the most important framework for children and the home, however it is no longer a shared destiny that is expected to last throughout life. Despite these general features the family is widely different in between the different life-modes. A family that unites life-modes is even more complex as the various life-modes make principally different demands and have principally different expectations to the family's way of functioning as well as its arrangement. The tendency towards serial monogamy substituting the shared destiny of the nuclear family means that in relatively short time it has become impossible to base one's life-mode on a lifelong marriage with a partner, who remains the main provider of the family. The legal preconditions have changed the conditions of the family decisively since the Second World War and in a few generations made the previously widespread feminine life-modes a marginalized feature of the culture of everyday life.

Within the past 30 years alone, the family in Denmark has thus changed drastically. In 1980 the nuclear family was still so prevalent that the life-mode analyses considered it of big importance to set out explicitly the home front practice and the housewife's different life-modes (Rahbek Christensen 1987). They were crucial for conceiving the interrelation of both the career family and the wage-earner family of two different life-modes in a marriage and its family formation. The dual-provider family has since then become prevalent and is almost conceived as a matter of course. Hence the complementarity of the nuclear family in between partners with symbiotic different gender roles is no longer dominant. Instead of perceiving this fact as the result of a postmodern individualization, this subproject considers it to be both possible and necessary to inquire how the changes in the family cultures of the career-environment can be understood structurally when new generations of women substitute their mothers' lives as home front practices with their own lives as career women.

While in the 1970s it was still important to find concepts for the *complementary* practice, which made life as a career-*man* without any responsibility towards family or home possible, it is today exigent to comprehend how two career-oriented partners can complement each other as well as how the responsibility of family and home take new forms containing implications of how the partners organize their careers. The first life-mode analysis' focus on the specific 'features' that make the mutual dependence between career and home front life-mode possible can now be used to focus on the features that make a radically different division of labor logically possible. It is also possible for the individual to opt out of a family or children, and this is methodologically used to localize the features, which are only realizable if one does not entrench one's life in a marriage – hence it is possible to put the structural features of the career professional life-mode into an analytical perspective. In order to understand how the family can be a meaningful joint project, field work of career families of various age and character is required. This way the empirical variations, that can illuminate the possible ways of which new family modes can function within this life-mode, becomes available to the theoretical work. The project will inquire into this aspect of the career professional life-mode in close connection with the previous described points of focus – as the other side of the problematic of work.

Subproject 4: the Paradox and dialectic of temporality

Professor and project manager Thomas Højrup

Subproject 4 contributes to the overall project by exploring the principal contrasts between the two modes of production's different ways of connecting complementary life-modes (Højrup & Schriewer 2012). The project thus utilizes the three more life-mode-specific results of the other subprojects and provides questions to the problematic of each of them, in order to elaborate the explication of how each life-mode functions in itself as well as how they are related to one another through the necessary whole which they all presuppose. The *investor life-mode*, which is suitable for opening the analysis of the fundamental differences between the two modes of production, is in empirical terms an interesting field of research because both private and institutional investors employ career professional expertise to a large extent. This means that the *career-professional life-mode* and the investor life-mode are here interwoven and thus in a complex way promote and utilize one another.

The basis of the subproject is the floating character of human and material resources, which ever since the first life-mode analysis has been contrasted to the simple commodity mode of production's interlinking of the producer and the means of production in each company, in the self-reproductive *day's pursuit* and in the life's work of a self-employed family. This contrast can be formulated as a theoretical distinction between the capitalist mode of production's constantly floating, barrier-breaking and compound mode of existence on the one hand and the simple commodity production's organic integration of its resources into the individual company on the other (Højrup 2003:18-26).

To consider the floating mode of existence of the capitalist life-modes opens a way for the exploration of what we have named *the paradox of temporality*, which epitomizes a complex of research questions. These regard the struggle of competition, which characterizes the relation between the profit-driven companies that compete on the same market (Højrup 2003:32-41). This particular competition that regards transcending the competition raises a number of questions, which can be deduced and formulated as logically coherent statements in order to test them through the empirical examinations of the subproject. The chain of statements can in brief be described this way: the specific concept of competition entails that all the resources of a company are in principal strategically concentrated on attaining an advantageous position to the rivals as well as fighting their attempts of preventing it. In this sense a strategic linking of (those from their combination optimized) human and material resources lie at the root of the commercial mode of existence of a capitalist company. In consequence this implies that the means of production, the creativity of professionals, and the labor that cannot contribute to this need will be excluded when they become a liability to the strategic goal. For this to happen all components must be obtainable from the markets (of trades, labor, expertise and capital) however, it must also be possible to leave them at their respective markets again, once they are no longer useful to the goal of the company. Seen from the complementary perspective of the markets, the life-modes concerned offer only their presence in the company as long as this (combination) is able to make such productive use of them that they in return can receive better, or at least equal wage, salary, pay, work conditions and profit for their performance as the competitors of the company can offer (Højrup 2003:144f). The thesis is, that these features presuppose each other logically and may be explored as the formation of a potential intensional conceptual coherence, the possibility, elaboration and correction of which we can thus explore and examine empirically.

With this examination the subproject aims to qualify the foundation for the following inferences of which the coherence of the statements can be studied empirically: just as strongly as the components of the compound company are strategically interlinked by the battle against the competitors, just as temporary is their presence in the company and at short notice they can float away and take employment in any competing company. The company is nothing more than their temporary strategic unity. The mode of existence of companies therefore, logically speaking, rests on their ability to gain more from a strategic organization of the same resources (respectively the wage-earner's, the manager's, and the investor's life-modes) than their competitors manage to. As a whole there is a constant and disparate flow of the relevant life-modes from one company to another, new companies emerge, old break up, and in the mist of the flow these life-modes are mutually creating one another's necessary conditions of existence through the logic of the dialectic of temporality.

This logic entails that we must ask the fundamental question if not exactly these three life-modes all perceive the company as a means and only in exceptional cases as an end in itself? As long as they are engaged in a certain company it is the career professional and investor life-modes that set and develop its ends and its means. In other words, they have the company as a means because the company also uses them as a means to set its strategic goals – which constitute its identity as a commercial will. This subproject will explore and explicate this dialectic, as it constitutes a deeply interesting generative cultural paradox which is the foundation of innovation. Furthermore it will examine whether this is the key to formulating the complementary relation between these two life-modes – that is to say the relation that constitutes their revised concepts. The exploration of this relation has empirically become so much the more important as the state-apparatus throughout the past 30 years appears to have adopted significant features from the career-professional life-mode. A thesis is that it is such features that, because of new challenges in the state system, are discursively expressed in concepts like "new public management" and "the competition state".

As a countermeasure to globalization and Europeanization the civil servants of the state apparatuses contribute to guaranteeing the conditions for the growth of strategic significant allied corporations through investments in interpellation and infrastructure under national management as well as direct facilitating of their companies (Højrup 2003:205ff). This indicates that we must be able to specify how the Civil Service on the one hand creates and maintains the necessary conditions of existence for private companies' development of the dialectics of temporality on the market with the purpose of securing economic growth and the accompanying necessary expelling and abandoning of failing strategies and producers in the country. On the other hand we must explore how the state apparatuses manage the complementary consequence of the paradox of temporality, namely that growth-seeking companies are being purchased out of the country or that companies move overseas in order to engage the same kinds of life-modes cheaper in third countries. For the civil servant of a state economic growth inside the domain of sovereignty is essential whereas the moving out of companies and headquarters is a constant threat. Thus the life-mode of civil servants of the state appears as both concerned with and contrasting to the flows of the life-modes on markets structured by the dialectic of temporality.

The empirical field of object, in which these relations can be explored, is thus constituted by both the ways of thinking that characterize the investors, the different types of managers, the strategic important groups of researchers and developers, as well as the modes of reasoning we can find among the career

professionals of the state apparatuses and in the political discourse, which play a decisive role with regards to the spirit and practice of the governance. The specifying mode of analysis will make use of the *contrasting comparative method* (Andresen & Højrup 2008) based on concrete field studies in order to localize and explicate the logically decisive life-mode features, which we need to test and consolidate empirically in order to be able to screen this life-mode-complex coherently. The field studies will be based on participant observation, recordings of key informants and the copious material of the professional media of these social groups.

At the current state of elaboration, explication and specification of the life-mode theory we still do not know whether and, if so, how the three potential life-mode concepts in this complex – investor, career and civil servant life-modes – can be determined as logically distinct and thus in specific ways entailing one another as necessary prerequisites and mutual conditions of existence – i.e. how they are part of one another’s conceptually constituting structural features. The subproject will through analyzing and synthesizing the structural features of this problematique contribute to the combined project’s consolidation of the life-mode concepts’ reciprocal relations, principal contrasts and interpretation of each other. The fourth life-mode complex is complementary to the other three and it is thus necessary in order to be able to bring the ethnological analysis, of the most significant life-modes’ mutual relation of conditions, all the way around in that complex whole, which they constitute together and which constitutes their conditions of possibility.

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Appendix 1

Conceptual and cultural historical appendix for the project

The neoculturation of life-modes during the current transformation of state system and world economy. The challenges, variations and changes in cultural life-modes.

This appendix shortly describes the type of holistic understanding which the life-mode theory gives of the cultural historical development of society. The creation of the theory itself was commenced in the last stage of this development. It originates from ethnological research focusing on the scientific description of the changes taking place through the interplay between different cultural life-modes and the necessary and specific societal conditions of existence that they each depend on. The relation between state-forms and life-modes has since then obtained a key role with regards to this mode of analysis. The conceptual and cultural historical context is essential to understanding how the necessary relations between life-modes and conditions were discovered as a scientific key to explaining the fundamental changes of society. This type of research is deeply occupied with the specifying analysis and construction of the relations of concepts, with the purpose of making them more accurate, differentiated and suitable for inquiring cultural change. From a life-mode analytical perspective the following picture of the dominant features in the formation of the Danish society's basic structure throughout the 20th century can be drawn:

From the second half of the 19th century the Danish welfare state developed on the basis primarily of an increased agricultural export to the British market. The state managed by self-consciously dealing with a number of strategically decisive fields where the small self-employed persons were in need of large-scale advantages and exclusivity in order to resist the capitalistic competitors of the modern Europe. The contribution of the state mainly consisted of large infrastructure projects, which gave agriculture and fishing a strong alternative to the transport capacity of the large foreign corporations. Otherwise these would have been able to utilize their capital-intensive large-scale advantages, making it impossible for the Danish family holdings and fishing guilds to compete. However, through the Danish state's establishing of harbor constructions, railway networks, bridges, channel and road systems the Danish producers – despite their relatively long distance from the markets in the European industrial cities – got a direct, collective and competitive opportunity of supplying fresh foods of high quality and value which a private corporation needed extraordinary large capital to beat.

At the same time the co-operative movement (*andelsbevægelsen*) which spread around Europe had in the Danish state an important co-player that knew that it was possible to connect even the small producers' various agricultural activities to the national chains of production. It managed to unite the self-employed rural population's industriousness and ideals of independence with development and integration of capital-intensive large-scale advantages. It came into existence through the setting up of dairies, butcheries, export associations, electrical power and all new kinds of areas where it proved possible and beneficial to jointly establish common systems and businesses in rural as well as urban areas.

The connection between the export revenue, the total cost level and the maintenance of the competitive capacity on especially the British and the German market, which emerged in the beginning of the 20th century, meant that all life-modes had an interest in continuously renegotiating the national compromise regarding the distribution of the income at a – for the country as a whole – competitive level. The economic

responsibility was implemented through the development of an internal coherence between the simple commodity producers' co-operative societies on the one hand and the Danish labor market model on the other.

Rather than in a welfare culture where state legislation is directly regulating the labor market, which many south European welfare states developed, the recognition of the exclusive rights of the organizations to profile, uniform and represent the specific interests of their members resulted in the Danish labor market model which is relatively autonomous to the power of legislation. As a *quid pro quo* both the co-operative society and the organizations and parties of the labor market had the responsibility to dim and fight the dissatisfaction with the consensus-seeking policy which in difficult times could develop into dangerous confrontations and social uprising.

The state's service in return for a flexible and liberal labor market and co-operative society, under which the wage-earners can be employed and dismissed in accordance with the economic cycle, and where each company is expected to take responsibility with regards to dimensioning their production and reproduction costs in accordance with the market conditions, was the increasingly comprehensive social security system, health care system and educational system which movements and parties won through successive social reforms, educational reforms and health care reforms of a century.

This way Denmark in the late 19th century laid out a different strategy for its general industrial development than the purely capitalistic. It primarily consisted of creating a chain of value that combined family holdings and industry and which was intended for exporting foods to the capitalistic mother countries of the world market. The first link of the export chain was produced by the predominating self-employed rural population at farms and small holdings and by the share-holder fishermen of the cutter fleet. In return an innovative industry, market towns and ports were the main suppliers of machines and tools for both fisheries and agriculture. Local artisan businesses supplied service, installation and construction. Cooperative societies and private limited companies competed for supplying energy, fodder, fertilizer and other feedingstuffs on the one hand and for processing and exporting the resultant foods on the other hand. National shipping companies and the local skippers at small vessels carried fertilizers, coal, building materials, grain and other goods from ports and loading sites. The wharfs build increasingly larger steel ships. Regional railroad companies lay out a web of branch lines for transporting goods and passengers. Market towns and parishes struggled to develop, locate and get access to the most beneficial institutions and infrastructure projects, as well as lines of transportation and communication. Both local and national banks, thrift institutions and credit institutions – which were typically created in order to safeguard the particular interests of the life-modes – borrowed money to the five sectors while the state, counties, and municipalities developed and maintained a general infrastructure that secured the export trades the collective large-scale advantages which were needed in order to be competitive at the European markets.

The powerholding parties in the Folketing, Venstre, Det Radikale Venstre, Socialdemokratiet and De Konservative each represented – I in all levels from parishes to the Folketing – their own life-mode in what became a thoroughly organized cooperative and industrial society. Organized in the sense that a labor market model and a tradition for tripartite negotiations, which mutually secured the economic balances, prices and pay that made the Danish chain of values competitive on a chaotic and risky world market, was developed. And well organized in the sense that it took place on the basis of a life-mode organized organization-Denmark. It contained the large organizations of agriculture along with the associations and

co-operative societies of the smallholders and farmers as well as the folk high schools in the rural areas and the fishing associations in the ports and small loading sites. The labor movement created corresponding associations in the market towns and in the capital that contained clubs, unions, political associations, and housing associations as well as evening schools, press, publishing houses, and cooperative companies. The master craftsmen and the public servants had their own organizations and associations just as the heads of banks, branches and trades, the lawyers and the families of proprietors created their own associations, shooting societies, lodges, clubs and political organizations. And across all of these, housewives organized themselves in housewife and house holding associations that contained their own training schools under intense national scrutiny.

It was largely the life-modes' differentiated and cohesive organization-Denmark which in several areas handled the social and organizational affairs of the co-operative and industrial societies and it did it on the various entirely different premises that existed in the population.

From the co-operative period and until the 1950s 80 % of the Danish economy came from the agricultural exports. The farmers produced milk, pork and eggs, the co-operative companies processed the goods to butter, cheese, bacon and eggs that were intended for the English breakfast table. Railroads and shipping companies carried the processed product to England. For the income of the export was bought coal and machinery for the power stations and the industry, which supplied fertilizers and machines for the agriculture as well as processed its products to the resultant export product. Broadly speaking, this was how the Danish economy was organized after the Second World War and this economy is scientifically characterized as two different modes of production, each with their deeply rooted life-modes. It was the family holding, the master craftsmen and the merchants' variants of the self-employed life-mode on the one hand and the investor life-mode of the industry, the productive capitalist life-mode, the career professional life-mode and the wage-earner life-mode on the other. The simple commodity mode of production was, empirically speaking, dominant in the country and it co-existed along with the capitalist mode of production at manors, in market towns and in the capital. It was all administered by the civil service life-mode headquartered in Copenhagen and from where self-management was delegated to the local civil service's formalized public administration in the cities and the parish councils' local communities in the country.

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The life-mode organized people's co-operative and industrial society was throughout the second part of the 20th century not only combined but constantly confronted with something entirely different – which is probably best described as an industrial and service society – that was structured as a national welfare state with a – from the food manufacturers independent – capitalistic industry, economic growth and with citizens whose rights and demeanor (through a large public sector) was to be adjusted to improve growth as the basic rationale of the welfare state.

After the Second World War Denmark decided to reorganize its survival strategy of maintaining sovereignty from neutrality to being an armed member of the Western alliance led by the United States and thus Denmark followed the other Western European countries into an open American-led world economy. Here one state was no longer allowed to utilize restrictive commercial policies and custom dues as a means of protecting the most important life-modes. In order to get the western economies going the United States

forced its European allies to liberalize their economies if they wanted a share of the American dollar through the Marshall program. In return for adjusting to international competition through economic liberalization the countries were given the opportunity to base their currency on the American dollar through the Bretton Woods system. This way the European countries avoided the worst currency fluctuations, however they had to manage on the premises of an open world market where the life-modes surviving are those that manage to find niches containing sufficient competitive advantages. Thus the European countries had to find entire new strategies than protecting the agricultural life-modes, the craftsmen, the co-operative industry, the labor movement etc. Among leading economists the solution was to create a modern person who manages to complete a lifelong adjustment to the economic growth and ongoing structural rationalizations.

In the picture of the world, on which they built the Danish welfare state's hitherto largest extension of the public sector, economic growth was the overall aim and the dominant motive power. A motive power which they imagined would break up the established ways of living and forms of social life and move the focus to the individual through the rapid structural changes' demands of an increasing and lifelong adjustment of the individual. It was a world view without distracting contradictions between principally different life-modes.

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The first life-mode analysis was carried out in the end of the 1970s with the aim of illuminating and problematizing the notion that the fundamental cultural differences in the Danish population were now dissolved and replaced by homogenous norms about the good life. The co-operative and industrial society's well organized life-modes proved, beneath the surface, to constitute the cultural foundation for the life in the rural areas and in the market towns. The universalistic welfare state was under development; however its ideology was contrasting the life-modes – that had been developed and organized throughout a century – and it was possible to investigate these both empirically and theoretically. The development of concepts that this research entailed as well as the description of the 20th century's dominant life-modes enable the concepts to form the basis for today's ethnological inquiry of the life-modes' conditions and changes since the first life-mode analysis thirty years ago. The self-employed life-mode, the wage-earner life-mode, the career professional life-mode, the investor life-mode and the housewife life-mode were characterized theoretically on the basis of the theory of the mode of production and the 1970s everyday life. At that time the universal welfare state was well under way with recreating and adjusting the life-modes' societal conditions to the liberal world economy of the postwar period as a safeguard against the Eastern bloc. Thence these conditions were exposed to radical changes as the Cold War winded up and the life-modes' welfare conditions thus lost their function as safeguarding. With a basis in the Anglo American domination the development of the neo-liberalism turned into a global discourse, and a thorough deregulation created first a finance-driven growth economy and next its breakdown, in the form of the American financial crisis which spread to the world economy. Here it developed into an economic crisis that had a crucial impact on the conditions of the existing modes of existence. Simultaneously the Asian states' and later also the BRIC-countries' growth and seizing of the increasingly more advanced parts of the world market concerning goods, service and capital has started the radical transformation of the conditions of the life-modes in the Western countries.

At the theoretical level the life-mode concepts were at the same time further developed and the entire conceptual fundament was exposed to the epistemological breach caused by the discovery of the crucial importance of the concept of recognition's which was a hitherto unrealized precondition to creating the theory. This way the state system and the sovereignty work of the states came into focus as such a decisive precondition for the modes of production of the specific state-forms that it could found the basis for the development of concepts. It has opened the way for today to consolidate the theoretical understanding of the life-mode concepts and their conditions of existence. By studying the changes in the necessary conditions that have characterized the fundamental changes of the state system's empirical unfolding throughout the past 30 years the task is to examine which of these imply complementary changes in the life-modes and vice versa.

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