

PLANNING IN THE PRESERVATION OF SWEDISH HERITAGE

From European consensus planning to municipal advocacy planning



Master Thesis in Planning
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Summary	

This research aims to analyze the preservation of cultural heritage in Sweden. The main question for this research is “how are different governmental levels in Sweden tackling contemporary problems of heritage planning according to a theoretical framework for planning-oriented action?” Firstly, a comparison on the problems of contemporary heritage planning has been made between literature and Swedish reality. Secondly, four governmental levels have been distinguished: the European, national, regional and local. A theoretical framework for planning-oriented action, put forward by De Roo (2003), has been used to analyze the different governmental levels. The different actors involved, their roles, their goals and their planning instruments have been analyzed per governmental level. In-depth interviews at all levels have been used as main information source.

Before answering the main question, a broader context and a background has been given to Swedish cultural heritage. This included a short historiography, mapping the types and numbers of national monuments in Sweden and a comparison of Sweden to other countries of the European Union. Sweden is the first country in the world with an official cultural heritage law. The political importance of cultural heritage in 17th century Sweden is two-fold. Firstly, it was important propaganda towards foreign countries. Secondly, it was important for strengthening the feeling of patriotism or “ethnic integration”. After the 17th century, the days of great power of the kingdom of Sweden were over and Swedish politicians lost interest in heritage conservation. At the beginning of the 19th century there was a revival of preserving the glorious past of Sweden. The Swedish Cultural Heritage Act protects ancient monuments, religious monuments and monumental buildings; the numbers are 560.000, 3.071 and 2.330 respectively. The context of these numbers can be clarified by comparing Sweden to other European countries. The comparison between countries turns out to be problematic, because of a wide variety of definitions and categorizations of cultural heritage and its conservation. However, the statistics highlight some remarkable differences between Sweden and other EU countries: Sweden is the leading country by far when it comes to numbers of ancient monuments, but it sinks to the bottom of the table when it comes to numbers of national protected buildings.

The persons interviewed mentioned several problems of heritage planning in Sweden. The problems of re-use of cultural heritage and costs of conservation are common to western countries and often mentioned in literature on the topic. For Sweden, those two problems especially concern churches and industrial complexes. Other problems, mentioned by the persons interviewed, do not occur in literature on the topic. Those problems were merely related to a lack of overall vision and expertise at both national and local level, a lack of financial and labour resources at regional level and the problem of ‘sectorization’. Also, the threats of commercialization and modernization to Swedish cultural heritage have been mentioned several times.

Three sub-questions derived from the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action reveal how the four governmental levels involved deal with contemporary heritage planning in Sweden. The actors at the European / international level did not recognize

cultural heritage as part of their policies until the late 20th century. The idea that heritage planning does not stop at national boundaries is only some decennia old. The international organizations are built upon the principle of a nation-shared responsibility for the safeguarding of cultural heritage. At the European / international level decisions are based on consensus between its members. Cultural heritage can be part of an overall strategy (for example the region policy of the EU) or a single fixed goal (for example the World Heritage List of UNESCO).

At national level the National Heritage Board and state government are main actors in Swedish heritage planning. Two main objectives for cultural heritage can be distinguished at national level: accessibility and sustainability. Cultural heritage should be accessible to everyone in society. Also, cultural heritage should contribute to a sustainable living environment. The state government and National Heritage Board coordinate and facilitate and supervise Swedish heritage planning. The National Heritage Board has decentralized most of the cultural heritage tasks, responsibilities, financial means and knowledge to the County Administrative Boards.

Expertise about heritage planning is concentrated on the regional level. The everyday practices of heritage planning are executed by the extended arms of the state: the County Administrative Boards. The County Administrative Boards are the main decision makers in heritage planning. Three objectives for cultural heritage can be distinguished at the regional level: cultural heritage as part of sustainable development (County Administrative Boards), bringing cultural heritage alive (Provincial Museums) and regional development (County-municipalities). As mentioned by the persons interviewed, the regional level is confronted with organizational problems. This year, a proposal to re-organize the regional level has been presented by the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities. The advantages outnumber the disadvantages of the proposal.

The Swedish local arena is a melting pot of different actors and interests. The local political agenda and public dialogue influence heritage planning strongly. The priorities in the political agenda differ per municipality, governing period, and color of the dominant political parties. The municipal government often has a lack of experience about cultural heritage. In case of expertise about cultural heritage the municipal government depends on the regional actors. At the local level heritage planning is part of spatial planning. The Planning and Building Act is the most important judicial instrument at local level. The diversity of actors and interests is creating a political arena in which opposing ideas and advocacy planning are central.

All governmental levels are confronted with complex or very complex problems of heritage planning in Sweden. It is difficult to state that the degree of complexity of heritage problems differs between governmental levels. The different governmental levels are confronted with different complex problems. What level and what planning approach are most suitable for solving the problem differs per problem.

Preface

In 2002 I started the study Human Geography and Planning at the University of Groningen. In the course of time especially three subjects of geography caught my interest: different approaches to (city) planning, the cultural concept 'sense of place' and physical geography. When I got the possibility to study abroad I chose Sweden: I started studying at the 'Institute for Conservation' in Gothenburg in 2005. Back in Groningen I started the Master in Planning. My interests for cultural, physical and planning aspects of geography came together in the subject of my master thesis: heritage planning. Some aspects of cultural heritage seemed very interesting to me. Firstly, cultural heritage is about selecting or not selecting parts of 'our' contemporary or former living environment. Secondly, one should ask himself 'whose heritage' is being saved. Thirdly, it is interesting to see how cultural heritage is being used in contemporary or future (city) planning.

As I was already known with Swedish conservation practices and the Swedish language I chose to analyse Sweden. My expectation was to encounter a 'Swedish model on heritage planning' that could function as example for other countries. The 'theoretical framework for planning-oriented action' is a key theoretical instrument at the faculty of spatial sciences in Groningen and seemed interesting to me for analysing 'the Swedish model'. Because of a concurrence of circumstances I got the possibility to write my master thesis in the World Heritage City of Karlskrona. I have found both answers and new questions on the preservation of cultural heritage during the period in which I did research for my master thesis. It was a great learning experience to talk with a lot of different people from different levels in the working field. I would like to give my thanks to several persons in both the Netherlands and Sweden. In Groningen, I would like to give my special thanks to professor Gregory Ashworth for his supervision, informative discussions on the subject and patient attitude. Secondly, in Karlskrona, I would like to thank Kalle Bergman for his enthusiastic attitude towards my thesis, for his supervision and especially for opening doors towards information sources and contacts. Also in Karlskrona, I would like to thank Eric Markus for welcoming me enthusiastically at the spatial planning institute of the Blekinge University of Technology and for his helpfulness with practical issues. In both Karlskrona and Stockholm, I would like to thank all the persons interviewed for their hospitality and for making time for the interviews. In Eelde, I would like to give special thanks to Rosemary Rijnks for correcting my English writing, for giving me very useful suggestions and for her critical eye. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for the reflective discussions we have had during my study period.

Groningen, October 2007

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

A fleet manoeuvres into the archipelago. The landscape is characterized by islands, water and granite. Trees are scarce. It is autumn 1679. Karl XI, king of Sweden, steps ashore. The archipelago reveals a strategically perfect location for a new naval base. Here, in the southeast corner of Sweden, the sea will stay free from ice for a longer period of the year than in Stockholm. Furthermore, the archipelago is situated in a former province of the rival kingdom of Denmark. It is the place the Swedish King is searching for (Wenster & Stenholm, 2007).

A year later Karlskrona ('Karl's crown') is founded. With its foundation a new city and naval base is added to the kingdom of Sweden. The best shipbuilders, architects, engineers and fortification builders and planners of Sweden are sent to build a magnificent naval base with supplying "hinterland" (Wenster & Stenholm, 2007).

318 years later, in 1998, Karlskrona is added to the World Heritage List of UNESCO. The argumentation for the qualification is as follows: "*Karlskrona is an exceptionally well preserved example of a European planned naval town [...] Naval bases played an important role in the centuries during which naval power was a determining factor in European Realpolitik, and Karlskrona is the best preserved and most complete of those that survived*" (UNESCO, 2007). Nowadays, after a decision by the Swedish government in 2004, Karlskrona is the only naval base left in Sweden. This makes Karlskrona a "living heritage". Firstly, the city is a perfect example of a heritage site where different governmental levels come together. Global, national, regional and local actors all take part in the conservation and development of Karlskrona. Secondly, the city is confronted with both the threats and the opportunities of being a heritage site. Being a coastal city with a long tradition of civil-naval segregation, there is a two-sided relationship between the conservation of cultural heritage from the past and spatial planning / development for the future. Figure 1.1 shows the archipelago of the World Heritage Site of Karlskrona. The World Heritage Site consists of fortifications, the naval base, the town itself and "installations in the surrounding district that have been important sources of supply and support for the base" (Wenster & Stenholm, 2007). On the map those areas are displayed blue, red, brown and grey respectively. Figure 1.2 shows important monumental buildings in the inner city, which are part of the World Heritage Site.

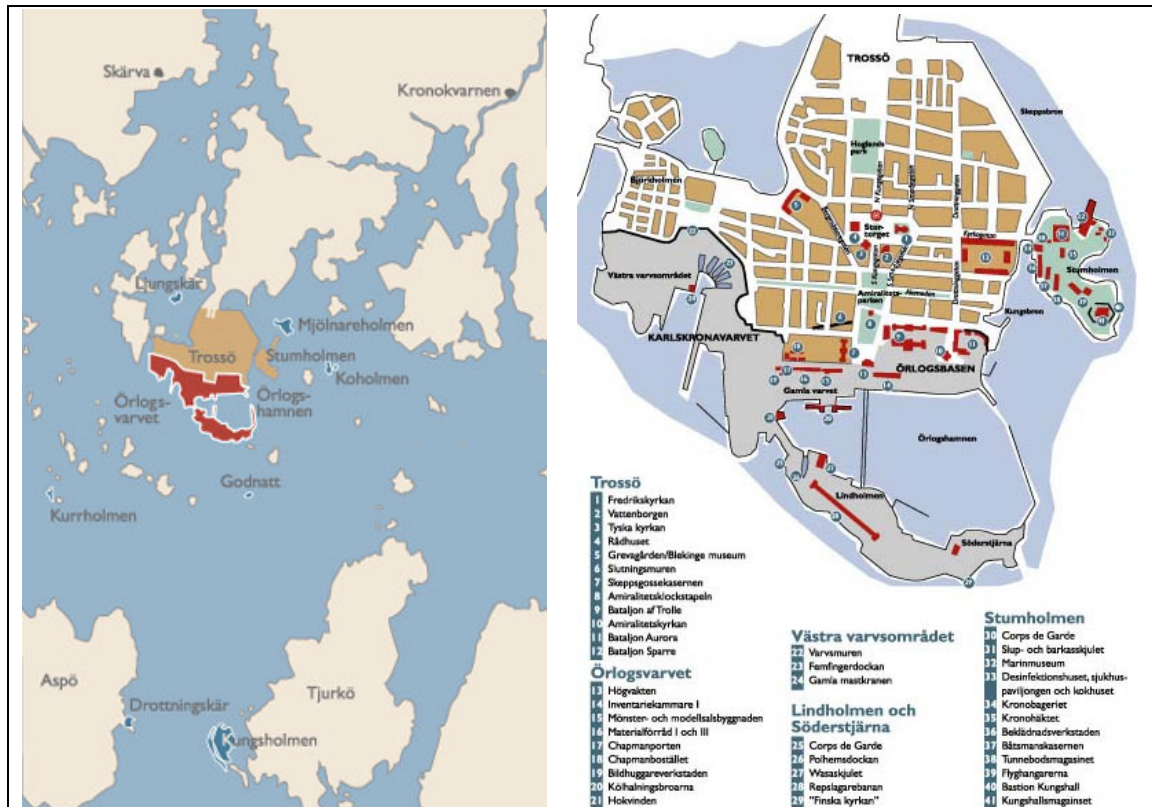


Figure 1.1: an overview of the archipelago of the World Heritage Site Karlskrona

Figure 1.2: an overview of important monumental buildings in the inner city of Karlskrona

Source: Wenster & Stenholm, 2007

Sweden has an old tradition when it comes to a planned approach to the preservation of its heritage (hereafter referred to in short as ‘heritage planning’). The first heritage act of Sweden became law as early as in 1666. The main objective was to secure the glorious past of the “Svear” and the “Götar”. These were originally the two main folks or ethno-territorial groups in Sweden. The law on ancient monuments was mainly a political statement to safeguard the antiquities handed down by their forefathers (Widenberg, 2006). The law protected old buildings, castles, forts, cairns, stones with runic inscriptions and churches (Phelps et al., 2002). Sweden is unique in the world in already having legislative heritage protection in the 17th century (Schück, 1932).

Sweden, like other western countries, faces problems in conserving the past. Following from literature research, some problems common in western countries can be mentioned (Graham et al., 2000) (Phelps et al., 2002). A first problem is to find re-use for monuments. A second problem, related to the search for re-use, is the cost of preservation. The procedure of ‘listing’ monuments has resulted in extensive monument lists. A third heritage problem is the decision of what selection criteria to use, especially when one takes into account that some extensive building periods will soon be knocking on the door to enter conservation programmes.

1.2 Main question and objective

The main question for this research is “how are different governmental levels in Sweden tackling contemporary problems of heritage planning according to a theoretical framework for planning-oriented action?” The main objective is to outline how Sweden, following from a theoretical framework on planning-oriented action, is dealing with defined problems of heritage planning.

Firstly, the position of cultural heritage in Sweden will be described. This includes a short historiography, a comparison of Sweden to other countries of the European Union, and mapping the types and numbers of national monuments in Sweden. Next, the ‘Swedish heritage model’ will be analyzed. The “theoretical framework for planning-oriented action”, put forward by De Roo (2003), serves as a theoretical reflection. The framework contains three main questions on planning-oriented action. For this study those questions are implemented in the specific sector of heritage planning. The questions following from this implementation are:

- ❖ What is the objective of heritage planning?
- ❖ Who does the heritage planning?
- ❖ How is heritage being planned?

The questions mentioned above fit well into a theoretical analysis of heritage planning, because they take into account the actors involved, their goals and their instruments. All these aspects are central in the discussion of heritage planning.

When planning something, there is a bridge to be overcome. This bridge is the distance between the current situation and the situation considered desirable. Besides time, other obstacles can be encountered. Because of this, a fourth question can be added to the above-mentioned questions on planning-oriented action:

- ❖ What heritage problems is Sweden facing?

This fourth question is strongly related to the first question about the objective of heritage planning. Paragraph 1.1 gave some examples of heritage problems. It is interesting to see if those examples match reality.

1.3 Reader's guide

This chapter gives an introduction to this research. An introduction to Swedish heritage and to heritage related problems in general is outlined. Also the main question, main objective, sub-questions and theoretical framework of this research are introduced.

The second chapter gives the methodology of this research. For this research in-depth interviews have been chosen as a key information source. Chapter 2 gives the argumentation for this choice and explains the interview set-up.

Chapters 3 and 4 give essential background information. Chapter 3 gives the frame and context for the analytical part of this research. The chapter starts by defining important heritage terms. Secondly, it explains the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action. The definitions and the framework are the fundamentals for the analysis of Swedish heritage planning. Chapter 4 places Sweden in a wider context. Firstly, the chapter describes the rise and history of heritage planning in Sweden. Secondly, it outlines the different types of monuments in Sweden and their numbers. Finally, paragraph 4.3 places Sweden in the European Union. It discusses how Sweden differs from other EU-countries in the field of cultural heritage.

Chapter 5 is analytical and based upon the four sub-questions. The theoretical framework for planning-oriented action creates the fundament for chapter 5. Section 1.1 gave some examples of heritage problems common for western countries. Chapter 5 discusses to what extent the same problems are relevant to Swedish heritage planning. This comparison is based upon information obtained from the interviews. The chapter narrows its geographical focus from the European to the local scale from section 5.2 up to 5.5. The relevant heritage actors, their goals and their instruments are mapped for each level. This includes public, private and semi-public institutions. However, this research will focus on the public institutions. To achieve knowledge about public institutions, it is also useful to know how private organizations look upon the public institutions. The assumption is that objectives and instruments of heritage planning differ between actors. Instruments are for example legislative, financial or political in nature.

The sixth and last chapter is three-fold. Firstly, a summary of the conclusions will be given. Secondly, the outcome of this research will be discussed. Thirdly, a final conclusion will be drawn. A reference list and appendices follow the last chapter. Finally, the city of Karlskrona will be used as a case-study throughout this research and functions at different stages as an example.

Chapter 2: Methodology

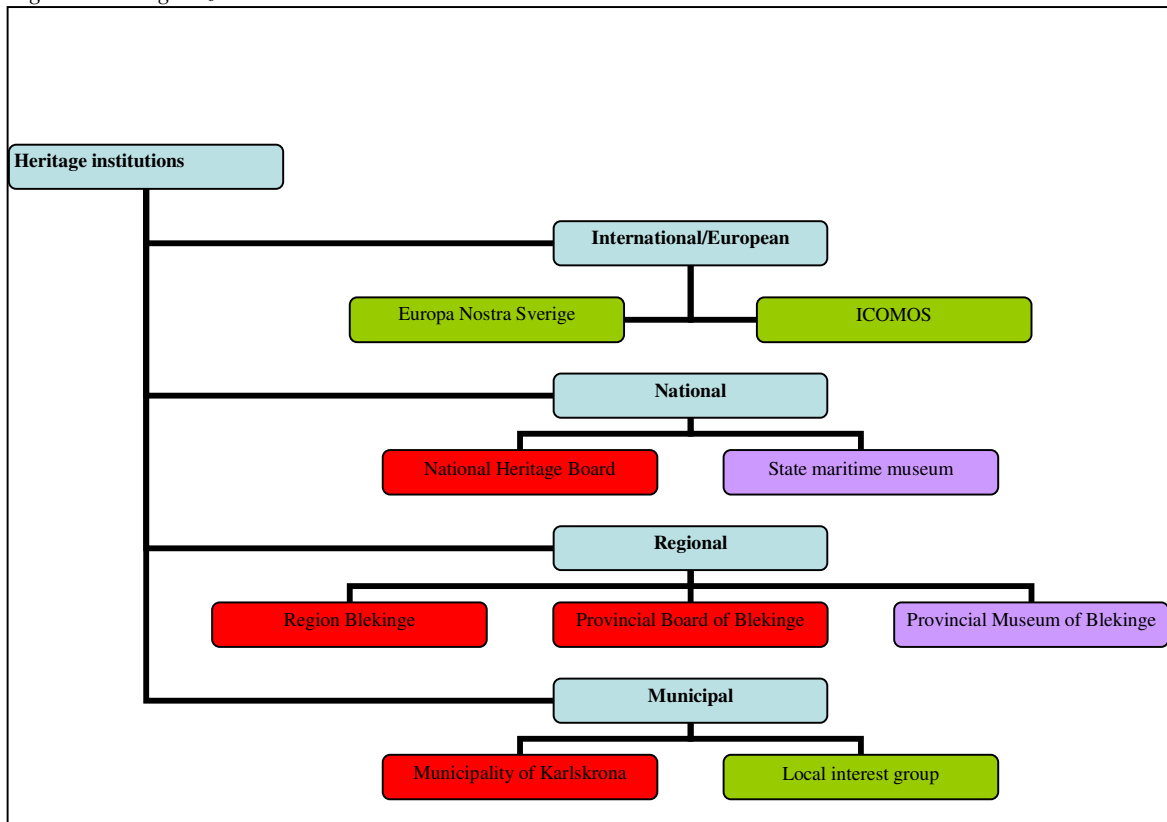
As the foregoing chapter mentioned, Sweden is a country with an old tradition of heritage planning. Therefore, it is interesting to see how Sweden deals with current problems of heritage planning. This is a matter of decision-making and policy. Because of that argument, this study is conducted from the view of a planner. This chapter motivates the choice for taking interviews as the main source of information for this research.

2.1 In-depth interviews

Different types of information are used to obtain an answer to the main question mentioned above. Firstly, books, articles and internet sites contributed to desk research. Secondly, field researches were carried out. These included doing interviews, taking part in arranged meetings on the topic and visiting some monument sites throughout Sweden. The persons interviewed represent a wide range of governmental and private organizations. The organizations are categorized into four governmental levels: the European Union, national, regional and local. Figure 2.1 shows the organizations that were interviewed. The green-coloured organizations in the figure are private organizations and the red-coloured ones are governmental organizations. The two museums, indicated as purple-coloured, have a special position. They are paid / subsidized by the government, but do not take part in the political system.

The focus for this research is on the governmental organizations. Nevertheless it is also informative to hear from (semi-)private organizations about the government. This research tries to cover the Swedish organizational field of cultural heritage as broadly as possible. The persons interviewed, representing the organizations, can be found in appendix 1. The decision to choose in-depth interviews is based upon two main motives. Firstly, they make it possible to compare literature and theory to reality and practice. In this way it is possible to place the reality and practice of Swedish heritage planning in the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action. Secondly, interviews give more specific and deeper inside information.

Figure 2.1 Organizations Interviewed



2.2 Interview questionnaire

The interview questionnaire is attached as appendix 2. The questionnaire consists of five parts: an introduction of the person interviewed and his/her organization, the three questions based upon the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action and a discussion about problems of heritage planning in Sweden. This interview set-up was chosen with several objectives in mind. The first objective is to map the organizational field of Swedish heritage institutions. What positions do or should the different institutions take and how are the organizations related to each other? The second objective is to get insight in the objectives of heritage planning. Do the objectives differ between institutions or governmental levels? The third objective is to map what instruments the different institutions are using. Instruments can be of a financial, political, legislative or knowledge nature. The fourth objective is to discuss problems of heritage. This objective is about both theoretical problems and problems experienced by the persons interviewed in the working field. The theoretical problems are about actual themes of discussion in the field of cultural heritage. For example, the questions of “multi-culturalism”, “negative heritage”, extension of the monument lists, costs of conservation and re-use are examined (Phelps et al., 2002) (Graham et al., 2000). The final objective is to discuss the special case of Karlskrona. The city of Karlskrona became a world heritage site on the list of UNESCO in 1998. The city is interwoven with heritage and serves as a good example of a place where heritage intersects with other sectors.

Chapter 3: Theoretical background

“Definitions are in scientific coherence functional tools. They should work to solve problems” (Aronsson, 2006: 2)

In chapter one, an introduction to the subject, the main question and the main objective was given. Some words/meanings that are central to the subject of heritage planning should be clarified and further defined. This chapter contains in the first place a section with definitions of some important words/meanings. This research is built upon these understandings.

In the second place this chapter contains a section on the theoretical framework used in this research. The “theoretical framework for planning-oriented action”, introduced by De Roo (2003: 89-148), will serve to theoretically analyze the everyday practices of heritage planning in Sweden. A model or theory can be seen as a representation or simplified picture of reality. Essentially it can help to understand reality. The theory shows how different choices in planning can or should influence reality (de Roo, 2005).

3.1 Definitions

Planning is broadly defined and contains a wide range of interpretations. However, some characteristics can be distinguished. Firstly, it is the “*systematic preparation of activities*”. Secondly, it serves policy and decision making, so it is strongly related to government action. Thirdly, it is goal-oriented. Finally, as the goal-orientation implies, it is focused on future-oriented action. Putting the characteristics together the following definition can be given: “*planning is the systematic preparation of goal-oriented and future-oriented activities*” (de Roo & Voogd, 2004: 13).

When the planning is oriented on the uses of space it can be defined as ‘spatial planning’. Voogd gives the following definition of spatial planning: “*the systematic preparation of activities of policy making and realization, that are focused on purposely intervening in spatial structures and on the organizations of these interventions, which aim to conserve or improve spatial qualities*” (de Roo & Voogd, 2004: 13). The word ‘purposely’ indicates that it is a rational decision-making process (de Roo & Voogd, 2004: 13). Rationality will be discussed later on in this chapter.

Preservation was the start of the protection of cultural artefacts. Preservation focuses on the form of individual buildings or other objects. Preservation was followed up by *conservation*. Conservation focuses on ‘ensembles’ or collections. In the period of conservation national museums gained importance. It was not longer about only protecting some individual objects, but also about the total image or view (Ashworth, 1994).

In the second half of the 20th century it was not any longer only the physical form of objects or ensembles that was important in conserving the past. As Ashworth (1994: 19)

puts it there was a shift “*from the artefact to the functions or uses of the past*”. Conservation has been substituted by ‘heritage planning’. It is now accepted that heritage is not about the past, but about the present. People select and create the past as they wish. Cultural heritage is not something static. As Widenberg puts it (Widenberg: 2006:41): “*cultural heritage values are created and recreated continuously by different people, in different situations and under different periods*”.

Heritage planning can be defined as “*the contemporary uses of the past*” (Ashworth, 1994). Heritage planning is built upon psychic (collective and individual memory), political (legitimation), cultural (identity) and economical meanings (costs and earns) (Graham et al. 2000). Also Aronsson (2004) defines heritage as ‘history-use’ or ‘to use the past’. To make a distinction between public institutions, which have a political mission, and other history-using actors a more specific definition is given: “*heritage is created by institutionalized practices, that in one’s own eyes and the eyes of others aim to protect, conserve and hand-over historical artefacts and memories*” (Aronsson, 2006).

3.2 A theoretical framework for planning-oriented action

Introduction

For this study the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action is used to analyze and simplify the reality of Swedish heritage planning. The framework is explained in the book “*Environmental Planning in the Netherlands: Too Good to be True: from command-and-control planning to shared governance*” by de Roo (2003). As the title of the book reveals, the framework is introduced in coherence with the field of *environmental* planning. However, the framework gives insight into any planning-oriented action relating to spatial planning. When this is taken into consideration, the environmental sector can be substituted by the heritage sector.

The framework is based upon three spectra in combination with complexity theory. The spectra cover three distinctive planning-oriented actions. The first is goal-oriented action. A goal is the difference between the desired and the current situation. The goal is the answer to the question: ‘*what must be achieved?*’ The second is institution-oriented action and is “*a matter of interaction*” (de Roo, 2003: 100). It answers the question: ‘*who will be involved?*’ The third planning-oriented action is decision-oriented. This relates to the way in which choices are made in the planning process. The question central to decision-oriented action is: ‘*how can it be achieved?*’ The three spectra of the framework are explained in this section. To decide what planning-oriented actions to take for a certain issue, the complexity theory is used. Complexity theory will be outlined further on. The section ends with combining the three spectra and complexity theory. The spectra are interrelated and interdependent. In combination with complexity theory a theoretical framework for planning-oriented action is formed (de Roo, 2003). The framework can help to understand the field of Swedish heritage planning. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 visualize the framework.

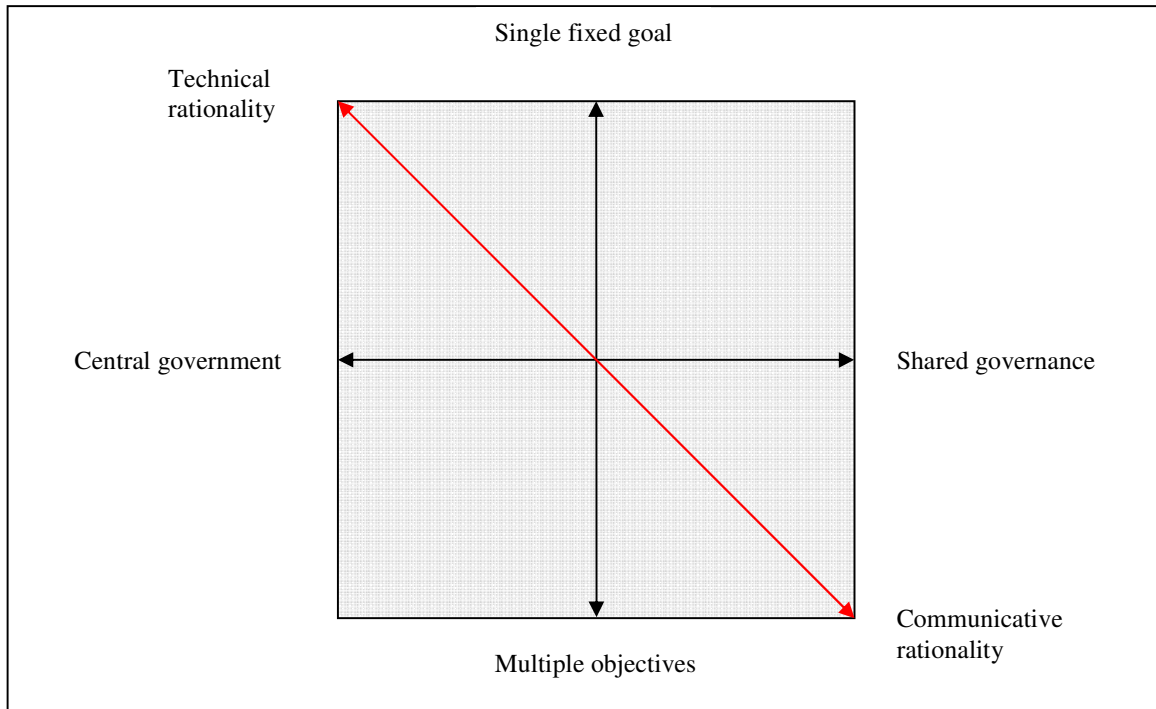


Figure 3.1: a theoretical framework for planning-oriented action
 Source: de Roo, 2003: 135-148

Goal-oriented action: what has to be achieved?

The vertical spectrum in the framework shows the goal-orientation (see figure 3.1). The contribution of goal-oriented action to planning can be summarized in the following words: “*goal-oriented action is the essence of planning. It steers the systematic preparation of policy*” (de Roo, 2003: 102). The emphasis of goal-setting is on the effectiveness, effects and decision stages in the planning process (de Roo, 2003). It structures the process and clarifies for the actors involved which outcomes / results are (un-)desirable. Hereby, it focuses on the material object of planning (de Roo, 2005). The spectrum shows two extremes: a single fixed goal versus multiple objectives. A single fixed goal focuses on “*goal-maximization*”. This means that there is a linear process, starting from a clear beginning and going straight towards the end / goal. This is only possible in a closed system, so it focuses on the parts of a whole (de Roo, 2003).

Multiple objectives / goals focus on “*combining different issues within a single solution strategy*” and “*making use of opportunities*” (de Roo, 2003: 106, 107). With this is meant that the focus is on using the opportunities of integrating the multiple separate goals into an overall integral strategy. The focus is not on maximizing the results of the separate goals. The multiple objectives approach takes place in an open system; beside the constituent parts, the whole *and* the contextual environment are also considered. The process of collecting information, linking separate issues/problems and decision-making

is dynamic and continuous. It is a cyclic process, based upon evaluation and feedback (de Roo, 2003).

There are intersecting approaches between the extremes. The planning process in the centre of the spectrum is characterized by a combination of a linear and a cyclic process. It is a process in which start and finish are varying during the decision-making process. This means that goals are shifting during the planning process (de Roo, 2003).

Institution-oriented action: who is involved?

As mentioned before in this section institution-oriented action is “*a matter of interaction*” (de Roo, 2003: 100). Three questions are the basis for institution-oriented action (de Roo, 2003):

- Who is involved?
- How will they be organized?
- How will they communicate?

As the questions indicate, an institution is a synonym for a social network / environment. Two categories of institutions are distinguished: formal and informal. Formal institutions are for example the law, public or private organizations or organizational structures. Informal institutions are for example informal social networks or agreements (Wikipedia, 2007). Institutional networks are often based on interdependence. The interdependence can be based on the sharing of information, responsibility, risks and / or costs (de Roo, 2003).

In the framework institution-oriented action is shown on the horizontal spectrum. The two extremes are a central government and shared governance. This indicates the importance of the role of the government in the planning process. Teisman (1992) gives three perspectives on the role of the government: vertical, horizontal and pluricentric governance. Vertical governance is characterized by a unicentric top-down approach. The approach of ‘vertical governance’ is embedded in a system with a central government. This system is hierarchical and has got a “*high degree of formalisation, standardisation and routine*”. Society is controlled from a central power. The central power is policy-maker and decision-maker in one (de Roo, 2003: 128). Pluricentric governance is characterized by an interactive bottom-up approach. Consensus building is central in the role of the government. This will result in common interests dominating individual interests (Teisman, 1992). The approach of ‘pluricentric governance’ is a form of shared governance on the spectrum. The central principle is interaction between actors with different interests. The government acts in a horizontal system and has got a “*high degree of specialisation and flexibility*” (de Roo, 2003: 129). In between the extremes of a central government and shared governance there are different forms of decentralised governmental systems. The ‘horizontal governance’, based on market models, is an example of this. “*The role of policy-maker is part of collective decision-making*” and there is a mix of “*formalisation, standardisation and specialisation*”. Horizontal governance is based on the market mechanism. It is a multicentric approach. Demand and

supply models determine the decision-making process and the production of products and services. Self-interest outclasses collective interests (de Roo, 2003:129).

The classification mentioned by Teisman is helpful in understanding the different roles of governing. This is central to institution-oriented action. However, it is a theoretical classification. The different types are intersected in reality. The act of governing covers a wide range of roles (de Roo, 2003).

Decision-oriented action: how can it be achieved?

Decision-oriented action relates to the way in which choices are made. It assumes rationality as the basis for planning. Rationality “*demands the systematic consideration and evaluation of alternative means in the light of the preferred ends they are to achieve*” (Alexander, 1984: 63). It can be summarized as the cognitive and systematic reasoning of a subject.

The diagonal spectrum in the framework shows two extremes: technical rationality and communicative rationality. Both terms were introduced by Healey (1983 and 1992). Technical or ‘functional’ rationality is characterized by a belief in universal, objective and unlimited knowledge. This goes back in history as far as the fundamental ideas of Aristotle (Allmendinger, 2002: 34). It assumes that there are few or no uncertainties. Direct causal relationships and predictability of the environment and processes are taken for granted. Technical rationality has reductionism as a perspective on the world: the parts of the whole are controlled and causally related. The result is an all-embracing planning method well-known as ‘blueprint planning’ (de Roo, 2003). Good examples of a technical rational planning approach are the ideas of Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier. Both made comprehensive top-down city plans. Howard created the idea of ‘garden cities’, Le Corbusier was a prophet of the stamp-style planning of the ‘Congrès International d’Architecture Moderne’ (CIAM) (Legates & Stout, 2003).

Communicative or ‘collaborative’ rationality is characterized by a belief in “*bounded rationality*”. With bounded rationality is meant that it is not possible to have objective and unlimited knowledge, because information is (almost) always incomplete (Simon, 1967). Communicative rationality collects knowledge “*in a dynamic and interactive on-going process*” (de Roo, 2003). Knowledge and reality are subjective. This idea goes back to the thoughts of Plato on logical reasoning (Allmendinger, 2002: 34). Uncertainty is seen as a constant and the planning environment as unpredictable. A planning issue is seen as a part of a larger whole. This perspective is called ‘expansionism’ and takes context-dependency into account. The communicative rational planning process builds upon “*intersubjective communication*” (Habermas, 1987), coordination and the bundling of strategies (de Roo, 2003).

Technical and communicative rationality are the extremes on the spectrum on decision-oriented action. In reality the bulk of the choices are made in a way somewhere around the centre of the spectrum (de Roo, 2005).

Complexity theory

The central assumption of complexity theory is that “*complexity can be seen as a variable with a given range*” (de Roo, 2003: 132). Simplicity / order and chaos are in the complexity theory paralleled with certainty and uncertainty. The result is a distinction between simplicity, complexity and chaos. In a stable system there is a high degree of certainty. Relationships are based on direct causality. In an unstable system the planning process is based upon probability, a high degree of uncertainty and unclear relationships (de Roo, 2003).

Following from above, planning issues can be ‘simple’, ‘complex’ or ‘very complex/chaotic’. This is displayed in figure 3.2. The spectrum on decision-oriented action is left out of the figure, but it is clear that the degree of complexity runs parallel to decision-oriented action. The degree of complexity of a planning issue can give an answer to the question of what planning process will probably suit best. Goal-oriented and institution-oriented actions are dependent on decision-oriented action. The degree of complexity can interconnect the three spectra on planning-oriented action. The degree of complexity of an issue determines what planning method, based on goal (-s), actor (-s) and choice (-s), will probably fit that specific situation best (de Roo, 2003). Appendix 3 “*a typology of planning-oriented action*” can be of help as a guideline in classifying the complexity of an issue.

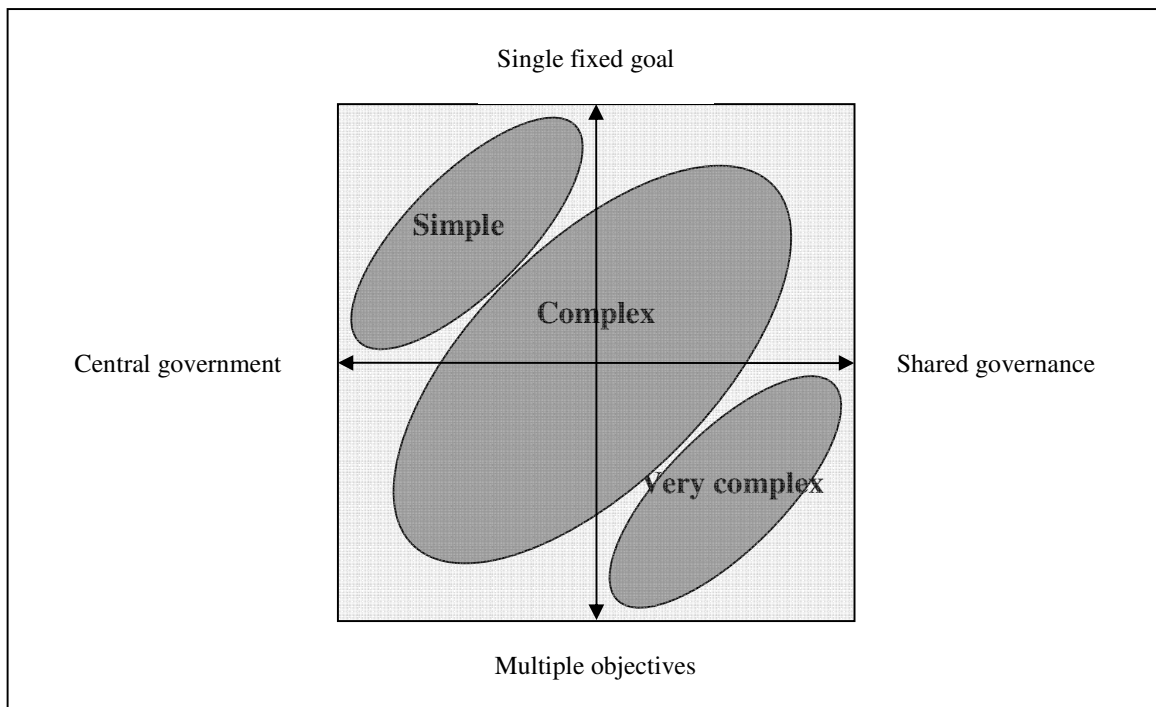


Figure 3.2: framework for planning-oriented action, in which the relationship between planning goals and interaction is based on complexity

Source: de Roo, 2003: 144

Conclusion

The framework includes characteristics about the object of planning (the what-question), the participants in planning (the who-question) and the type of planning (the how-question). The three spectra have at both ends an extreme, 'idealistic' and unreal situation. The three perspectives are connected by the complexity theory (de Roo, 2005).

Society and reality have become far more complex over the 20th century. Spatial issues demand more than before that 'the public' and the context are included in the planning process. It is clear that society is not make-able. Uncertainty can not be ignored. This is also the case in heritage planning. Different problems and questions of heritage planning require different approaches. Heritage planning based on centrally defined generic and uniform standards from a top-down government is out of date. A situation-specific, area-oriented bottom-up approach is modern. Nevertheless, the monument lists are growing. With it arise questions of re-use, financing and heritage / spatial conflicts. How should these be handled in the future? Can a theoretical framework for planning-oriented action serve as a tool to bring solutions in problems concerning heritage planning?

Chapter 4: Background of Swedish cultural heritage

“No life without roots, no identity without history, no future without past” (HRH Prins Henrik the prince Consort of Denmark)

The foregoing chapter gave a theoretical background to this research. This chapter also gives essential background information. In the first section the focus is on positioning Swedish heritage planning in a time perspective. The second section distinguishes different categories of Swedish monuments. The last section puts Swedish monuments in an international context. This results in a brief comparison, based on numbers of monuments.

4.1 History of planning in the preservation of Swedish heritage

At the start of the 17th century the first informal antiquarians started working at the Royal Office. Civil servants in the field of cultural heritage were called antiquarians. In 1630 the king gave the first formal instruction on cultural heritage to the antiquarians (Widenberg, 2006:20). The antiquarians were given the task of searching and selecting *“old monuments...with which the fatherland could be illustrated”* (Bennich-Björkman, 1970:11). The National Heritage Board was officially established, as part of the Royal Office, in 1661. The acknowledgment of the importance of cultural heritage took place not only in the political, but also in the scientific arena. In 1658 a chair was reserved for the first professor of “fatherland antiquities” at Uppsala University (Widenberg, 2006:23).

The first law on ancient monuments was launched by the Swedish king in 1666. It was the first official cultural heritage law in the world (Schück, 1932:264). In the same year a prominent “commission on antiquities” was established. The commission was tightly linked to the university in Uppsala (Widenberg, 2006:25).

The law protected old buildings, castles, fortresses, cairns, stones with runic inscriptions and churches. It is interesting to mention some aspects of this law. Firstly, the inclusion of churches is remarkable. In most other national heritage traditions churches were excluded from the heritage law, because they belonged to religious institutions and not to the state (Phelps et al., 2002). Secondly, the law recognised the importance of the immaterial part of heritage. This notification is still used by the National Heritage Board (RAÄ, 2007): *“Heritage can be material or immaterial expressions/manifestations. It includes traditions, ideas and values that we consciously or unconsciously take over from former generations.”* Thirdly, the law stated that runic monuments should be left in their original locations. In this way it linked a monument to its site. Fourthly, the interest of the state outclassed the interest of landowners, because no compensation was offered to landowners as an incentive to preserve their monumental properties. Fifthly, the objects mentioned in the law were automatically protected, so no listing procedures were needed. Finally, the law did not lay down a time limit for how old a heritage monument should be (Phelps et al., 2002).

The main objective of the establishment of a law and a commission on fatherland antiquities was to secure the glorious past of the two dominant ethno-territorial groups or folks of Sweden: the “Svear” and the “Götar”. Together the two folks were indicated as “the old Swedes” or “the forefathers” (Widenberg, 2006:105-110). It is worth mentioning that the Swedish kingdom was at its most powerful between 1560 and 1720 (Widenberg, 2006:19). The political importance of cultural heritage in 17th century Sweden is two-fold. Firstly, it was important propaganda towards foreign countries and especially towards Sweden’s biggest rival: the kingdom of Denmark (Widenberg, 2006:4) (Bergman, 2002). Secondly, it was important for strengthening the feeling of patriotism or “ethnic integration”. The process of integration was aided by an extensive communication network. The Royal Office and the church were the main institutions in this period (Kidd, 1999). The church was commonly used to spread the words of the king to his subjects and so it was normal to also use the church to spread knowledge of the heritage constitution and heritage activities of the Royal Office among the people (Widenberg, 2006).

Politicians lost interest in heritage conservation after the 17th century. A possible explanation for this is that Sweden had lost large areas of the territory it had in the 17th century. The days of great power of the kingdom of Sweden were over (Widenberg, 2006). It can be argued that cultural heritage receives more political priority in periods of economic growth and power than in periods of crisis. At the beginning of the 19th century there was a revival of preserving the glorious past of Sweden. In 1811 “The Gothic League” was established to revive the identity of the Goths / Götar. The activity of the league and its disciples provoked a modernization of the 1666 heritage law, which took place in 1828. The main function of the 1828 law was to create public interest in Swedish heritage (Phelps et al., 2002).

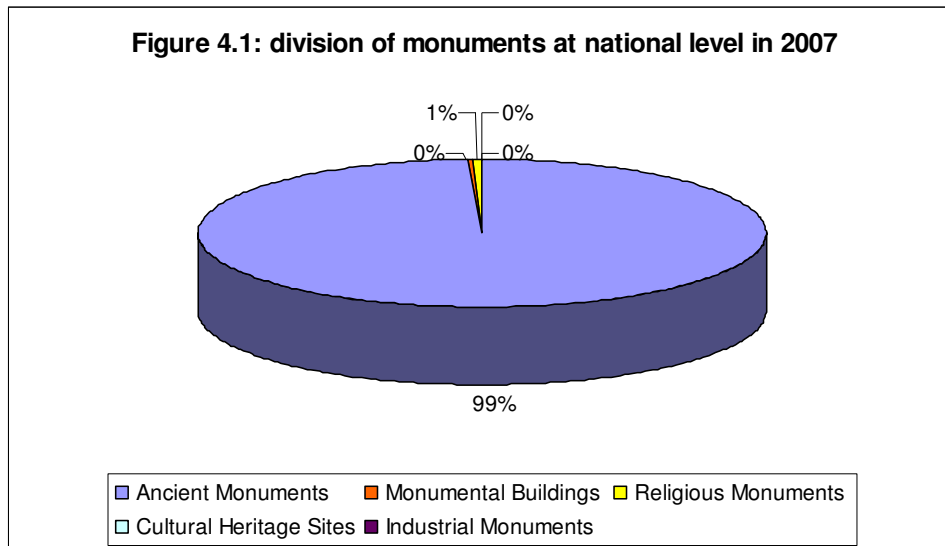
During the second half of the 19th century regional and local heritage societies started to found provincial and local museums. The provincial museums are called “*Länsmuseer*”. They were not founded without a struggle, because there was a disagreement with the national museum in Stockholm over the rights to archaeological findings. The result was a shared power between the national and regional governments. As Johansson (Phelps et al., 2002) states, the national government created a “*network of representatives, or ombudsmen, in different parts of the country; these were given the power to report, document and intervene when ancient monuments were threatened or ancient finds were unearthed.*” This decentralized system is still the case, except for state-owned protected buildings (Phelps et al, 2002).

The protection by law of monuments like castles, forts, cairns and stones with runic inscriptions is traditionally strong in Sweden. On the other hand, the protection of buildings is traditionally weak. Churches are an exception to that rule. Churches built before 1940 are automatically protected by law (Phelps et al., 2002). The Swedish church had the right to tax people and was therefore able to pay the expenses of conservation and restoration itself. In 2000, a complete separation of church and state took place in Sweden. Because of this, the situation for churches also changed. Swedish churches are

now subsidized by the state until 2010. It is unclear what will happen to the churches when this period expires (Karlsson, 2007). When it comes to other buildings there are no different grades of listing (as for example is the case in the United Kingdom) or time limits. There is also traditionally not much economic compensation for private owners of buildings (Phelps et al., 2002).

4.2 Monuments in Sweden

There are different types of monuments at national level. They are also protected by different acts. The monuments and their protective legislation will be examined in this section. The division and number of monuments at national level per category are shown in figures 4.1 and 4.2.



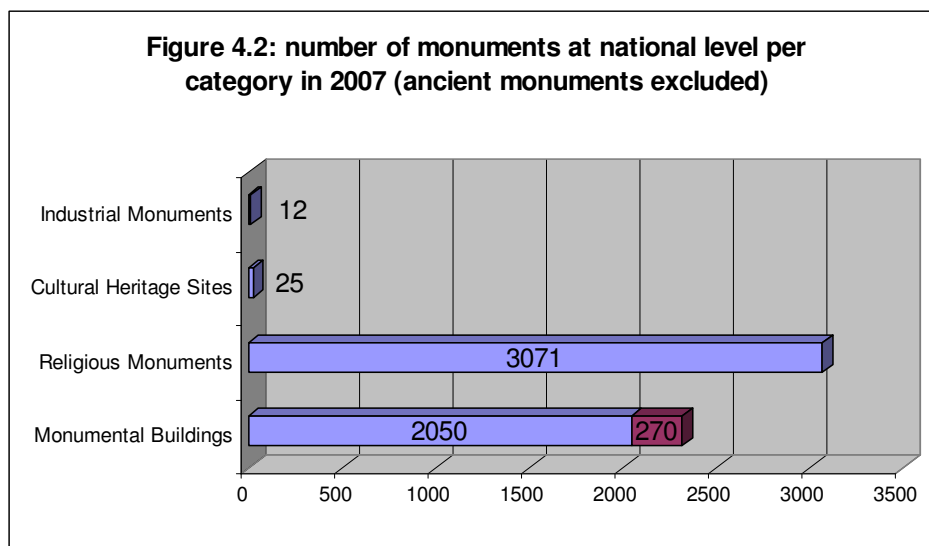
Sources: Karlsson (2007), RAÄ (2007)

The Swedish Cultural Heritage Act (CHA) distinguishes and protects three kinds of cultural monuments. The first category is “ancient monuments” or “relics of antiquity” (“*fornminnen*”). The CHA describes ancient monuments thus: “*immovable ancient monuments are the following relics from mankind’s activities in antiquities, which were caused by / arose from use in the historic past and which have been permanently left behind*”. This includes the following relics (Sveriges Riksdag, 2006):

- graves;
- stone formations and runic stone inscriptions;
- crosses and stone memorials;
- meeting-places for the administration of justice, culture, trade and other public purposes;
- remains of houses, dwellings or working places, cultural layers, etc.;
- ruins;
- infrastructure;
- shipwrecks, if they are at least 100 years old.

Sweden has about 560.000 ancient monuments. With this number it outclasses the other categories by far. This is illustrated in figure 4.1. For example runic stones alone cover 2.500 of the ancient monuments. Ancient monuments are automatically protected by the CHA. The central register for ancient monuments is digitalized in the Ancient Monuments Information System (FMIS). An important specification is that ancient monuments remain bound to their original location (RAÄ, 2007).

The second category is “religious monuments”. These monuments are mostly churches. Churches built before 1940 are automatically protected by the CHA. Churches built after 1940 need a special declaration to become a recognised religious monument. As mentioned in the foregoing section the Swedish church and state separated in 2000. This means that churches consecrated for divine service after 2000 will not be included on the list of religious monuments. Instead of this, the churches can receive protection by the CHA as monumental buildings. The number of religious monuments is nowadays about 3.071 (RAÄ, 2007). Figure 4.2 shows the numbers of monuments per category, with the exception of ancient monuments.



Sources: Karlsson (2007), RAÄ (2007)

The third category of monuments protected by the CHA is “monumental buildings”. Figure 4.2 shows two different kinds of protected buildings. The first, with a number of 2.050, includes monumental buildings protected by the CHA. These buildings are registered in the Buildings Register and are owned by private individuals or organizations. A monumental building does not necessarily have to be one individual object. It can also include several buildings that form one entity. The second type of protected buildings, with a total number of 270, includes “state monumental buildings”. These are not protected by the CHA, but by the special regulation on state monumental buildings. These monuments are state-owned. In most cases the National Board on Real Estate (*Fastighetsverket*) owns these properties. But the National Board on Fortification

(*Fortifikationsverket*) also owns some state monumental buildings (Karlsson, 2007) (RAÄ, 2007).

Sweden has 25 cultural heritage sites. These are protected by the Environmental Code (*Miljöbalken*). Beside cultural heritage sites nature sites are also protected by this law. The number of protected nature sites outclasses the cultural heritage sites by far. It has been suggested that the two different types of areas protected by the Environmental Code should be brought together into one new category: protected landscapes (Johansson, 2007). For example, a national park / garden, which forms one unit together with buildings, can be a cultural heritage site.

From 2002-2004 the National Heritage Board carried through an action program on the protection of Swedish industrial monuments. The program includes twelve industrial monuments from all over Sweden. These types of monuments are a new concept in Swedish heritage planning. The intention is to cover a range of industrial activities, which are representative for the Swedish industrialization period (RAÄ, 2007). The industrial monuments do not so far enjoy legal protection, but they are actually taken care of by the Swedish Association for Industrial Monuments (Paues von Arnold, 2007).

Beside the national monuments protected by the Cultural Heritage Act and Environmental Code there also are monuments protected at a local level. These municipal monuments are protected by the Act on Planning and Building (Plan- och Bygglagen) (Persson & Westerlind, 2000). Municipal monuments are not of special interest to this research, but the Act on Planning and Building is further explained in paragraph 5.5.

4.3 Sweden compared: cultural heritage in the European Union

“The (European) community must support and supplement action by the member states in order to conserve and safeguard cultural heritage of European significance.” With these words, cultural heritage was included in ‘the European Treaty’ in 1993 under article 151. The legal basis for safeguarding cultural heritage at a European level was hereby established (EC, 2007¹).

Sweden is a relatively big country in the European Union (EU) when it comes to square kilometres, but the population is relatively small. The average population density is 22,2 persons per km². The northern regions of Scandinavia are among the most scarcely populated areas of the EU (SCB, 2006). For this reason Sweden, together with Finland, receives money from the European Structural Fund system. The money is used for the regional development of areas with, compared to the EU average, a low population density (Nordin, 1996). Nevertheless, as mentioned before, Sweden was the first country in the world to have legislation on the preservation of cultural heritage. The foregoing section gave the numbers of national monuments in Sweden. To understand the

context of these numbers, it is valuable to make a comparison to other EU member states. Nowadays, there are 27 EU member states¹.

A problem arises in the field of cultural heritage when comparing countries. Almost every country within the boundaries of the EU uses different definitions and categorizations for monuments. Some countries, for example Portugal, Spain and Germany, even have different definitions and categorizations within their own boundaries. In Spain and Portugal different national institutions are working parallel to each other in listing and conserving monuments. In Germany the different federal states have their own cultural heritage protection laws (European Heritage Network, 2007). Because there is no one universal method of categorizing monuments at national level, it is impossible to make a fully correct comparison between all EU member states. Nevertheless, it is possible to take some EU countries and make a rough comparison. Two categories can be distinguished: archaeological / ancient monuments and architectural monuments / monumental buildings. 12 EU countries², which have comparable categorizations, have been selected. The number of monuments per category and country are figured in tables 4.1 and 4.2. It should be noted that these statistics have a purely indicative value and do not match for statistical purposes.

The statistics highlight some remarkable differences between Sweden and other EU countries. Table 4.1 shows that Sweden is the leading country by far when it comes to ancient monuments. Other Scandinavian countries also have a relatively large number of ancient monuments. Table 4.2 shows a totally different picture. England and The Netherlands are at the top of the table when it comes to monumental buildings. None of the Scandinavian countries is among the upper five. Sweden, especially, sinks to the bottom of the table with only 2.320 national protected buildings. England outclasses the other countries by far. An explanation for this can be that England, and Scotland too, has a grading system for listed buildings. In England and Scotland monumental buildings are divided over three different grades (European Heritage Network, 2007).

¹ The 27 EU-member states are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden, United Kingdom.

² The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland counts as one EU member state. Great Britain includes three countries: England, Scotland and Wales. These countries are not included as one in the statistics, because they have separate institutions and categorizations on cultural heritage.

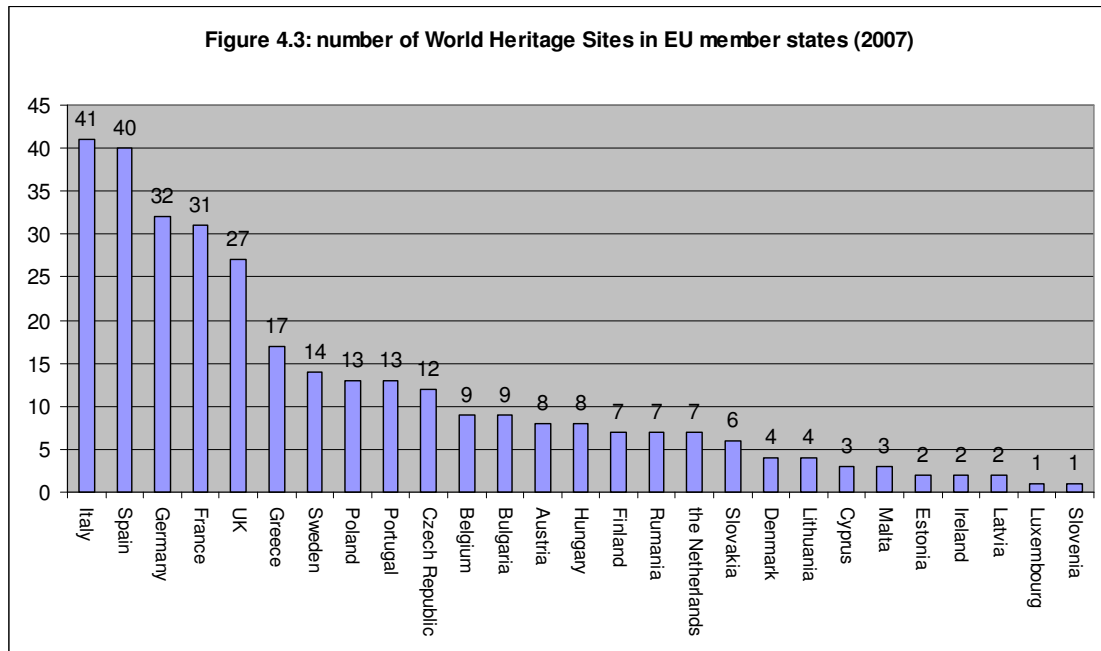
Country	Archaeological / ancient monuments
Sweden	560.000
Denmark	180.000
Norway	67.853
England	18.542
Finland	15.331
Scotland	7.400
Poland	7.228
Wales	2.830
Latvia	2.495
The Netherlands	1.468
Cyprus	1.400
Slovakia	340

Table 4.1: number of archaeological / ancient monuments in 12 EU countries
Sources: RAÄ (2007), RACM (2007), Kulturarvsstyrelsen Danmark (2007), European Heritage Network (2007)

Country	Architecture / monumental buildings
England	364.425
The Netherlands	64.931
Poland	46.551
Scotland	45.178
Wales	20.295
Denmark	9.700
Slovakia	7.515
Norway	4.000
Finland	3.746
Latvia	3.365
Sweden	2.320
Cyprus	2.300

Table 4.2: number of monumental buildings / architectural monuments in 12 EU countries
Sources: Karlsson (2007), RACM (2007), Kulturarvsstyrelsen Danmark (2007), European Heritage Network (2007)

It has been mentioned that it is problematic to compare countries, because categorizations of national monuments differ per country. However, there is a universal and ‘objective’ indicator which can be used to compare the cultural heritage of countries: the World Heritage List of UNESCO. Figure 4.3 gives the numbers of World Heritage Sites of all 27 EU member states. With 14 World Heritage Sites Sweden is in the sub-top of the EU.



Source: WHC UNESCO, 2007

According to the numbers above on ancient monuments and monumental buildings, Sweden holds a notable position in the EU. The relatively high number of ancient monuments and low number of monumental buildings says something about the Swedish way of heritage planning. Section 4.1 mentioned that Swedish heritage legislation traditionally does not stimulate the protection of buildings. Monumental buildings are possibly undervalued in the representation of Swedish cultural heritage and history. This will be a point of discussion in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Swedish heritage planning in the theoretical framework

The foregoing chapters gave essential background information to this chapter. This chapter aims to answer the sub-questions mentioned in 1.2. It is split into parts A and B. Part A outlines the problems of Swedish heritage planning. Part B includes sections 5.2 to 5.5. From 5.2 to 5.5 the geographical focus is narrowed from the European to the local scale. The relevant heritage actors, their roles, their goals and their instruments are mapped for each level. Instruments are for example legislative, financial or political in nature. The information in both part A and part B is based on the results of the interviews. The assumption is that problems, objectives and instruments of heritage planning differ between actors and governmental levels in Sweden. The next chapter will try to combine the results and levels of this chapter into the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action.

Part A: Problems

5.1 Problems identified in heritage planning in Sweden

The first chapter described some possible problems of heritage planning in general. Those problems were derived from literature on cultural heritage. This section answers the question “what are contemporary problems of Swedish heritage planning, based on information obtained in the interviews?”

Churches

As mentioned in chapter 4, the Swedish church and state separated in 2000. Since then the Swedish church is not allowed to collect taxes anymore. Taxes as a financial instrument have been substituted by public fees. The Swedish church has received a state subsidy for the restoration and conservation of real estate since 2000. This state subsidy will remain for the coming years, but it is unclear what the future of the Swedish church will be ultimately without a state subsidy. Sweden has a lot of protected church buildings compared to monumental buildings. Unfortunately the number of churchgoers has dropped dramatically in the last decades. This year the State Court of Justice allowed the demolition of a church in the county of Skåne. This was the first case of the demolition of a church protected by the CHA. Financing and the search for proper re-use are contemporary problems for religious buildings in Sweden (T. Persson, 2007) (Stenholm, 2007) (L. Persson, 2007). Box 1 gives an example of the problems of conservation costs and re-use of a church in Karlskrona.

Box 1: Case Karlskrona & the Church of the Holy Trinity

The World Heritage Site of Karlskrona contains three churches: the Fredrik Church, the Admiralty Church and the Church of the Holy Trinity. The Fredrik Church, the biggest of the three, was originally intended for Swedish citizens. The Admiralty Church was for the navy. Finally, the Church of the Holy Trinity was for the community of German nobility in the town. The Fredrik Church and the Church of the Holy Trinity have a central location in the city, on the main square. Photo 5.1 shows the Church of the Holy Trinity. Nowadays, the Church of the Holy Trinity is disused, deserted and closed for almost the whole year. The roof needs restoration. As a result, the Church Council of Karlskrona, responsible for the three churches, wants to remove the furnishings. This will make the church more flexible for other uses. For example, other religions, concerts, theater plays or expositions could make use of the church. The problem is that the furnishings are very rare. The benches are positioned in a unique, but unpractical, way. The regional actors on cultural heritage (the County Administrative Board and Museum) want to preserve the furnishings. The petition of the Church Council for removal was rejected by the Regional Court of Justice (Skantze et al., 2007) (T. Persson, 2007). The case is presently at the State Court of Justice, in expectation of the final judgment. The example of the Church of the Holy Trinity raises a dilemma in heritage planning. Should the traditional form be conserved? This will result in high costs of conservation, but no uses and earnings. Or should the traditional form be damaged or even sacrificed in favor of possibilities of re-use?



*Photo 5.1: the Church of the Holy Trinity and the statue of king Karl XI in Karlskrona
Picture made by: O.A. Woltil*

A lack of resources

The following sections of this chapter will examine the different actors in Swedish heritage planning. However, it is useful to distinguish between actors at this point. In the interviews it was mentioned several times that the regional level is confronted with a lack of labor force and financial means. The regional actors in heritage planning, included in this study, are the County Administrative Board of Blekinge, the County Museum of Blekinge and Region Blekinge (L. Persson, 2007).

There is a lack of money among public institutions at both national and local level for the restoration and conservation of buildings. The national boards lack money for the restoration and conservation of their state-owned monumental buildings. The same is true for municipalities. Municipalities use the process of “K-marking” to protect buildings at the local level. K-marking is explained further in section 5.5. Public institutions have a financial problem in taking care of state monumental buildings and K-marked buildings (Stenholm, 2007) (Westerlund, 2007).

For private persons or organizations it is possible to receive financial compensation for the restoration and conservation of monumental buildings. However, the total amount of money reserved for compensation is limited. Also, strict rules on restoration and conservation have to be followed in order to be entitled to compensation. The strict rules can feel as a threat, because of their inflexibility (Paues von Arnold, 2007).

The threat of a commercialization and modernization process

The Second World War did not demolish parts of Swedish cities. Sweden did not need to rebuild urban structures after the war. Still, Sweden underwent the same urban redevelopment processes as other western countries in the 1950's and 1960's. Sweden expected to encounter a demographic boom at the end of the 20th century. This resulted in a “million program” to meet the future need for housing. A lot of city districts were redeveloped and the building stock was expanded with “modern” building methods. The modernization and style of architecture were characterized by “blue-print planning”. This often resulted in large size, grey, concrete and quadrangular buildings. Also, the dominance of the car as a means of travel left a big mark on Swedish city development in the second half of the 20th century (Helgesson, 2007) (Rebel, 2007).

In developing countries lack of money is a threat to the conservation of cultural heritage. For an industrialized “western” country, like Sweden, it is the fast changing economic development that presents a threat to conservation. Over-consumption and commercialization stimulate a preference for the modern and new above the traditional and old (Westerlund, 2007). Commercialization and modernization are for example a threat to traditional building and painting methods and materials (L. Persson, 2007).

'Sectorization' in the organizational field

The way in which the field of heritage planning is organized can be seen as a threat. As Wenster (2007) puts it: *"The provincial board works only with the physical and not at all with (for example) dialects: that should be done by museums. So [...] one has sectorized cultural heritage"*. Wenster means that the field of cultural heritage is divided between different sectors and institutions in Sweden. The organization is based upon a strong separation between the physical and cultural / non-tangible parts of cultural heritage.

At the same time the role of the different actors is not always clear (T. Persson, 2007). An example concerns World Heritage Sites. The World Heritage Sites of Sweden belong to the portfolio of the National Department of Education. On the other hand, the National Heritage Board falls under the National Department of Culture. This discrepancy makes the role of the National Heritage Board unclear in the case of World Heritage Sites (Stenholm, 2007).

A lack of an overall vision / strategy

Several of the persons interviewed mentioned the lack of an overall vision at national level. The National Heritage Board has lost its expert role and overall vision. T. Persson (2007) summarizes the decentralization process as follows: *"Previously the National Heritage Board had some experts within the area of churches, archeology, architecture, etc. Nowadays, that has totally gone. We can not ring them up and ask colleagues for a better total image."* The National Heritage Board does not supply the Provincial Boards with specific knowledge anymore. The national level has consciously decentralized the role of provider of knowledge to the regional level (T. Persson, 2007) (Karlsson, 2007) (Stenholm, 2007). An example of the lack of total image is the registration of national monuments. There are two central registers on cultural heritage: the Building Register and the Ancient Monuments Information System (FMIS). For years there have been great plans with these registers, but they are still not totally up-to-date. The registers are also unsuitable for the national analysis of monuments around the country. The county boards often up-date their own registers, but do not have sufficient resources to up-date the national registers (Karlsson, 2007) (T. Persson, 2007).

Selectivity of monument lists

There is consensus among the persons interviewed about the subjective and selective character of cultural heritage. There is a high degree of subjectivity involved in decision-making where cultural heritage is concerned. Stenholm (2007) says about the process of selecting cultural heritage that the government in power and society together choose what is important enough to be saved; *"it (cultural heritage) is as a mirror for society"*. The foregoing chapter highlighted the importance of cultural heritage as a political instrument. Wenster (2007) says it is obvious that the one who defines cultural heritage can exercise a strong influence on the selection process. Besides the influence of the

government in the selection process civil society has got influence of its own. The selection of cultural heritage in Sweden is very democratic in the way that every citizen has the right to apply for an object to be given monumental status (Stenholm, 2007).

The persons interviewed, conscious of the subjectivity and selectivity of cultural heritage, see the Swedish cultural heritage in general as representative for Sweden's history. According to Karlsson (2007) society is better reflected nowadays than before. For example, the number of monumental buildings increased significantly in the 1990's. On the other hand, monuments should be struck from the monument lists more often in cases when changes in the physical form of monuments take place (Stenholm, 2007).

Under represented themes / areas are for example small-scale agriculture and industrial monuments (Karlsson, 2007). Industrial monuments have some complications. Firstly, industrial complexes are often dangerous and cover a large-scale area. Secondly, it can be difficult to find re-use for industrial complexes. Industrial complexes are an example of sites of cultural heritage which are difficult to manage. T. Persson (2007) compares the selection of cultural heritage with the collection policy of museums: museums often prefer the manageable relics that fit on the shelf.

To some interviewed the question was asked if they could think of cases / objects, so-called "negative heritages", that on purpose were not selected as items of cultural heritage. The term "negative heritage" is misleading. Cultural heritage objects or sites are not in themselves negative or positive. Only the experience or memories related to the object or site can have a negative value (Ashworth et al., 2000). Still, the term "negative heritage" was used for this research. Some examples of negative heritages can be given. Firstly, the nuclear power-station "Barsebäck" was suggested as a monumental building after the closing down of its nuclear activities. It never became a monumental building, because of both its negative image and the practical difficulties for the realization of this (T. Persson, 2007). Other examples of negative heritages are given by Stenholm (2007): defensive works from the Cold War period and a former stone-pit that was supposed to deliver stones for statues of Hitler. In the past, such places / objects were destroyed; today they would probably be conserved (Stenholm, 2007).

As a last point about the selectivity of cultural heritage the persons interviewed were asked for their view on "multiculturalism" in heritage planning. All those interviewed agree that multiculturalism is an actual theme in Swedish heritage planning, but that it is not a problematic theme. It is important to discuss multiculturalism, but there is no need to push it. Multiculturalism will take its place in Swedish heritage planning when the time comes.

A lack of public interest for cultural heritage

Finally, a lack of public interest for cultural heritage can be mentioned. Cultural heritage often does not have a place in school education and the mass media do not pay a lot of attention to cultural heritage. The result is that cultural heritage acquires a certain "elitist

character” (Stenholm, 2007). Cultural heritage also has a low priority on most political agendas (Stenholm, 2007) (Helgesson, 2007).

Conclusion on the contemporary problems of Swedish heritage planning

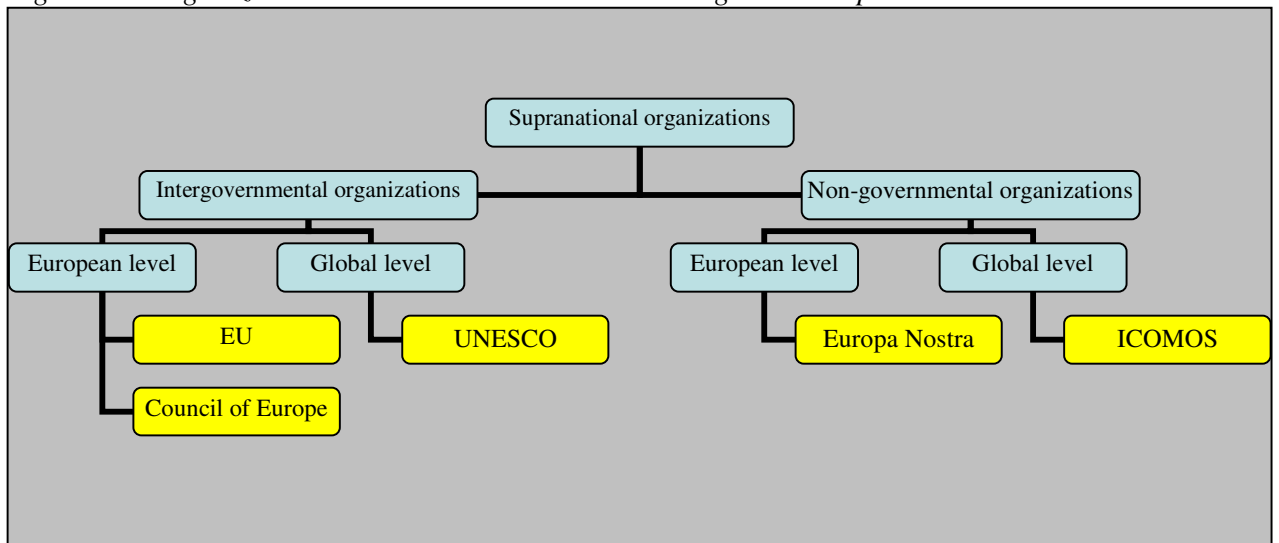
Section 1.1 identified three problems of heritage planning common in western countries. Those problems were derived from literature on the topic. The first and second problem, the re-use of monuments and costs of preservation, are especially relevant in some specific areas of Swedish heritage planning, namely those of churches and industrial monuments. The list of monumental churches is extensive and their conservation is not possible without the input of state money. Industrial monuments are a new concept in Swedish heritage planning. Industrial complexes often cover a large surface, so it can be difficult to find a re-use for them. The case of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Karlskrona gave a good example on the problems of re-use and the costs of preservation. The third problem, mentioned in section 1.1, is the dilemma of what selection criteria to use. This dilemma is closely related to the question “whose heritage”? In general, the selective and subjective character of monument lists was not seen as a problem in Swedish heritage planning. Problems of Swedish heritage planning were related merely to the organizational field. Sectorization and the lack of overall vision, financial and labor resources were seen as structural problems. Also, the process of commercialization and modernization was seen as a threat. Finally, the lack of public interest for cultural heritage was mentioned. The problems derived from the reality of Swedish heritage planning show a partly different picture from the problems mentioned in the literature on cultural heritage. It can be concluded that there is a gap between theory and practice in heritage planning.

Part B: Who, What and How?

5.2 European level

Section 4.3 outlined that the European Commission included the conservation and safeguarding of “*cultural heritage of European significance*” in the European Treaty of 1993. In this way, cultural heritage is recognized as being part of the EU-policy (EC, 2007¹). This section focuses on the position of cultural heritage at European level. Firstly, the relationship between cultural heritage and EU-policy is outlined. Secondly, other organizations are examined. Beside the EU, the Council of Europe and Europa Nostra are mentioned as European actors. The focus is on the European level, but UNESCO and ICOMOS are also included. The reason for this is that their working field also covers Europe. The goals and working methods of the organizations are considered and a conclusion will be drawn on the position of cultural heritage in European / international policies. Figure 5.1 displays the actors involved, divided between intergovernmental versus non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) and the European versus the global level.

Figure 5.1: organizations concerned with cultural heritage at the supranational level



5.2.1 European Union, Council of Europe and UNESCO

The European Union (EU) and Council of Europe were established in 1957 and 1949 respectively, both as a reaction to the Second World War. The EU was established on economic principles. In 1951 the European Coal and Steel Community was founded, and this was the beginning of the EU. From 1957 up to 2007, the EU grew from 6 to 27 member states. The main principle of the EU is free movement of goods, services, capital, and labour in a single European market. Secondly, the EU aims to achieve a balanced regional development (EU, 2007). The aim of the Council of Europe is “to

achieve a greater unity between its members". 47 European countries are members of the Council of Europe. The main objective of the Council of Europe is to spread and develop democratic principles throughout Europe. The democratic principles are written down in several conventions (Council of Europe, 2007).

One of the aims of the EU is to reduce social and economic disparities between regions and to create a more balanced regional development. Cultural heritage can be a factor of regional development in many different ways. Firstly, heritage can be a pull-factor for attracting tourists. Secondly, it can create employment. Thirdly, heritage and identity can be a stimulating factor for tying the local population to the region (Nordin, 1996).

One of the four Structural Funds is for regional development. The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) aims to strengthen economic and social cohesion in the EU by correcting imbalances between its regions or social groups. The Structural Funds system is the most important financial instrument for EU-policies. The aim of the Structural Funds is *"to help those regions within the EU whose development is lagging behind"* (EC, 2006¹). The money in these funds is divided between different objectives and programs. The objectives and programs differ partly per programming period. The current programming period started this year and runs until 2014 (EC, 2006²). Nowadays, cultural heritage is part of the "Culture Programme", which is taken care of by the Directorate-General (DG) on Education and Culture. The policy departments of the European Commission are called "Directorates-General" (EC, 2007³). During the period 1994-2000 the DG had a specific programme for cultural heritage, named "Raphael" (Nordin, 1996). During the period 2000-2006 cultural heritage did not have its own programme any longer. It became part of the "Culture 2000" programme. Culture 2000 has now been followed up by "Culture" (Karlsson, 2007). In 2006 Sweden received a total of € 22, 5 million from the EU for "culture-related projects". According to a Swedish state report on the support of EU Structural Funds *"a lot of culture-related projects [...] aim to conserve and make accessible cultural heritage and to strengthen the local and regional identity"* (Statens Kulturråd et al., 2007). According to the European Commission, approximately 34% of the total budget for the Culture programme goes to cultural heritage (EC, 2007¹). Cultural heritage is also involved in other EU-policies, beside the Culture programme. For example, a community initiative such as "Interreg III" is also relevant to cultural heritage. Community initiatives stimulate cooperation between different member states in order to encounter specific locally / regionally embedded problems (EC, 2006¹). Interreg-projects can be about, for example, infrastructure, but also about culture. In northern Sweden there are several examples of cultural heritage related Interreg-projects (RAÄ et al., 2002).

The Council of Europe works with cultural heritage in four ways. Firstly, the Council established, in cooperation with the EU, the "European Heritage Network". The European Heritage Network gives the impression of limiting its activities to gathering and providing information about the cultural heritage policies of European countries. Its aim is to offer a terminological standard for national policies on cultural heritage. However, a lot of information is missing and the organization seems to have no scientific

or political influence (EHN, 2007). Secondly, the Council has initiated several conventions on heritage:

- The European Cultural Convention (1954);
- The Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985);
- The European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (1992);
- The European Landscape Convention (2000);
- The Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005) (EHN, 2007).

The recently proposed “Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society” has not yet been ratified. The third way in which the Council works with cultural heritage is the most active one: European Heritage Days. In cooperation with the EU, the Council arranges the yearly European Heritage Days. Finally, the EU and Council of Europe have support projects for heritages at risk (Council of Europe, 2007).

The last intergovernmental organization which should be mentioned is UNESCO. The 27 EU-member states account together for 323 of the 851 World Heritage Sites, which is 38%. Europe is the dominating continent on the World Heritage list. The objective of UNESCO is to identify, protect and preserve cultural and natural heritage sites all around the world “*considered to be of outstanding value to humanity*”. The policy of UNESCO is embodied in an international treaty from 1972: “the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage”. The World Heritage List contains both cultural and natural heritage. There are 660 cultural, 166 natural and 25 mixed properties on the list (UNESCO, 2007).

5.2.2 *Europa Nostra and ICOMOS*

The non-governmental pan-organizations on cultural heritage Europa Nostra (‘EN’) and ICOMOS were founded in 1963 and 1965 respectively. EN represents over 230 NGO’s from all over Europe and about 40 European countries (Europa Nostra, 2007). ICOMOS focuses on the global scale. It is a network for professionals and specialists, from all over the world, on the conservation and protection of cultural heritage. National committees of ICOMOS are established in 130 countries around the world (ICOMOS, 2007). EN and ICOMOS have several common elements. Previously, cultural heritage was purely a national responsibility. An important fundament of both EN and ICOMOS is that the responsibility for the safeguarding of cultural heritage is shared between countries. The basic principle is that cultural heritage does not stop at national boundaries (Paues von Arnold, 2007) (Europa Nostra, 2007). Secondly, both organizations are oriented on the specific sector of cultural heritage. ICOMOS especially is like an international network of professionals on cultural heritage. For both organizations one of the main functions is to bring different actors together in a European / international forum to stimulate the exchange of knowledge and information about cultural heritage. Thirdly, they are both advisors to intergovernmental bodies. As the scale-difference suggests, ICOMOS, being an expert organization, is an advisor to UNESCO (ICOMOS, 2007). EN represents

European society, as far as cultural heritage is concerned, in influential organizations like (mainly) the European Union and the Council of Europe. For some years now EN has been the coordinator of the cultural heritage activities of the EU-bodies. The cultural heritage prize of the EU and the Europa Nostra awards are put together into the combined EU Prize for Cultural heritage / Europa Nostra awards. Also, EN is the coordinator of the “European Heritage Days”. As mentioned above, European Heritage Days are a joint initiative of the EU and the Council of Europe. The EU and Council of Europe contribute financially to the activities (Europa Nostra, 2007). Fourthly, EN and ICOMOS try to influence European / international and national public bodies and to raise public awareness of / interest in cultural heritage. To reach this goal, EN and ICOMOS lobby at all levels. Finally, both organizations aim to support heritages at risk (Paues von Arnold, 2007) (Westerlund, 2007).

EN’s Swedish members have been formally organized in “Europa Nostra – Sweden” since 2007. Sweden contributes to EN with 10 member organizations, 14 associate members and 30 individual members. Europa Nostra – Sweden functions as “*a bridge between Europe and Sweden*” (Paues von Arnold, 2007). It lifts the national dialogue into Europe. The national ICOMOS-committee of Sweden (ICOMOS – Sweden) focuses on Sweden itself, but the objective is the same as that of the international ICOMOS. For example, the international project “Heritage at Risk” is influential in Sweden. A few years ago, industrial heritage was considered as being a heritage at risk in Sweden. Nowadays, industrial heritage is part of Swedish heritage planning. ICOMOS – Sweden is not independent of the government. It is financially supported by the National Heritage Board (Westerlund, 2007). The National Heritage Board is also a member of Europa Nostra – Sweden (Europa Nostra, 2007).

5.2.3 Conclusion

The principle that heritage planning does not stop at national boundaries is only some decennia old. Europa Nostra and ICOMOS, both international NGO’s on cultural heritage, were founded in 1963 and 1965 respectively. The Council of Europe recognized the importance of cultural heritage in the “European Cultural Convention” of 1954. The fundament of UNESCO goes back to 1972, when the “Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage” was agreed. The EU did not adopt cultural heritage in its policies until 1993. The international organizations are built upon the principle that there is a nation-shared responsibility for the safeguarding of cultural heritage. This means that both heritages at risk and heritages of outstanding value are supported internationally. Referring to the theoretical framework on planning-oriented action, the international actors are characterized by a horizontal network and interactive, shared governance. The interactive, shared governance and horizontal network are based on dialogue between the member states. When looking at the goal-oriented action a division should be made. The division is visualized in figure 5.2. UNESCO, Europa Nostra and ICOMOS all have one main goal: to safeguard cultural heritage for future generations at a supranational level. In the policy of the EU and the Council of Europe cultural heritage is part of an overall integral strategy. The process of collecting

information, linking separate problems and decision-making is dynamic and continuous. Cultural heritage as part of the overall strategy of regional development is an example of this.

Figure 5.2: goal-oriented action of the supranational organizations



Finally, decision-oriented action at the supranational level is characterized for all international organizations by “intersubjective communication” (Habermas, 1987). Decisions are made in a dialogue between the members. International debate and financial means are the most important instruments to achieve the international goals on cultural heritage. The method of working of intergovernmental organizations is that of “consensus planning”. The working method of the NGO’s Europa Nostra and ICOMOS is closer to “collaborative planning”.

5.3 National level

The foregoing section was about heritage planning at the European / international level. This section will examine heritage planning at the national level of Sweden. There are two relevant actors: the National Heritage Board (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*) and the state government. Firstly, the role and the goal (-s) of the National Heritage Board will be considered. Secondly, the influence on Swedish heritage planning of the state government will be outlined, followed thirdly, the Swedish Cultural Heritage Act of 1988 (CHA). In addition, the Environmental Code, mentioned in chapter 4 as also playing a role in Swedish heritage planning, will be discussed. Fourthly, a short comparison between the Swedish and Dutch legislative frameworks on cultural heritage will be given. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn on national practices in heritage planning.

5.3.1 National Heritage Board

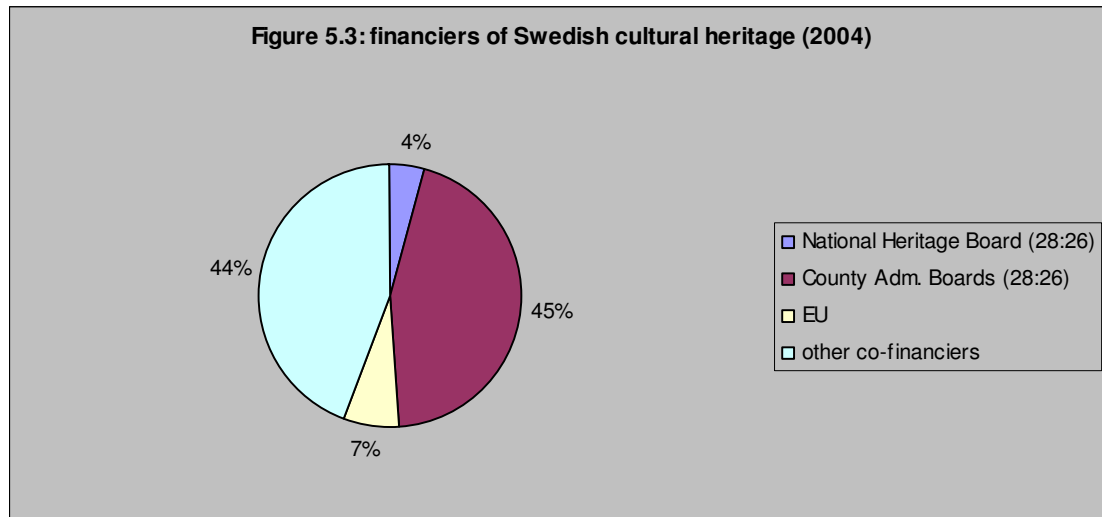
The National Heritage Board is the central government in the sector of cultural heritage. The organization falls under the National Department on Culture. The main goal of the National Heritage Board can be simply defined as that of making cultural heritage accessible to everyone in Swedish society (Karlsson, 2007). The role of the National Heritage Board is three-fold: organ of expertise, court of justice and distributor of state funds.

As organ of expertise and as central government, the National Heritage Board should have oversight / supervision over the whole country. This includes a wide range of tasks and responsibilities. Firstly, the National Heritage Board should have supervision over the applications of cultural heritage legislation and practices around the country. Secondly, it should place cultural heritage in a broader context. This means being a driving force in actual discussions about cultural heritage in “multiculturalism”, a sustainable society or living environment (RAÄ⁴, 2007) (Karlsson, 2007). Section 5.1 pointed out that the National Heritage Board has lost its expert role and partly its overseer role in the last decennia.

As court of justice, the National Heritage Board can lodge an appeal against decisions of other governmental or judicial organs. For example, it can appeal against decisions of County Administrative Boards. The National Heritage Board defends the public interest in the field of cultural heritage in the courtroom (RAÄ⁴, 2007).

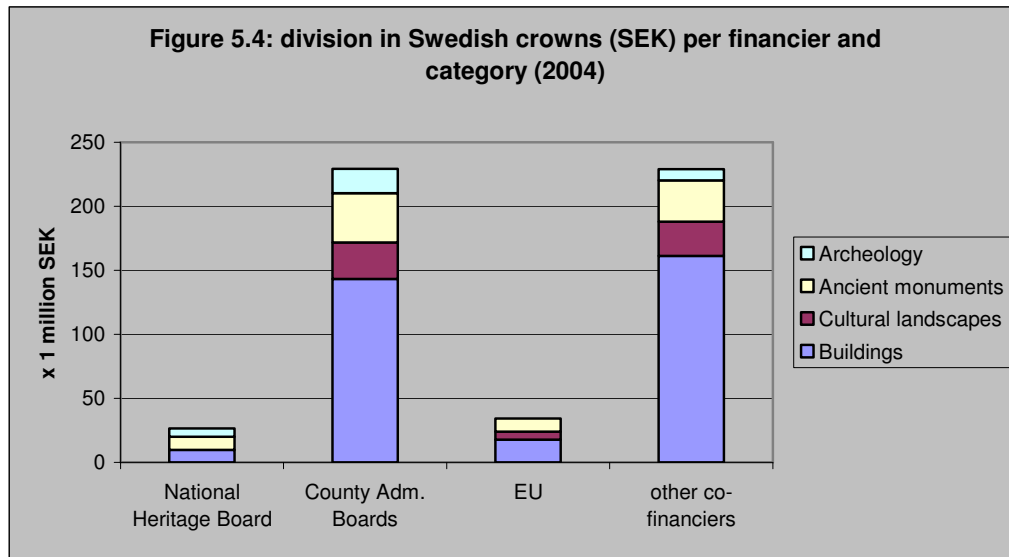
As distributor of state funds for cultural heritage, the National Heritage Board receives a yearly state contribution to cultural heritage. The state contribution is the most important economic impulse to Swedish cultural heritage. It is also known as the 28:26-subsidy. The 28:26-subsidy was about SEK 256, - million (€ 27, 8 million) in 2004. Approximately, the yearly contribution has remained unchanged since then. The money is meant for cultural heritage-related activities only. For example, this does not include salaries. A small part of the contribution is for the activities of the National Heritage

Board itself. The biggest part is passed on by the National Heritage Board to the County Administrative Boards. Figure 5.3 shows that of all the money to Swedish cultural heritage 49 % comes from the 28:26-subsidy and 51 % from co-financiers. For example, direct contributions of the EU to cultural heritage count for a total of SEK 34, 3 million (€ 3, 7 million). Other co-financiers are for example municipalities, companies, private owners, etcetera. In 2004 they contributed a total of SEK 229, 3 million (€ 24, 9 million) (RAÄ, 2005).

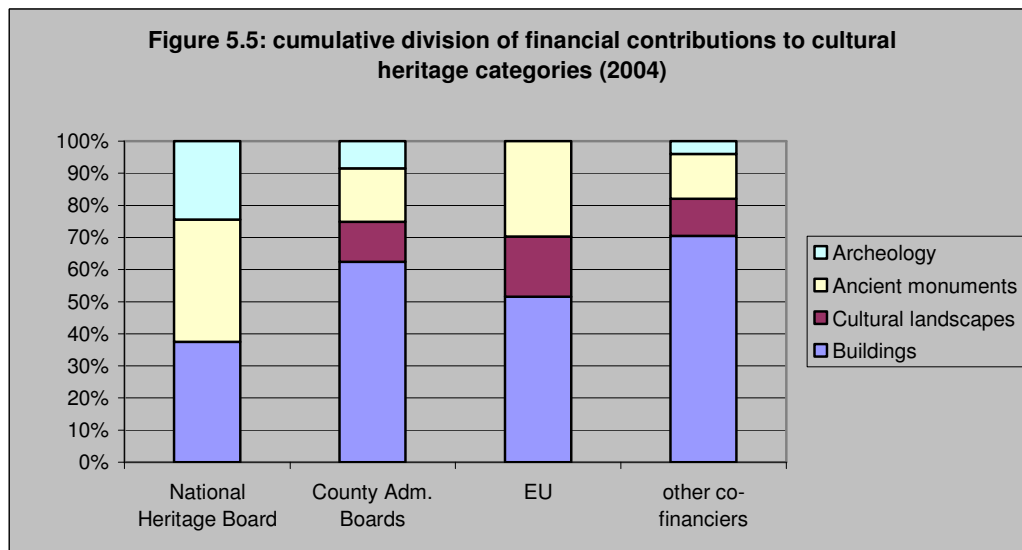


Source: RAÄ, 2005

Figures 5.4 and 5.5 show what categories of cultural heritage the financiers are investing in. Figure 5.4 gives the absolute division and contribution of financial means. Figure 5.5 shows how the different financiers are spending their money in different categories of cultural heritage. At least two conclusions concerning the national level can be drawn. Firstly, the National Heritage Board, compared to the other financiers, spends relatively a large portion of its budget on archaeology and ancient monuments. On the other hand it spends a relatively small amount on buildings. The explanation for this is the distinction between monumental buildings and state monumental buildings, which are taken care of by respectively the Counties and State Boards. Section 4.2 explained that the number of monumental buildings far outclasses the number of state monumental buildings. Secondly, the National Heritage Board does not spend money on cultural landscapes. Cultural landscapes, as mentioned in section 4.2, concern mostly the Cultural Heritage Sites of the Environmental Act. The responsibility for cultural landscapes is decentralized. A financier that is particularly interested in cultural landscapes is the EU. Cultural landscapes often cover large and complex areas, which fit the regional policy of the EU.



Source: RAÄ, 2005



Source: RAÄ, 2005

5.3.2 The State Government

The Swedish state government has several sources of influence on heritage planning. Firstly, the government describes national goals in cultural heritage in a state ordinance. Every governmental organization receives a state ordinance in a yearly letter (“*regleringsbrev*”). Cultural heritage related organizations, such as the National Heritage Board, County Administrative Boards, Provincial Museums and State Museums receive the state ordinance. The ordinance describes the cultural goals of the state, the results the organizations should achieve and the division of finance for the coming year (Regeringskansliet, 2007). In short, the overall national goal for cultural heritage is to be

a driving force for a sustainable society with a healthy and stimulating living climate. On the other hand, Swedish cultural heritage should be accessible to all parts of society. On the other hand, the responsibility for cultural heritage should be shared by each member of society (RAÄ², 2007:7).

A second source of influence for the state government is research on public organizational structure (“*ansvarsutredning*”). In 2003 the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities was established. The committee was assigned the mission of analysing the structure and division of tasks and responsibilities within the public system, and of proposing changes in the public system to meet future challenges. The committee finished its research in February 2007. The committee distinguished two main problems of the public system. Both are relevant to heritage planning. The first problem in the public system is “sectorization”. There are benefits to be gained from the sectorization of tasks, like specialization in the working field, but in an increasingly complex world sectorization should be counterbalanced with inter-sectoral, territory-based planning methods. The second problem is that the structure at regional level is confusing and fragmented. There are a lot of public actors and their tasks are overlapping and not clearly divided and framed. This is also of concern to the cultural heritage sector. The different regional public actors, their roles, tasks and responsibilities will be outlined in the following section. For now, it is interesting to mention the proposal of the committee. The committee proposes a new regional division. Firstly, to counterbalance the sectoral approach, tasks will be combined into a broader, inter-sectoral approach. Tasks will also be re-divided over the actors. Secondly, the current 21 counties of Sweden will be fused into 6-9 counties. The bigger counties will be able to face future challenges and to match the EU-regions better (CPSR, 2007). The impacts of these re-organizations on the regional actors and cultural heritage sector are described in 5.4.

5.3.3 Cultural Heritage Act and Environmental Code

The Swedish CHA (1988: 950) begins with the following words: “*It is a national affair to protect and preserve our cultural environment. The responsibility for this is shared by all of us. Both private endeavour and public authority should take note and care of the cultural environment. Those who are planning or executing activities should monitor that harm to the cultural environment is avoided or limited as far as possible*”. Secondly, the CHA explains the different roles of authorities according to the law: “*the County Administrative Board controls the protection of cultural heritage in the province. The state government is responsible for national supervision in the protection of cultural heritage*” (Hermansson et al., 2005: B 802). Thirdly, the law distinguishes four types of cultural heritage: place names, ancient monuments, monumental buildings and religious monuments (Hermansson et al., 2005: B 803). The last three categories have already been explained in section 4.2. The first category, place names, is very new. It was added to the CHA in the year 2000 (Wikipedia, 2007). Finally, the CHA describes regulations on the export and return of items of Swedish cultural heritage passing international borders (Hermansson et al., 2005: B 803).

The relevance of the Environmental Code to cultural heritage is two-fold. Firstly, as described in section 4.2, the Environmental Code protects cultural heritage sites. Secondly, the Code requires an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) before ground exploitation. In the EIA archeological values should be included (Miljödepartementet, 2007).

5.3.4 Swedish and Dutch national legislation compared

The Dutch “Monument Act” starts with defining monuments. Monuments are “*objects created at least 50 years ago which are of public interest because of their beauty, their value for science or their cultural historic value*” and “*sites which are of public interest, because of the presence of above mentioned objects*”. The following categories are distinguished: archeological, protected and religious monuments and “protected city and village views”. Protected monuments are items of real estates, which are mostly buildings. Religious monuments are owned by the church. Protected city and village views are “*groups of real estate which are of public interest, because of their beauty, their interrelated spatial or structural cohesion or their scientific or cultural historic value*” (Stichting AB, 2007).

A comparison between the Dutch Monument Act and the Swedish Cultural Heritage Act brings up some notable differences. Firstly, Sweden has not got a category, as the Dutch have, of protected city and village views. A group of monumental real estate is in Sweden counted as a “monumental building”. Secondly, in Sweden the County Administrative Boards are the main decision-makers in the field of cultural heritage. In the Netherlands, the provincial government only works with “Belvedere areas”. Belvedere areas are national landscapes like the areas protected by the Swedish Environmental Act. In the Netherlands the municipalities and the state government are the main decision-makers in cultural heritage. Thirdly, a municipal and national register of monuments is obligatory in the Netherlands (Stichting AB, 2007). This is not the case in Sweden. Finally, it is interesting to mention that the yearly state contribution to cultural heritage-related activities such as restoration and conservation is € 166, 6 million in the Netherlands (RACM, 2007). This is about six times as much as in Sweden. A possible explanation for this is that, as was shown in section 4.3, the Netherlands has far more protected buildings than Sweden. The conservation of buildings is more expensive than the conservation of ancient monuments like runic stones.

5.3.5 Conclusion

The most important cultural heritage actors at national level are the National Heritage Board and the state government. The state government influences cultural heritage policies by having an overall cultural strategy. The cultural heritage goals defined in the strategy are sent in a yearly letter to the public boards and museums. In 2003 the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities was established by the state government. This year the Committee came with a proposal to re-organize the public system. The re-

organization should include a more inter-sectoral approach and a reduction of the number of counties. It will be interesting to see what effects a possible re-organization will have on the sector of cultural heritage.

The main objective of the National Heritage Board is to make cultural heritage accessible to everyone in society. On the other hand, according to the Cultural Heritage Act, the responsibility for cultural heritage should be shared by every member of society. Cultural heritage contributes to a sustainable society and society contributes to a sustainable cultural heritage. The National Heritage Board covers the roles of money-dispenser, highest court of justice and supervisor. As central government it is the link between all counties. The National Heritage Board has decentralized most of the cultural heritage tasks, responsibilities, financial means and knowledge to the County Administrative Boards. The heritage planning-oriented actions of the National Heritage Board can be characterized by a process of outsourcing.

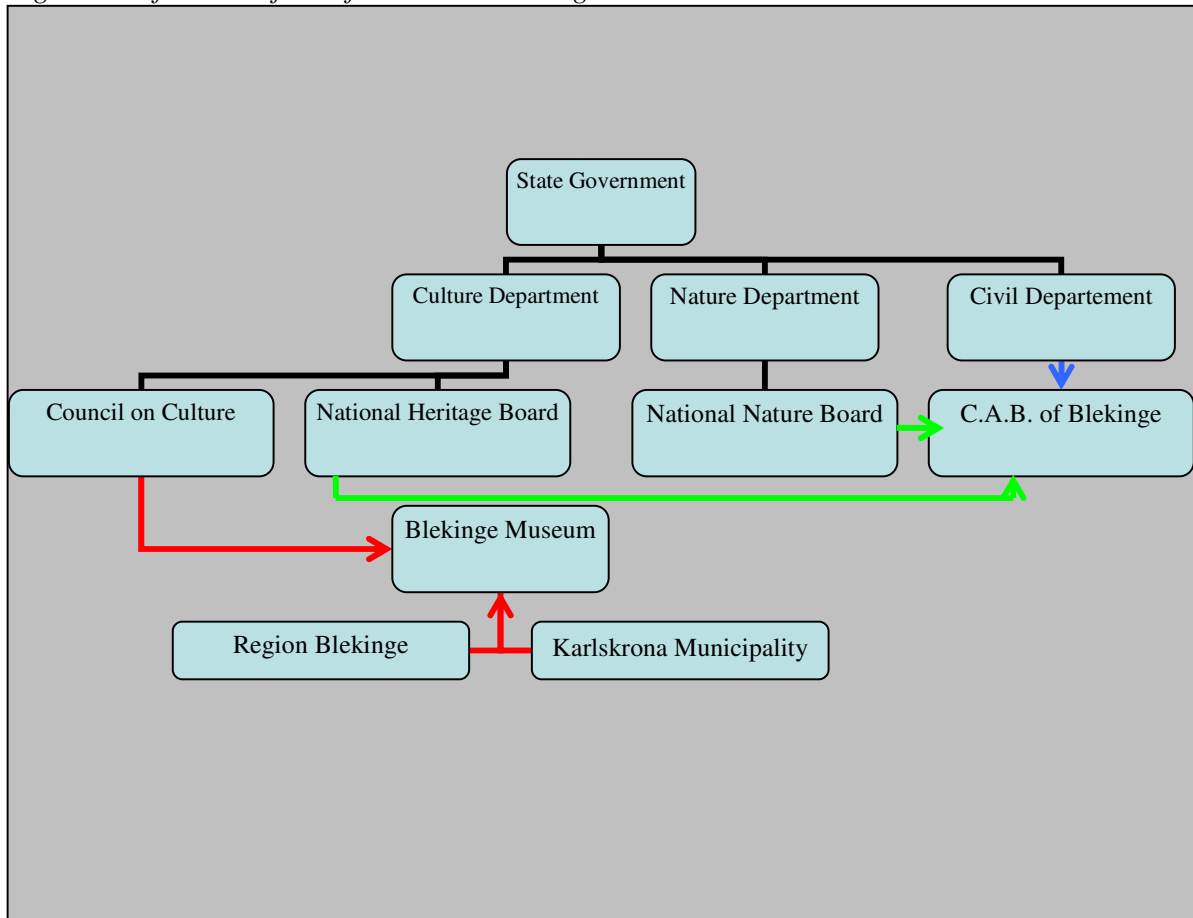
5.4 Regional level

After having examined the European / international and national level, this section will discuss the regional level. Firstly, three actors are discussed: County Administrative Boards, Provincial Museums and “Region-municipalities”. The goal(s), roles and instruments of these organizations are mentioned. For this section, the county of Blekinge is taken as example. There are slight organizational differences between counties, but in general the regional structure is the same all over Sweden. Secondly, the proposal of the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities mentioned in 5.3.2 is explained further. Finally, a conclusion is drawn on the position of the regional actors in Swedish heritage planning.

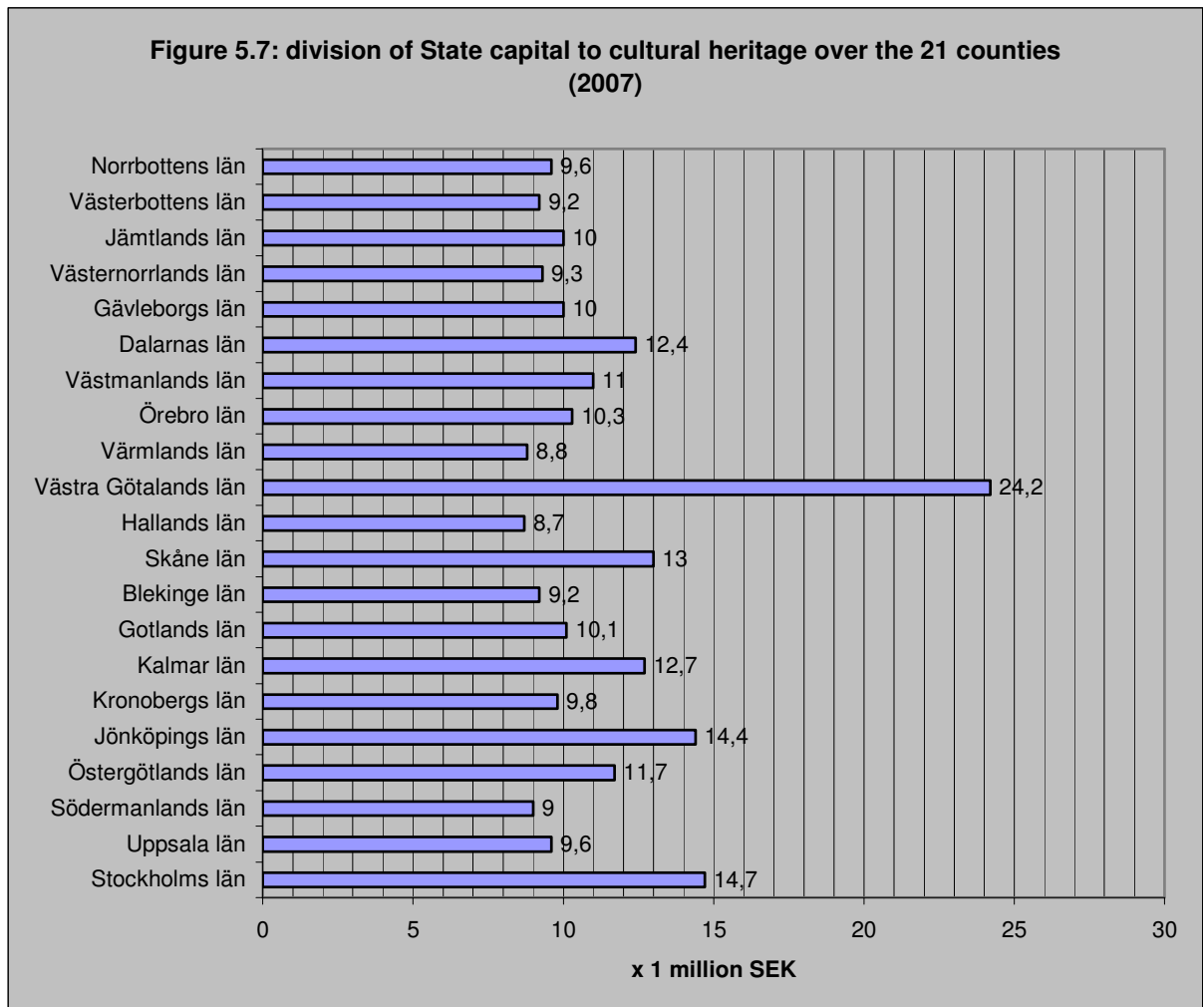
5.4.1 County Administrative Boards, Provincial Museums and “Region-municipalities”

In every county of Sweden there are two actors directly involved in heritage planning: the County Administrative Board and the Provincial Museum. There are 21 counties in Sweden. As stated in the foregoing section, a lot of tasks and responsibilities in cultural heritage are decentralized to the counties. The County Administrative Board controls the conservation of cultural heritage in its own county. It represents the interest of the state in cultural heritage and keeps an eye on the planning and building practices of the municipalities. The County Administrative Board is often denoted as being the “extended arm of the state”. In line with state policy on cultural heritage its objective is to place heritage planning in an overall strategy of sustainable development (Stenholm, 2007). Two important roles of the County Administrative Board can be distinguished: the role of supervisor / inspector and of conservator (RAÄ⁴, 2007). As supervisor / inspector the County Administrative Board checks that other actors handle the Cultural Heritage Act and Environmental Code in a correct way. The County Administrative Board is the regional court of justice. It can appeal against decisions made at municipal level. As conservator the County Administrative Board works with everyday practices of cultural heritage conservation. For the restoration and conservation practices the County Administrative Board receives a large sum of state money: the 28:26-subsidy. Figure 5.6 shows the financial flows between different actors in heritage planning. The green arrows are the financial flows from the National Heritage Board and National Nature Board to the County Administrative Board of Blekinge. The financial flows are respectively the 28:26-subsidy (in the framework of the Cultural Heritage Act) and a subsidy for cultural heritage and nature sites (in the framework of the Environmental Code). The blue arrow represents a financial flow from the Civil Department to the County Administrative Board. The Civil Department pays the labor forces and, for example, for the rental of working space (Stenholm, 2007). In figure 5.6 only actors of the county of Blekinge are included. Figure 5.7 shows the division of the 28:26-subsidy over the 21 counties Sweden. As mentioned in 5.3.1 the total sum for the County Administrative Boards is approximately SEK 229,4 million (€ 24,9 million) (RAÄ³, 2007) (RAÄ, 2005).

Figure 5.6: financial flows for cultural heritage between institutions



Source: Stenholm, 2007



Source: RAÄ³, 2007

In the role of conservator, the County Administrative Board is an expert organization on cultural heritage. Knowledge about conservation converges at the regional level. The National Heritage Board and municipalities do not add much knowledge to the conservation of cultural heritage. The National Heritage Board has outsourced its knowledge to the counties. Most of the municipalities do not have experts on cultural heritage in their organization. For example, none of the four municipalities of the county of Blekinge has got employs on specifically cultural heritage (RAÄ⁴, 2007) (Stenholm, 2007).

The ordinance on cultural heritage (1988: 1188), attached to the CHA of 1988, says explicitly that the County Administrative Board should work together with the Provincial Museums and other museums. The role of the Provincial Museum is threefold. Firstly, the County Administrative Board and municipalities of the relevant county can commission the Provincial Museum to carry out certain projects. In that case, the Provincial Museum is the executor of commissioned tasks / jobs. In return, the County Administrative Board or municipality compensates the project financially (T. Persson,

2007). The relationship between the Provincial Museum and the County Administrative Board or municipality is characterized by demand and supply. Just like the County Administrative Board, the Provincial Museum is an expert organ. Secondly, the Provincial Museum carries out inventories of relics of antiquity, archeological findings etc. Thirdly, the most important objective of the Provincial Museum is to bring cultural heritage alive. This includes doing pedagogic work, organizing cultural activities and arranging exhibitions. The Provincial Museum fulfils an important task in focusing on the immaterial part of cultural heritage and bringing cultural heritage to the public attention (T. Persson, 2007). As mentioned in 5.1, the Provincial Museum suffers from a lack of financial means. The red arrows in figure 5.6 show that financial subsidies to the Provincial Museum of Blekinge are flow in from at least three different directions: from the Council on Culture, the Region-municipality “Region Blekinge” and municipalities (Stenholm, 2007).

A third regional actor, relevant to heritage planning, is the Region-municipality. Not every county has a Region-municipality. A Region-municipality builds upon its members. The members included are the Municipal Governments relevant and “Landstinget”³. For the county of Blekinge, the Region-municipality is called “Region Blekinge”. The objective of Region Blekinge is regional development. Region Blekinge does projects together with other regions and takes part in, for example, infrastructural EU-projects. The organization works with culture in general, but not with cultural heritage. However, as 5.4.2 will explain, the Region-municipality can be an important actor in heritage planning in the future (L. Persson, 2007).

5.4.2 The proposal of the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities

The previous section introduced the research on the public organizational structure and the proposal of the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities. According to the proposal, the county of Blekinge will fuse with the counties of Kalmar, Skåne and Kronoberg. Also, the tasks and responsibilities for cultural heritage will be re-divided between the regional actors. The task of the County Administrative Board will be reduced to the role of supervisor / inspector. The role of supervisor / inspector should include having responsibility for the execution of the national legislation on cultural heritage and representing national interest in local planning. In the current situation the Region-municipality has no tasks in the field of heritage planning. The committee proposes that the Region-municipality will take the responsibility for the development of cultural heritage. So the County Administrative Board and Region-municipality will do law-related and development-related work respectively (CPSR, 2007). Section 5.1 mentioned some problems concerning the regional level. Firstly, there is the lack of a labor force and of financial means. Secondly, the National Heritage Board does not supply the Provincial Boards with specific knowledge anymore. Two positive points in the proposed reformation can be mentioned. Firstly, it will contribute to a more effective use of financial and legislative state resources (Karlsson, 2007). Secondly, bigger counties will

³ The “Landstinget” is a county board mainly concerned with health care. The members of the board are chosen by election. The Landstinget is the regional tax collector.

contribute to a strengthening of the knowledge network. Now, the county of Blekinge is too small to have knowledge about every part of cultural heritage. The negative side-effect of the proposed reformation is that the creation of bigger counties will result in a greater distance from the local scale and municipal level (Stenholm, 2007).

5.4.3 Conclusion

The most important actors at regional level, concerning cultural heritage, are the County Administrative Boards and Provincial Museums. The organization at the regional level will be confronted with an extensive re-formation if the proposal of the Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities gets through. Nowadays, the Region-municipalities do not directly work with cultural heritage. The Committee proposes an important role for the Region-municipalities in future heritage planning.

In the current situation, the actors have partly overlapping objectives, responsibilities and tasks. The County Administrative Boards mainly work with material heritage. Their overall objective is sustainable development. The main objective of the Provincial Museums is to bring cultural heritage alive and to the attention of the public. The Region-municipalities have an overall strategy, which is aiming for regional development.

The most important driving force and instrument at the regional level is the great expertise on conservation and planning of cultural heritage. The County Administrative Boards are, as extended arms of the state, the main decision-makers in Swedish heritage planning. Also, the County Administrative Boards have an important role in controlling other actors in the frameworks of the Cultural Heritage Act and Environmental Code. The Boards have, as the regional courts of justice, executive power of supervision. The Provincial Museums are prominent actors in bringing cultural heritage alive. They are also an important executive and advisory organ in heritage planning. However, the Provincial Museums lack financial means.

5.5 Local level

The last level being discussed in this research is the local level. The most important local actor is the municipal government. Firstly, the goals and instruments of the municipal government are discussed. The most important instrument in local planning is outlined further: the Planning and Building Act. Secondly, other local actors, which are relevant to heritage planning, are considered. Throughout the section, the municipality of Karlskrona is used as an example. Finally, a conclusion is drawn on locally-based planning-oriented actions for the preservation of cultural heritage.

5.5.1 Municipal government

The municipal government has the responsibility to take cultural heritage into consideration in the process of spatial planning. The fundamentals for spatial planning are written down in the Planning and Building Act (hereafter referred to in short as 'PBL'). The municipal government has the responsibility for the strict observance of the PBL (RAÄ⁴, 2007). The PBL prescribes rules on the municipal comprehensive plan ("översiktsplan"), the municipal zoning plan ("detaljplan") and the granting of permission for building and demolition. The comprehensive plan covers the whole municipality and is a judicially non-binding, strategic document. The zoning plan can only cover a part of the municipality and is judicially binding. It can cover a whole neighborhood, a group of buildings or even one single object. The zoning plan indicates what uses a location should and should not have (Notisum, 2007). In contrary to the Netherlands, in Sweden zoning plans do not have a time limit. In the Netherlands a zoning plan should be renewed at least once in a decennium. For example, current zoning plans of the municipality of Karlskrona date back to the 1960's and even 1930's (Rebel, 2007) (Helgesson, 2007). The value of cultural heritage is mentioned in the PBL. Firstly, the PBL states that "cultural values in the built environment" should be taken into consideration in spatial planning and exploitation. New buildings should form an entity with the already existing cultural and historical values of the place concerned (Notisum, 2007: 3 §10). Secondly, the PBL mentions that buildings which are particularly valuable from a historical or cultural-historical point of view should not be demolished (Notisum, 2007: 3 § 12). A more concrete practice in the preservation of cultural heritage at municipal level is 'K-marking' or 'Q-marking'. This marking system is not included in the PBL, but it is used in different forms by municipalities all around Sweden. For example, Karlskrona distinguishes between big Q's for sites and little q's for buildings, while Stockholm distinguishes between blue, yellow and green municipal monuments. The marking system is used for pointing out municipal monuments of cultural-historical value in the zoning plan (Paues von Arnold, 2007).

When it comes to expertise, the National Building Board verified in a recent report that two out of three municipalities of Sweden do not have expertise on cultural heritage (Boverket, 2007). None of the four municipalities of Blekinge has an antiquarian in the organization. Not even the World Heritage municipality of Karlskrona has an expert on

cultural heritage (Stenholm, 2007). Also, it was pointed out by most of the persons interviewed that the municipal government of Karlskrona shows a lack of vision on how to deal with its cultural heritage.

From a political point of view the local level is a melting pot. The policy of the municipal government is driven by the current political agenda. The goals of the municipal government differ per municipality, governing period and color of the governing coalition.

5.5.2 Other local actors

As stated by the Cultural Heritage Act, the responsibility for cultural heritage is shared by everyone in society. In 1996 some changes were made in the PBL. Firstly, the place of cultural heritage in spatial planning was strengthened. Cultural values were given stricter requirements. Secondly, civil influence gained in importance. The reason was to open up the possibilities for citizens to take part in the spatial planning process. One of the central roles of the municipal government in the planning process should be to offer information, advice and a dialogue to the public. In this way, cultural heritage can be a resource at the beginning, instead of being a burden at the end of the planning process (Persson & Westerlind, 2000). Box 2 gives an example of the local level as a melting pot for different actors and interests. Also, the example gives insight into what influence decision-oriented actions of the municipal government have on the planning process.

Box 2: Karlskrona & the hotel story

Only some minutes' walking distance from the inner-city and near the water-side, there is the former location of a gas factory. The gas factory was removed in the 1970's, but the location is still known as "Gasverkstomten". After the removal, the ground was left behind, poisoned. With the car as an upcoming transport medium, the location was destined to be a parking lot. In 1993, the municipal government of Karlskrona raised the idea of building a hotel on Gasverkstomten. For some years, no action was undertaken, but at the end of the 1990's, the idea was close to being realized. Provobis Hotel was given the right to start building. The decisions of the municipal government to build the hotel on Gasverkstomten led to hard criticism of the National Building Board, the local citizens and the local interest association "Gamla Carlskrona". The main argument was that the architectural style of the proposed hotel was unworthy for the beautiful location. In addition to the criticism, the tourism industry fell into an economic depression in the first years of the new millennium. The hotel concerned stepped out of the project. Soon, the municipal government found a new hotel company: Elite Hotel. The project started all over again (BLT, 2005¹). The main argument of the municipal government is that a new hotel will contribute to economic development (BLT, 2005²). The municipal government gave Elite Hotel permission to build. Again, this decision led to hard criticism among the local population. The main figures of the opposition were assembled in the informal local interest group "network for sustainable city development". The network collected 3.000 signatures from the local population and 300 citizens

demonstrated on the street (which is unusual in Sweden for a city with 64.000 citizens). The opposition was not against the hotel itself, but against locating the hotel at Gasverkstomten. A referendum was requested and alternative locations were proposed, but all of this was ignored by the municipal government (Helgesson, 2007) (Rebel, 2007). An appeal against the decision of the municipal government was made in 2006. The regional court of justice decided that the building permission for the hotel is in violation with the zoning plan. The proportions of the building proposed exceed the heights and widths allowed. Also, the County Administrative Board stated that the building proposed does not fit in the cultural environment. Recently, the advocates for the hotel project appealed against the decision of the regional court of justice (BLT, 2007). Will the hotel story continue at the State Court of Justice? And this while a renewal of the outdated zoning plan or a renewal of the drawings of the hotel building would surely have been a more natural decision!

The example in box 2 mentioned some other local actors. Firstly, the local population was mentioned. Secondly, two local interest groups passed the revue: the formal association “Gamla Karlskrona” and the informal “network for sustainable development”. In addition, three private companies were mentioned: the architect company and two hotel companies. The example shows the diversity of actors and interests involved at local level.

5.5.3 Conclusion

The municipal government lacks experience and overall vision about cultural heritage. For knowledge about cultural heritage the municipal government depends on other actors. These actors are often to be found at regional level. The PBL is the most important judicial instrument at local level. The PBL is not an act in favor of conservation or heritage planning, but rather a framework containing rules for exploitation, planning, building and demolishing. The implementation of cultural heritage at the local level depends on political will and public interest. The municipal government follows its own political agenda. The priorities in the political agenda differ per municipality, governing period, and color of the dominant political parties. The goal-oriented action of the municipal government is characterized by shifting goals. Because of the diversity of actors and interests, it is essential to have a dialogue about cultural heritage at the local level. The example of the hotel plans in Karlskrona shows the importance for the municipal government of choosing the most suitable planning process. The planning approach in the municipality of Karlskrona is a way of ‘advocacy-planning’. In advocacy-planning opposing ideas and interests are being fought out against each other; the planner takes the role of advocate for a certain interest. The complexity of cultural heritage issues is most obvious at the local level, because a diversity of actors and interests is involved. This requires an inter-subjective role of the municipal government. A communicative-rational approach is more suitable to local cultural heritage related problems than a technical-rational approach. The hierarchical top-down approach and approach of advocacy-planning of the municipality of Karlskrona did not match the complexity of the hotel issue.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and discussion on Swedish heritage planning

Chapter 3 provided a theoretical background to this research by defining terms of cultural heritage and introducing the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action. Chapter 4 gave a context to the preservation of Swedish heritage. Firstly, the history of heritage planning in Sweden was given. Secondly, different categories of Swedish monuments were outlined. Thirdly, the cultural heritage of Sweden was compared to other EU countries. Chapter 5 was based on the sub-questions of this research. In-depth interviews were used as a main information source for answering these sub-questions.

This chapter aims to draw conclusions from the foregoing chapters. In chapter 5 the four governmental levels were separated, in this chapter they will be combined to answer the main question of this research: “how are different governmental levels in Sweden tackling contemporary problems of heritage planning according to a theoretical framework for planning-oriented action?” Firstly, this chapter will draw a conclusion on contemporary problems of heritage planning in Sweden. Secondly, a conclusion will be drawn on the different actors involved, their roles, their goals and their planning instruments. The second section of this chapter will mention four discussion points, based upon this research on Swedish heritage planning. Also, some recommendations on (Swedish) heritage planning will be made.

6.1: Conclusion

There is a gap between theory and practice or between literature and reality: the problems mentioned by the persons interviewed gave a partly different picture to the problems mentioned in literature on cultural heritage. Many of the persons interviewed mentioned organizational problems of heritage planning in Sweden. Those problems were merely related to a lack of overall vision and expertise at both national and local level, a lack of financial and labour resources at regional level and the problem of sectorization. Also, the threats of commercialization and modernization to Swedish cultural heritage were mentioned several times. Beside differences, there were also problems similar between theory and practice: the problems of re-use of cultural heritage and costs of conservation. For Sweden, those two problems especially concern churches and industrial complexes.

The three sub-questions derived from the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action reveal how different governmental levels and actors involved are dealing with contemporary heritage planning. Table 6.1 gives a short summary of who are involved, what their goals are and how decisions are made per governmental level.

	Who?	What?	How?
European level	Intergovernmental (EU, Council of Europe, UNESCO) and non-governmental (Europa Nostra, ICOMOS) organizations	Cultural heritage as part of multiple objectives (EU, Council of Europe) and as single fixed goal (Europa Nostra, ICOMOS, UNESCO)	Consensus planning
National level	National Heritage Board and state government	Accessibility and sustainability of cultural heritage	Outsourcing and supervision
Regional level	County Administrative Boards, county museums and 'Region-municipalities'	Overall strategies of sustainable development, bringing cultural heritage alive and regional development	Expertise planning
Local level	Municipal government, private companies, local population and local interest groups	Goals shift per governing period and political agenda	Advocacy planning

Table 6.1: Summary of who, what and how per governmental level

In practice, three arenas of heritage planning can be distinguished for Sweden: a global, a national-regional and a local.

- ❖ The global arena is characterized by consensus planning. Decisions and actions on cultural heritage are shared by member countries. Responsibility for cultural heritage goes beyond national interests. Heritages of outstanding value for mankind are selected (World Heritage List) and heritages in danger receive international help.
- ❖ The national-regional arena is the most prominent arena for heritage planning in Sweden. The state government and National Heritage Board coordinate and facilitate Swedish heritage planning. The everyday practices of heritage planning are executed by the extended arms of the state: the counties. Knowledge about heritage planning is concentrated on the regional level. The counties are the main decision makers in heritage planning.
- ❖ The local arena is a melting pot of different actors and interests. At the local level heritage planning is part of spatial planning. Cultural heritage is coming alive and receiving public interest in the local arena. The local political agenda and public dialogue influence heritage planning strongly. The diversity of actors and interests is creating a political arena in which opposing ideas and advocacy planning are central.

It is difficult to place the practice of heritage planning in the theoretical framework for planning-oriented action: a lot of actors are involved and their roles, their tasks, their instruments and their goals overlap. Often, one single actor covers multiple roles. The theoretical framework for planning-oriented action states that the degree of complexity of a planning issue can give an answer on what planning approach probably suits best. All governmental levels are confronted with complex or very complex problems of heritage planning. It is difficult to argue that the degree of complexity of heritage problems differs between governmental levels. The different governmental levels are confronted with different complex problems. What level and what planning approach are most suitable for solving the problem differ per problem. The next section will match different problems of heritage planning to governmental levels and make recommendations.

6.2: Discussion & recommendations

A first point of discussion is the problem of the rising costs of conservation. The conservation of churches, industrial complexes and the storage of relics of antiquity in museums are examples of this. Currently, the state subsidizes a large amount of the costs. 49% of the total expense for cultural heritage in 2004 was paid by the state. As costs are rising, the state will try to hand over costs to private financiers. Public-private partnership will become more necessary in the field of heritage planning (Hall-Roth, 2007). Chapter 4 showed the undervalued position of monumental buildings in Sweden. When it comes to the costs of conservation for private individuals it is an idea to introduce tax-deductibility in Swedish heritage planning. This is a system in which it is possible to deduct costs for restoration and conservation activities from taxes. Other countries have already experimented with this system. In the case of Sweden, it could stimulate the conservation of privately owned monumental buildings (Pauers von Arnold, 2007).

A second point of discussion is the re-organization necessary in heritage planning. The organizational problems mentioned by the persons interviewed have been given in section 6.1. The Committee on Public Sector Responsibilities presented its research results to the state government this year. The proposal of the Committee includes a reduction in the number of counties, the redistribution of tasks and responsibilities and the stimulation of inter-sectoral, territory-based planning methods. The advantages outnumber the disadvantages of the proposal. Firstly, larger counties will better match the regions of the regional policy of the EU. Nowadays, the EU has a notable influence on Swedish heritage planning. The Region-municipalities could take a more important role in combining heritage planning and regional development. Secondly, the County Administrative Boards and Provincial Museums have a lack of labour and financial resources. Also, the counties are not big enough to have expertise in every area of heritage planning. Bigger counties will have more resources and stimulate information exchange. Finally, the regional level is suitable for acts of heritage planning. Greater regions will be able to have an overall vision on large parts of Sweden. A greater distance from local level could be a disadvantage of greater regions. The local embedment of the expertise-driven County Administrative Boards and Provincial Museums is a strength and should not be lost.

A third point of discussion is the Swedish Planning and Building Act (PBL). The PBL should be revised. Of course, the PBL is not a special legislative framework for conservation policies, but it is also insufficient as a framework for town development / planning. Firstly, it does not offer tools for municipal governments to deal with cultural heritage: the principle of pointing out objects or sites of cultural-historical value at the municipal level, K-marking or Q-marking, is not formally recognized and supported. Secondly, the PBL is not strict in forcing municipal governments to up-date their zoning plans regularly. It should not be possible to have zoning plans dating back several decennia. The zoning plan is the only judicially binding spatial plan. As such, it should be up-dated regularly. Thirdly, the PBL does not support municipal governments in their role. As outlined before, the municipal government of Karlskrona had a lack of expertise and overall vision. Surely, Karlskrona is not the only municipality confronted with this problem. Only two out of three municipalities of Sweden employ an antiquarian in their organization. The municipal government is characterized by political fluctuations; goals and priorities differ per governing period. The degree of complexity of problems of heritage planning is most evident and highest at the local level. The municipal government should have a more communicative-rational planning approach than the regional and national level. Because of this, the PBL should stimulate the municipal government in its role of leader of a local dialogue.

A final point of discussion is cultural heritage at the supranational level. The principle that cultural heritage does not stop at national boundaries has only been recognized for some decennia. There is a wide variety of definitions and categorizations of cultural heritage and its conservation. The comparison between countries is problematic, because of a lack of uniform indicators. Maybe the wide variety of definitions and categorizations is stimulating diversity in cultural heritage. On the other hand, a universal framework for cultural heritage could lead to cultural heritage being a greater factor in overall policies. Like the comparison between countries, the comparison between counties in Sweden is also difficult. Examples of the lack of a total image are the central registers on monuments: the Building Register and the Ancient Monuments Information System (FMIS). For years now, the National Heritage Board has had big plans with the registers, but they still are not totally up-to-date. The registers are also not suitable for the analysis of heritage planning and monuments throughout Sweden.

The question “*whose heritage?*” has become even more interesting and complex with the acceptance of heritage planning in the global arena. Nowadays, the conservation of cultural heritage is occurring on all possible scales. Problems of Swedish cultural heritage are scale-dependent. Hopefully, the municipal government will move towards a more communicative approach in which dialogue has a central position. The legislation of Sweden should be revised to facilitate the inter-subjective approach in the local arena. The national-regional arena is the arena with great expertise and an overall vision. Cultural heritage should increasingly be taken up in overall strategies of regional development, sustainable development and marketing plans, but a re-organization in the national-regional arena is needed.

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