

The Swedish Apparatus of Contract Archaeology and Its Entanglement with Society

Matthew Nelson 

The Swedish system for contract archaeology (CA) has witnessed several changes in recent decades. A market-oriented approach to CA has emerged alongside new demands in cultural heritage legislation which include policies to produce knowledge that is relevant to society and aims to increase public participation. Despite adapting to these new conditions, critics have claimed that Swedish CA is still inefficient in its present form. This includes deficiencies in the relationships between the official parties involved, and with actors and stakeholders outside the system. There is also a discrepancy between democratic ideals and practice when it comes to the new heritage goals on inclusion. In this paper I examine the Swedish CA system and its three main parties. Anchored in theoretical perspectives from critical heritage studies, I use the concept of ‘apparatus’ to analyse CA in light of recent changes and tensions. Ultimately, I argue that the role and boundaries of the current system should be explicated and broadened, taking into account the conditions of local contexts, interests and the needs of communities. An active stance for a more dialogical and inclusive nature of communication is needed to diminish the risk for dissonance, conflict and negative impacts while creating conditions for positive outcomes and values in society.

Keywords: contract archaeology, apparatus, system, programmes, entanglement, society, public, dissemination

Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård & Linnaeus University, Department of Cultural Sciences, GRASCA
mats.nelson@kmmmd.se

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons 4.0 International licence (CC BY 4.0) (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Introduction

The last few decades have witnessed significant changes and new goals in Swedish contract archaeology (CA), which, on the one hand, has become more guided by the market, where projects are increasingly run by contract archaeologists from the private sector who adhere to the demands for cost efficiency. On the other hand, there are growing requests that new archaeological knowledge should be relevant and made accessible to a wider part of society, and that the CA process should benefit and contribute to its development. As a contract archaeologist I have experienced the tension between these goals first hand, and as a researcher I see a need for an updated analysis of the Swedish CA system in light of new cultural heritage directives and policies.

In this paper I will examine the Swedish CA system through the lens of critical heritage studies (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013). In particular, I draw on Rodney Harrison's (2013:3–7, 227–231) application of the Foucauldian concept 'apparatus', a governing tool that in this case produces heritage and history through a professionalized and authoritarian system, and Laura-jane Smith's (2006) concept of 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD). In most cases, Swedish CA conducts its business among three major parties: the government agency in the form of the County Administrative Board, the developer and the archaeological contractor. The foundation and ideological framework for the CA system has traditionally been built upon the balance between economic and scientific values and benefits, according to the 'polluter pays' principle where developers finance the costs for removing heritage sites (Carman 2018:13–14). In the last decade changes have been made in the Swedish cultural heritage legislation (SFS 1988:950), resulting in a shift in focus where the scientific documentation of a removed site is no longer a goal in itself, but a means to producing relevant knowledge for society (SFS 2013:548; KRFS 2015:1, Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015). There have also been new directives in cultural heritage management, with the aim that all citizens should have a claim on national heritage (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016:10). This has created a shift in target groups for archaeological results, calling on more participation by people outside the CA system. Furthermore, the CA apparatus has been criticised for being too rigid and sluggish, with deficiencies both in the relationships between the parties within the system and with actors and stakeholders outside (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022).

Previous research has pointed to the discrepancy between the system and the new heritage goals, calling for less hierarchy and a more horizontal organization that includes larger parts of society (Gruber 2010; Arnberg & Gruber 2014). Taking this critique and the identified discrepancies as its

starting point, this article provides an updated analysis of the CA system in Sweden through a perspective informed by critical heritage theory. This is done by studying and evaluating the positions, goals and functionality of the major parties in the tripartite structure which constitutes the CA apparatus, comparing these to current governmental policies and agendas as well as assessing the role of CA in Swedish society, laying out a vision for the way forward. Analysing the internal structures for heritage-governing processes in Sweden may also serve as a complement to international and Scandinavian research focusing on the intersection between archaeology and modern states, both in terms of CA systems and in reproducing national narratives (Plets 2016; Carman 2018; Roland 2018).

In order to assess the situation for the Swedish CA system and how it relates to the new directives and policies in cultural heritage, I will start with analysing the apparatus of CA. My research questions here are:

1. How does the CA apparatus function as an instrument within the larger cultural heritage management system in Sweden?
2. What are the relationships between the main parties within the system?
3. What forms do relationships with the rest of society take, and how well is the apparatus adapted to new goals and demands?

I then move on to reviewing the three main parties within the apparatus of CA. My questions here are:

1. What are the values and goals set by The Swedish National Heritage Board (NHB) and emphasized in the programmes of each of the three main parties?
2. How well do the programmes address challenges in cooperation within the apparatus and with stakeholders outside the system?
3. To what degree is public participation addressed?
4. How well do the programmes adhere to changing cultural heritage goals and demands from society?
5. How can problems within and outside the CA system be solved?

In order to answer these questions, my analysis will first establish the structure, background and evolution of the CA apparatus and its relationship with society, using previous studies and research. I will then compare this against the current goals and directives for Swedish cultural heritage management, looking for deviations and discrepancies. In the second part I deconstruct the apparatus by conducting an analysis of the representative actors for the three main parties, examining their programmes to understand their values, goals and positions. Also, I review critical research studies and projects on the CA system. The second analysis is made in the light of a recent survey conducted by The Swedish National Heritage Board

(*Riksantikvarieämbetet*, hereinafter NHB) in 2022, addressing problems and deficiencies in the CA system (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022). I then continue to discuss the Swedish CA system based on views on the heritage-making process, its entanglement with society, and how changes in the structures of CA could make the process more fluid as well as create better conditions for a wider public participation. This discussion also takes into account CA systems in other European countries, especially Scandinavia.

The Swedish contract archaeology system and process

The cultural environmental legislation and policies that control the CA system form one of the tools, or apparatuses, used by the state to legitimize its power over the citizens, controlling the narrative creations of the past (Arnberg & Gruber 2014:161). Archaeological heritage is protected by Swedish law, in the Historic Environment Act or *Kulturmiljölagen* (SFS 1988:950), and excavations are only granted in certain circumstances, on the condition that knowledge is generated. The legislation advocates that any removal of archaeological sites is to be financed by the developer according to the polluter-pay principle (Gruber 2009:125; Andersson et al. 2010:14). The archaeological investigation is conducted by various actors in the market which are either private institutions or part of a state or regional museum. Economic incentives in development currently drive which archaeological sites are explored, and these are therefore a determining factor for new discoveries. In 2020, CA accumulated 1296 projects with a total budget of 267,7 million SEK (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2021). Around 90 per cent of all archaeology is conducted through CA, which therefore plays a major part in retrieving information from archaeological sites that, when used for research, can generate new knowledge (Andersson et al. 2010:19; Myndigheten för kulturanalys 2016:58).

The Swedish CA system, presented in a model (Figure 1), is based on the established view of a tripartite relationship, a power triangle, in which the actors involved have different roles and responsibilities. This relationship consists of the government agency in the cultural heritage sector, the developers and the archaeological contractors (Arnberg & Gruber 2014:163; Gruber 2017; Smits 2022:74–77). The government agency is represented by both the NHB and the County Administrative Boards (*Länsstyrelsen*, or CABs), the regional decision-making authorities. The NHB provides rules and guidelines for CA and monitors how the CABs implement these. While the NHB in theory holds a central position of power, the process of the everyday archaeological project is conducted outside its domain. The

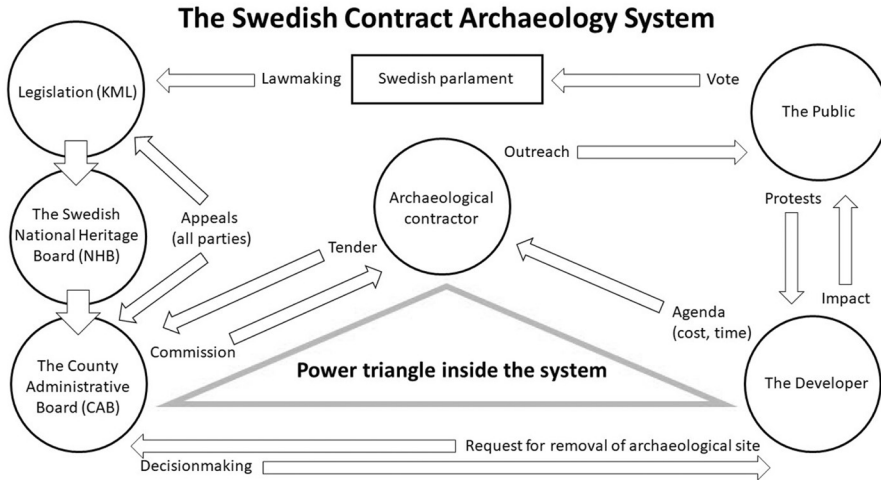


Figure 1. The Swedish contract archaeological system and the power triangle. At the top, the lawmakers, elected by the public, form the legislation for cultural heritage management (KML), which in turn is interpreted and regulated by The Swedish National Heritage Board (NHB). Policies instruct the CABs, which have the decision making and commissioning role. The developer requests the removal of the archaeological site and finances the excavation. The archaeological contractor is commissioned to undertake the project by the CAB, often through a tender process. The projects often include dissemination of information to the public. Model by author.

CAB has the main responsibility to uphold legislation and policies when assessing and granting permission for development as well as commissioning archaeological excavations. In this comes a great responsibility for setting the balance between preservation and development and establishing the conditions for excavations. These must ensure good scientific quality but also cost efficiency for the credibility of the CA system to be maintained (Andersson et al. 2010:18; KRFS 2015:1). The developer, for instance the Swedish Transport Administration (*Trafikverket*, or STA), is in turn responsible for the excavation cost conducted by the third party, the archaeological contractor, who relies on archaeological investigations as their main source of revenue.

Adaptations to a market have forced archaeological contractors to become more professional and cost-effective, which has also made the CA process very goal orientated (Gruber 2009:112; Andersson et al. 2010:13–16). This has also led to more pressure on both administrators and professionals who always feel they are lacking in resources (Gruber 2021:36; Gunnarsson 2022:72, 109; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:6). This current situation has sparked debates concerning the quality of CA, as well as work conditions, and also on how far the responsibilities of the developers to

fund archaeology should extend, causing tensions between the three parties. More collaboration is therefore vital, especially at an early stage, where the outcome of CA projects is to a great extent determined by the degree of cooperation between the parties (Andersson et al. 2010:25).

In Sweden, the NHB and their previous CA-branch *Undersökningsverksamheten* (UV) dominated the market and set the norms for the development of CA up to a couple of decades ago (Pettersson 2005:86). The deregulation of the CA system has continued to uphold a closed and hierarchic structure consisting of authorities and archaeologists that define which part of material features are prioritized for representing the past as well as deciding methods for collecting, interpreting and presenting the results. Society's trust in expertise allows archaeologists to formulate narratives about the past and directives for how the common heritage should be perceived (Gruber 2010:273; Arnberg & Gruber 2014:160). Traditionally archaeologists have regarded the purpose of their work as providing new knowledge and understanding about the past that can be used for further scientific analysis and research by academia (Vander Linden & Webley 2012:1–10).

A changing relationship towards society

The relationship between archaeology and wider society has grown and changed, in theory cemented through new official rhetoric, legislation and policymaking regarding Swedish heritage (Gruber 2017). The law on cultural heritage was partially rewritten in 2014 (SFS 2013:548), shifting the goals for cultural heritage work from the traditional aims formulated by the sector to instead be incorporated into wider national political and environmental goals (Högberg et al. 2021:8–9). These formulate the rights for all Swedish citizens to share access to, and responsibility for, national heritage, and state that knowledge produced through CA should be relevant to society. CA projects must now include a great emphasis on dissemination and public participation, and this can be financed as part of the developers' expenses for the removal of archaeological sites. The purpose of the new legislation is to shift the focus from the interdisciplinary scientific community, and to include target groups outside the CA system, being part of social meaning-making processes that create many forms of social values and narratives (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012; Arnberg & Gruber 2014:158; Gill 2021). The vision for the new cultural heritage goals, Vision 2030, states the aim that 'all citizens, regardless of background, feel that they have a claim in Swedish heritage' (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016:8; Gruber 2017). The CAB, as the decision-making authority for most CA projects, has a

key role in making sure that these goals are applied, rewarding tenders that include qualitative and meaningful dissemination to, and participation of, the public (Andersson et al. 2010:19).

There is, however, a broad discrepancy between the wider national goals and the narrower guidelines for CA (Dutra-Leivas 2020:44–48, 145–146; Högberg et al. 2021:9). It is today usually only larger excavations that include public dissemination, where the public is generally seen as passive receivers of the knowledge which the archaeologists produce and which is transmitted through one-way communication, for instance guided tours, exhibitions, websites and lectures (Arnberg & Gruber 2014:160–161; Gruber 2017). The lack of evaluations or feedback in most projects makes it unclear whether the knowledge produced is relevant for society and therefore fulfilling the new cultural heritage goals and directives. There are several studies in Sweden which have been looking at the relationships between CA and the public, for instance in the large-scale infrastructure projects of *Motala* (Arnberg & Gruber 2014) and *Slättbygdsprojektet* (Andersson 2005; Gruber 2010) in the county of Östergötland. It has been shown that there are often difficulties, if not outright resistance, to implementing many of the changes in public work that are now being called on by the new legislation and directives. There is foremost a need for acknowledging a more complex view on actors and stakeholders outside the apparatus. For instance, the term ‘general public’ is problematic in that it conceals variation and makes it more difficult to define target groups that have different needs and interests (Arnberg & Gruber 2014:167–169).

First analysis: Swedish contract archaeology as an apparatus

In order to critically examine the CA system in Sweden and its connection to society, it is necessary to understand the governmental structure and the legislation that protects it, the role of the practice for Swedish heritage and history making, and the relationships of the main parties to each other and to the public. In this analysis I view heritage as an ‘assemblage’ of mixed social and material collectives (Harrison 2013, after Deleuze & Guattari 2004; DeLanda 2006). To follow the relationship between heritage and governmentality, I apply the term ‘apparatus’. Drawing on Michel Foucault, Harrison (2013:34–35) argues that the term can improve our understanding of how methods, devices or infrastructure give authorities the means to control behaviour in specific ways. Using this view on the ‘apparatus’, we can deconstruct the CA system and assess the relationships between the com-

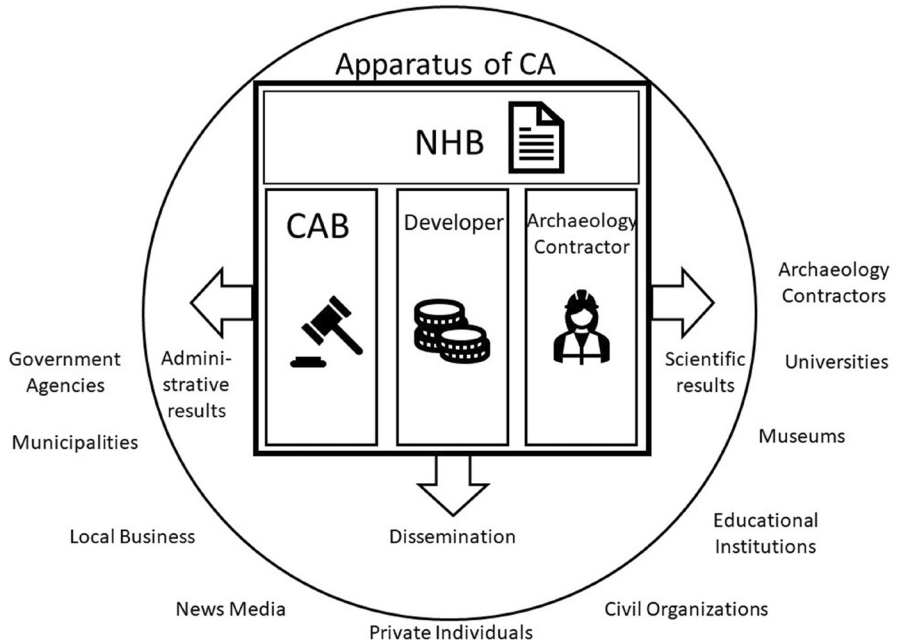


Figure 2. The Apparatus of Swedish contract archaeology and its relationship with society. At the top is The Swedish National Heritage Board (NHB). The NHB regulates the system, but does not usually take an active part in projects. Below are the three main parties in contract archaeology: the County Administrative Board (CAB), the developer and the archaeology contractor. The apparatus produces administrative results (mainly for government agencies); scientific results (ideally for universities, educational institutions, museums and other archaeological contractors); and dissemination to the public and news media. Model by author, after figure in Arnberg and Gruber (2014:168).

prising parts, and how the apparatus relates to the state, heritage-making and society at large. A model of this CA apparatus is presented in Figure 2.

Michel Foucault has demonstrated how in society apparatuses aim to create bodies that assume their identity and their position as subjects in the very process of their desubjectification (Agamben 2009:1–24). This is achieved through a series of set practices, discourses and bodies of knowledge. The apparatus is a device that produces subjectifications, and as such it is also a tool of governance. Societies, through the use of apparatuses, present themselves as inert bodies going through massive processes of desubjectification without acknowledging any real subjectification. Giorgio Agamben (2009) interprets this as something that is done through the *oikonomia*, the set of practices, professions, measures and institutions that aim to manage, govern, control and orient the behaviours, gestures and thoughts of human beings. This *oikonomia* obscures the politics which presupposes

the existence of subjects and set identities, for instance ‘the experts’ and ‘the public’, and it also creates government activities that aim only at its own replication (Agamben 2009:8–10, 22–24). This reasoning resonates with the critique of the heritage-making process by Laurajane Smith, who argues that it is dominated by an authorised heritage discourse (AHD), which lists and defines heritage in narrow and specific ways specific to Western European traditions of heritage (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013:117). This leads to power relations where cultural capital is held by authorities and professionals, while the public is generally regarded as the passive receiver of generated and disseminated narratives. According to these views CA could be considered an apparatus of heritage making, where the archaeological narratives become a mechanism in the story-making of the state.

Previous studies have shown that the Swedish CA system and apparatus in many respects is formalized, hierarchal and highly traditional in its role as a state-controlled machine producing a national narrative on Swedish heritage and history. There has also been a lack of coordination and cooperation between the different authorities, actors and stakeholders within and outside the apparatus where the main parties carry a silo mentality. Ingrained methods and routines in the sector are difficult to change, the rigor is often greatest where the institutions are strongest (Pettersson 2003:148; Pettersson 2005:81, 95; Svanberg & Wahlgren 2007:25–28; Holtorf 2007:108, 113; Andersson et al. 2010:23–27; Gruber 2010:281). There are clear defects in the CA system and its apparatus that aggravate these problems. Actors have differing goals, interests, working methods and understandings of each other, which means that they can easily end up in conflict. There are boundaries between processes and sectors, legal inequalities and deficient knowledge in how other sectors of society work. This hinders co-working and joint actions on common goals as well as transmittance of ideas and perceptions, something that may cause dissonance and friction between different views and values (Wigert 2018:46–49). The push towards a neoliberal market orientation and competition in Swedish CA has been blamed for leading to low profitability for contract archaeologists, also affecting investments in competence, research and method development. This has in turn led to an increased gap between the various CA actors and scientific institutions, creating a lack of dynamic research atmosphere. The archaeological results also tend to become very fragmented because they are often published only in reports that relate to single separate investigations (Andersson et al. 2010:26). In response to these problems there have, on the one hand, been calls for a more centralized administration of CA (Pettersson & Ytterberg 2009), and on the other, a more horizontal system that acknowledges and permits greater freedom for action outside the frameworks and conventions (Aronsson 2004:46–55). In line with Gruber (2010:272–274),

I would argue that there is need for a shift in the current system of values, with better adaptation and negotiation adhering to the pressing issues and needs of society. A horizontal system has greater potential when it comes to such responsiveness.

It is important to note, however, that a sluggish and rigid apparatus can serve as a break for resisting rapid changes based on hasty and unreflexive decision making. The latter could threaten to undo previous investments and risk commitments for the future. Such dangers have especial bearing for local politics where the regulatory instruments are in the hands of fewer elected representatives. For instance, populist politicians can more easily hijack nostalgic heritage narratives to support their anti-immigration agendas (Niklasson & Hølleland 2018:138), and market-orientated political forces can drain the resources for archaeology, preventing the production of meaningful and qualitative knowledge. There are therefore legitimate considerations for a continuation of a strong professionalized control of cultural heritage management and a cautious approach to vigorous reforms (Pettersson 2003:153; Gruber 2009:114; González-Rubial et al. 2018; Smits 2022:208).

To sum up the first analysis, my claim is that:

- The apparatus of Swedish CA is an instrument for heritage-making, producing professionalized narratives (authorised heritage discourses) about the past for the story-making of the state. The CA apparatus, funded by development projects through the polluter-pay principle, is a major driving force for producing new knowledge about archaeological sites in Sweden.
- The apparatus is strictly formalized and hierarchical with a silo mentality, and consists of three main parties (the CABs, the developers, and the archaeological contractors), which together make up a power triangle but with diverging goals and interests that can result in tensions. This is supervised and regulated by legislation and the NHB through policies and directives. The knowledge, communication, understanding and collaboration among the three parties has been found wanting, calling for a more horizontal system that also interacts more with the wider public. An established and autonomous apparatus may, however, counteract political fluctuations and detrimental agendas in society.
- The market orientation of Swedish CA has produced a goal-orientated and slimmed-down system where the lack of administrative and operational resources for archaeological projects is evident. This has also meant that CA results have become very fragmented, created a gap with respect to scientific institutions and has impacted investments in competence, research and method development.

- Although connections with society have been growing, mainly through the forms of one-way dissemination, there is still a large discrepancy between the goals and actual practice. Also, there is a growing governmental demand for producing knowledge which is meaningful and relevant for society, a larger inclusion of communities and for defining target groups.

We have now looked at the Swedish CA apparatus and its mechanisms for creating heritage, viewed its position in society and studied the relationships between parties, actors and stakeholders within and outside the system. Also, we have addressed problems and deficiencies noted within the apparatus as well as in compliance with new cultural heritage goals. We will now move on to the second analysis and scrutinize the programmes of the three major parties within the apparatus.

Second analysis: The three main parties in the apparatus of contract archaeology

I have analysed the programmes for one representative each of the three main parties, i.e. the CABs, the developers and the archaeological contractors. This has been done in order to understand their different values, goals and relationships between each other, outside stakeholders and the public. Furthermore, I evaluate how well the programmes comply to cultural heritage goals and directives, as well as meeting the new demands from society. Another aim of the analysis is to find solutions for solving problems with the apparatus, presenting suggestions for a better relationship with the rest of society and wider public participation.

The choice of region and actors for representing the three parties within the CA apparatus was based on a case study for a major CA project in Hjulsta in northern Stockholm, conducted in 2016 (Nelson 2023). These representatives consist of the CAB of Stockholm, the STA and the archaeological contractor *Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård*. It should here be noted that the analysed programmes are all of different character, have different agendas and were produced with varying purposes and conditions, spanning over almost a full decade between the programmes of the two latter parties. An important instrument for my assessment is the recent NHB survey and analysis of the CA system and development requirements *Uppdragsarkeologi – nuläge och utvecklingsbehov*, produced in 2022 (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022). In my study I will use the NHB survey for displaying lingering problems in the Swedish CA system and compare this against the formulations in the programmes. Furthermore, I will use previous research

studies, notably the projects *Kalejdoskop* and *FuTark*, to enhance a critical view of the CA system. I will also offer comments based on my own personal experience in the field.

THE CAB

The programme for the CAB of Stockholm was developed in 2012 in response to a growing market orientation of CA in Sweden, setting new demands for increased clarity in administrative practices and in the responsibilities of the main parties. Another important goal was to build knowledge about archaeological heritage and level up competence among both administrators and archaeological contractors (Olausson 2012:9–14). According to the NHB survey, however, there are still concerns regarding deficient competence and engagement among CABs as well as the lack of knowledge for decision making. There are also lingering uncertainties about roles and responsibilities among both developers and archaeological contractors, questions about the desired effort levels in projects and on what grounds the CABs make their assessments and commissioning. It has therefore been suggested that evaluations should take place at several stages of the CA process in order to locate deficiencies and enhance the conditions and quality of projects (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:12–13, 24, 38).

Lack of communication, planning and clear directives may lead to conflicts between developers and the authorities. Often the heart of these conflicts relates to disputed excavation costs and unclear responsibilities between the parties. There may also be a lack of respect for authorities' decision making or the legitimacy of the cultural environmental legislation. Often, this is rooted in insufficient awareness about the heritage status of a particular site, the process of the CA system or the work methods of archaeological practice. Furthermore, there can be cause for friction and uncertainty in responsibilities between different authorities, like the CAB and municipalities, as well as diverging interpretations of the cultural heritage legislation and the assessments of archaeological sites and features (Gruber 2009:110–112). In the risk-analysis for the large-scale railway line project *Ostlänken* in eastern Sweden, concerns are voiced that the lack of resources, competence and coordination between the main parties may cause delays and decreased quality in knowledge production, leading to distress and distrust of the CA system nationwide (Gill 2020). There is, according to the NHB survey, still a lack of communication and coherence both within the CAB organizations and towards other actors and stakeholders, especially municipalities, albeit a clearly defined target group. CABs are also considered hesitant in providing consultations or making definitive agreements with developers at early stages of planning. Increased dialogues are spe-

cifically requested by archaeological contractors in tender processes (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:12, 16).

In order to create acceptance and reliability on costs, the CAB programme specified the need for developing higher economic efficiency for CA projects. It also acknowledged the importance of the balance between reasonable cost and the value of archaeological heritage, something that requires a good knowledge base and competent administrators (Olausson 2012:9). The NHB survey here pointed out that the ongoing discrepancy between archaeological measures and reasonable cost leads to inconsistencies in the CA system. There is a need for better coordination and sharing of knowledge, views and experiences between all the actors, especially in the initial stages of a project. There is also a call for better economic instruments and greater transparency in the calculations of cost and quality valuations (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:38).

The time factor in CA was an essential issue for the CABs in the early 2000s, and the added pressure on the process has made the production of results more efficient and stringent. However, today there are still large problems with administrative delays among many CABs due to understaffing and lack of financial resources (Andersson et al. 2010:12, 21, 25; Olausson 2012:9; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:24, 48). Many reports and evaluations have previously pointed out the shortcomings in terms of resources in the CA process (SOU 2005:80). A serious consequence is that the system still suffers from prolonged delays in the decision-making and commissioning of archaeological projects, while there are also fewer adaptations to calendar time (Andersson et al. 2010:21). Lack of time leads to stressful working conditions for case managers, affecting their ability for good decision making and communications with other parties (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:12).

The CAB programme addressed the importance of dissemination and collaboration, identifying target groups and the need to work with public aspects of archaeology. However, it acknowledges a lack of experience and routines for decisive implementations of these matters into CA projects (Olausson 2012:87). The programme failed to address the larger issues regarding public representation, participation and narratives, and instead upholds a traditional and authoritative view on heritage-making and use. A cultural heritage project, *Kalejdoskop*, was initiated between 2010 and 2012 with the aim of changing prevailing attitudes among CABs. It promoted a wider inclusion of the public to engage and participate with Swedish heritage-making and use, also focusing on democratization, cocreation and alternative narratives and perspectives (Molin 2012). In the NHB survey it is noticeable that public work still is not a prioritized or coherent issue among the CABs, where clear demands and directives are lacking and, in

some cases, there is opposition to new initiatives (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:27).

To summarize, the CAB programme expressed values and goals for:

- Clarity in directives.
- Creating legitimacy for legislation, policies and decision making.
- Economic efficiency.
- Good communication within and outside the apparatus of CA.
- Knowledge building.
- Levelling up competence both within the organization and other parties and stakeholders.

The NHB survey, on the other hand, expressed lingering collaboration concerns regarding:

- Uncertainties of roles and responsibilities between parties.
- Deviating interpretations of legislations and policies.
- Lack of communication.
- Lack of respect or knowledge about decision making among developers.
- Lack of competence, engagement and knowledge base for decision making.
- Lack of time and resources.
- Project delays.

Solutions presented in the survey included:

- More evaluations of projects.
- Increased dialogue between parties and with stakeholders outside the apparatus.
- Better coordination and sharing of knowledge.
- Implementation of economic instruments.
- Transparency.

Regarding public participation, the programme mentioned:

- Dissemination is important.
- Target groups need to be identified.
- There is a lack of experience and routines among the CABs.

The survey pointed out inconsistencies among CABs on setting dissemination requirements in projects. However, both the programme and survey failed to address the new national goals for public participation and engagement in archaeological heritage, although these issues have been highlighted in the cultural heritage project *Kalejdoskop*.

THE DEVELOPERS

The Swedish Transport Administration (STA) is the largest client of CA in Sweden, with a spending of approximately 100–150 million SEK per year, often conducting large-scale development with high environmental impact, such as highway and railway projects. As a department of authority, the STA is responsible for taking heritage and cultural environment into consideration and has been working actively with these issues since 2010. This sets their role apart from that of many private developers and there is pressure to lead by example. In 2018, the STA, as part of ten departments of authority, was given the directive by the Swedish government to produce a new strategy programme for cultural environment (Bergkvist et al. 2019:7–8, 16).

The programme centred on goals for making heritage work efforts and dissemination more effective and sustainable. It called for better communication and collaboration with other authorities and external actors, as well as building competence and knowledge. It was concluded that deficiencies in this heritage work could lead to higher costs, lower output, delays or even conflicts of interest. The programme here pointed to the inconsistencies and irregularities in the administration of different projects. There was a call for the clearer setting of roles and responsibilities between different parties, as well as to safeguard qualitative values through regulatory documents and assuring competence. More initial surveys and inputs in early planning would lead to better flow in preparatory work for projects and avoidance of negative environmental impact (Bergkvist et al. 2019:6). The NHB survey fully agreed on these matters and especially pointed to the importance of consultations and cost estimations between CABs and developers, while also identifying that the knowledge level about the CA process among different developers differs widely. It also stated concerns about mistrust among developers towards the CA system, mainly regarding unreasonable costs and being at a disadvantage in terms of their position with respect to the authorities (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:11). To improve the flow of knowledge, the dialogue between various actors needs to be strengthened within the CA system and with society at large. There is today no collected forum or formulated goals between the parties for any long-term generation of knowledge, although there have been suggestions to implement collaborative configurations and scientific venues within the *Ostlänken* project, and there are potentials in utilizing digital platforms (Gunnarsson 2022:50–52, 158–161; Andersson 2023:12). Hybrid forums could provide regional strategies where actors and stakeholders, both within and outside the system, can together formulate goals of achievement (Andersson et al. 2010:26–27).

The programme also viewed the cultural environment as a resource for the development of society and to enable positive outcomes, for instance regarding sustainability, health and economic growth (Bergkvist et al. 2019:11). Heritage-producing processes in CA establish perceptions and values about the past that can lead to positive impacts for society such as place-branding, economic stimulus, ascertaining protection of heritage and to influence local democratization processes (Gruber 2010:280). The government directives for the *Ostlänken* project conducted by the STA emphasize the importance of the dissemination of archaeological results in line with the national heritage goals (Regeringen 2018:20). Synthesis and summaries could here make archaeological reports more meaningful and useful to the people outside the archaeological community. This cannot happen within the present system where the budget is restricted to the investigation of a single site (Andersson et al. 2010:26). However, the NHB survey noted that the STA has advocated compensational measures in affected areas, which could perhaps be a way of financing augmented results. It also commented that some developers viewed the CABs as being too careful in setting higher requirements for dissemination (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:27–28).

Heritage preservation and conservation groups have been long-time rivals to development organizations. On the one hand there is an intolerance for change of material remains, on the other hand heritage is considered a burden if interfering with construction plans (Silberman 2013:216–218; Burtenshaw 2014:48–50; Gould 2017:1–2). Complex regional structures with boundaries between different authorities, and also with stakeholders outside the sector, mean missing out on cooperation and coordination in cultural heritage projects (Gruber 2010:281). Increasingly, there have been talks about the importance for the cultural heritage sector to cooperate with other stakeholders in connection with local issues of cultural heritage management, which requires understanding and the synergizing of economic, social and cultural values, capitals and impacts (Burtenshaw 2014:51–55). Opening and inviting stakeholders to take part in the heritage-making process at all stages of projects could increase participation of both planners and citizens, lessening the risk for friction and dissonance (Gruber 2009:127).

To summarize, the STA program expressed values and goals for:

- Sharing responsibility for cultural heritage.
- Cultural environment used as a resource, for instance sustainability and economic growth.
- Efficient work efforts.

- Good communication and dissemination within and outside the apparatus of CA.
- Knowledge building.
- Levelling up competence.
- Avoidance of conflicts and unnecessary costs.

The STA programme addressed collaboration concerns regarding:

- Inconsistencies in administration of projects.
- Unclear settings on roles and responsibilities of the main parties.
- Upholding quality through regulations and competence.

The NHB survey expressed concerns about:

- Mistrust between developers and CABs.
- Unreasonable costs.
- Disadvantaged position of developers with respect to CABs.
- Restricted goals on dissemination by authorities.

Solutions presented in the STA programme included:

- Initial surveys.
- More consultations between parties.
- Better cost estimation.
- Knowledge building.

The STA programme addressed several of the new national goals for public participation in archaeological heritage, mentioning:

- Dialogue and cooperation with more actors and stakeholders inside and outside the CA system.
- Lifting positive impacts on society.
- Creating meaningful narratives for society.
- Implementing compensational measures.
- The wish of setting higher requirements for dissemination in CA projects. This was also noted in the survey.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTRACTORS

The scientific programme for the archaeological contractor *Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård* came out in 2009. It centred on presenting the state of knowledge about archaeological heritage, its role in society, and goals on how to communicate and collaborate better with other parties and the public. Another goal was to engage with and strengthen the value of history and cultural heritage. Furthermore, the programme sought to provide guidance for administrating projects, building new knowledge and

developing competence (Elgh & Lihammer 2009:5–7). However, it did not specify how these goals were going to be implemented into daily work and projects. The NHB survey has shown that there is a need for better communication between archaeological contractors and the authorities, and a desire for clarity and better directions from the CABs, especially regarding request documents and the level of effort in different projects (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:22, 33).

Neither the programme nor the NHB survey included cost as a direct concern for archaeological contractors, perhaps as they are on the receiving end in the system, and development expenses are the ‘bread and butter’ for the sector. It is, however, clear from the survey that many archaeologists feel that more time and finances are needed for projects in order to engage properly with their professional task and to fulfil the requirement of high quality reports (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:24, 44). There is economic pressure to continuously take on many projects and uphold a high debit rate, which has resulted in a production-line style of management. It also means that a lot of time is spent on producing tenders, normally 80–200 hours per project (Ottander 2012:37–40, 51). Archaeologists need to balance several different projects at the same time, often in various production stages, something that causes stress and loss of focus. Competence and the quality of work is strongly connected to efficient time-logging, adhering to budgets and multi-tasking. The effect is that little time is ‘wasted’ on non-debited follow-ups and evaluations of the work process and results. The NHB survey mentioned concerns about lengthy process times for administrating projects, including the prolonged storage of finds in contractor work offices rather than at museums (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:16, 48).

Dissemination and public participation were main overarching goals in the contractor programme, promoting a wider interest in Swedish heritage and inclusion of all citizens. The aim was to work actively towards diversity and democracy, acknowledging multidimensionality and defining new target groups. Other goals included addressing current issues in society and creating awareness about normative perceptions and practices as well as history-making and use (Elgh & Lihammer 2009:7–9). In the thematic guidelines there were focuses on identifying and understanding the context for places and their connections to the landscape over time and in the present, widening the antiquarian scope of the cultural heritage environment. There was also an emphasis on challenging established perceptions on people in the past and present and creating greater inclusion, as well as on focusing on everchanging and multivocal views in society (Elgh & Lihammer 2009:12–15). These goals connect well to the new cultural heritage legislation and policies, but no concrete measures are presented in order to implement these goals. The NHB survey failed to address most

of these public issues and new demands from society, instead emphasizing the importance of popular science and social media. It did, however, acknowledge the necessity for new thinking in dissemination, where several archaeological contractors wished for enhanced effort levels and more public participation. Also, it was recognized that target groups, methods and channels for dissemination need to be defined more clearly by the CABs (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:28, 51, 57).

The project *FuTark*, led by *Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård*, was an assessment of the dissemination process in CA, with the focus on addressing deficiencies and inequities regarding functional impairment access and to widen public inclusion. The project concluded that disability issues are almost non-existent in the CA sector, and that there is a lack of clarity regarding responsibilities, which leads to uncertainties and irregularities. There is here a need for an active stance among both authorities and professionals with clearer legislation, directives and routines about accessibility to CA projects in order to implement strategic and long-term planning (Engström 2021). The importance of access for all groups of the public was also noted in the NHB survey (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:27). As CA projects deal with compressed time schedules, it is imperative that accessibility planning takes place at an early stage in a project instead of treating it as a problem that requires ad hoc solutions.

To summarize, the archaeological contractor programme expressed values and goals for:

- Defining its role within society.
- Conducting research with good scientific quality.
- Knowledge building.
- Good communication and collaboration within and outside the apparatus of CA.
- Levelling up competence within the organization.
- Engaging with and strengthening history and heritage in society.
- Public participation.

The NHB survey, on the other hand, expressed lingering collaboration concerns regarding:

- Clarity and direction from the authorities.
- Lack of communication.
- Lack of time and resources.
- Lengthy process times.

No real solutions to these problems were presented either in the programme or survey.

Regarding public participation the programme mentioned:

- It is an overarching goal.
- Target groups need to be identified.
- Greater public inclusion in CA.
- Adhering to current issues in society.
- Working towards adversity, diversity, democracy and multidimensionality.
- Awareness of normative perceptions and practices.
- Awareness of history-making and use.
- Lifting place-connected values and contexts.

The NHB survey noted that new thinking was required for dissemination, and that archaeological contractors wished for enhanced effort levels and more public participation. The research project *FuTark* called for clearer planning, legislation and directives in order to make CA accessible for all citizens.

Overall, the programmes emphasized the importance for coherence and clarity in roles and directives, increased communication, competence and knowledge building, as well as acknowledging that dissemination is an important part of CA projects. The NHB survey pointed out that there are, however, still uncertainties among all parties about responsibilities, as well as a lack of knowledge about other parties, something that can lead to friction. The suggested solutions were increased dialogue, coordination and the sharing of knowledge between the parties, and a need for better cost estimations. In both project administration and management there is generally a lack of time and resources, while at the same time developers are concerned about unrealistic costs. Although the NHB survey took on a very traditional view about dissemination, there was a general acknowledgement of higher ambitions in public outreach and participation in CA.

Discussing the Swedish CA system: Heritage-making, entanglement with society and the extent of public participation

In light of the previous two analyses, I now turn to the Swedish CA system and its entanglement with society and a discussion of the arguments for and against changes which would incorporate wider public participation. Following the roles of the three main parties in Swedish CA, I find that the use of the term ‘entanglement’ is a good way for grasping how heritage-making is created through the relationship between humans and material remains. Inspired by Latour’s Actor Network Theory (2005), which

focuses on bridging the complex networks and relationships between the social world of humans and the material world of things, Ian Hodder (2012) defines entanglement as the ‘dialectic of dependence’. Heritage, he argues, is fundamentally entangled – caught between the materiality representing the past in the present and different socio-political positions in society (Hodder 2012:88–90). Entanglement thus creates potentials and investment, but can also lead to entrapment, a situation that corresponds to the ‘apparatus’ as an impediment to society. Sharing a similar view, Harrison’s perspective on heritage-making is that this process has been fettered to an apparatus serving state-controlled cultural management. He means that this process should instead be freed to be an interactive and dialogical practice (Harrison 2013:216–222). However, if we accept the present condition of entanglement, where archaeologists in CA are clearly interdependent on both government agencies and developers, the question is: how may the system most effectively further its objectives? (see also Gould 2017:4). When discussing a dialogical democracy model for heritage procedures, Harrison refers to Michel Callon concerning ‘hybrid forums’ (Callon et al. 2009). These are open spaces in which experts, non-experts, ordinary citizens and politicians come together and lessen the divide in heritage decision-making and production of knowledge. Criteria for facilitating this type of co-production is made up by the intensity, openness and quality of dialogism. This model may ‘provide an important basis for thinking productively and actively about heritage in the future’ (Harrison 2013:226).

Harrison’s critical take on the heritage-making process looks towards a system, less defined by the CA apparatus, for instance, and which comprises a more horizontal and open network with a wide range of stakeholders interacting with the process rather than a closed, hierarchic and professionalized production line. It is here essential to understand and broaden the perspective on how this network of different social groups and individuals in society may use archaeology in ways which are meaningful for them. As previously noted, this multivocal approach has been advocated in the last decade by researchers both in Sweden and internationally (Arnberg & Gruber 2014:162, 177). While previous research has focused heavily on the conditions or discourse in which archaeological knowledge is generated, there is also a need for more concrete measures to implement a more critical and reflexive view on the structures and institutions within which archaeological heritage is produced (Shlanger & Aitchison 2010:17).

According to the recent NHB survey, the core functions of the Swedish CA system work well, and the main problems identified concern the fragility of the system, caused especially by the CABs having to deal with limited resources and time. All the parties systematically requested better communication and coordination, the need for coherence among authorities

in decision making as well as clear directives, policies and defined responsibilities. They also expressed the goal of enhancing competence, quality and knowledge levels in administration and practice. The importance of project accessibility was also acknowledged, with the incorporation of initial surveys, follow-ups, evaluations and economic disclosures (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022:33, 54–58). It is crucial for the stability of the sector to also address the concerns and discontent within the system, and the friction between stakeholders, for instance added costs and delays, which otherwise risk creating distrust both between parties and from society. This could be amended through better work efficiency with more sharing of knowledge and experiences between the parties and with the public, especially regarding interpretations in legislation and regulations, and for transparency and clear routines in decision making and cost estimates. The survey, however, failed to suggest concrete measures in order to bridge the discrepancy between the current framework of the CA system and the new national heritage goals emphasizing a wider inclusion of the public. It was on their own accord that the parties expressed constructive positions for strengthening cultural heritage and utilizing it as a resource for a wider society, and to increase dissemination and public participation in CA projects.

In order to comply with the new legislation and cultural heritage policies, the Swedish CA system also needs to upgrade its view on its changing role in society and what this relationship is supposed to encompass. The CA apparatus has rigid and habituated structures that have been shown to be difficult to move, and those conditions and attitudes create thresholds for extending the public engagement (Gruber 2010:281–282). Both the programmes of the main parties and the NHB survey have emphasized dialogue, communication and collaboration, not only between the main three parties within the CA apparatus, but also including more actors and stakeholders in society and a higher level of public participation. This is in line with recent worldwide research on the benefits of collaboration and joint ventures between stakeholders which may have diverging interests, but abilities to find common ground and advantages (Gould 2017:8). To fulfil the new goals, a solution is required for how the system can contribute to broader perspectives in relation to the public and produce results based on critical and multivocal perspectives (Arnberg & Gruber 2014:177). The current efforts in public outreach have been assessed by several researchers as inadequate if CA is to have any real impact on current issues in society (Högberg et al. 2021:17). There is therefore a need for creating clarity about the demands on, and responsibilities for, the main parties, especially concerning adequate funding for ensuring new relevant knowledge of good quality and meaningful public outreach. A shift in attitudes and routines among administrators and archaeological contractors is also needed when

it comes to concrete implementation of the new cultural heritage goals in CA projects. This would give the CA system mandate and resources to involve a wider range of target groups and stakeholders, also ensuring a robust network structure that can take on various challenges in the future (Högberg et al. 2021:18).

While a translation from goals into practices is needed, it could be argued that the Swedish CA system, as a traditional apparatus, has fared reasonably well in the twenty-first century – despite the economic crisis of the first decade and the pandemic at the end of the second. This is especially the case when compared to other parts of Europe, like the Mediterranean countries and Ireland, where the emergence of a large commercially based CA sector was driven by newly established EU-legislation, neoliberal politics and an economy on steroids (see Hamilakis 2015; Novakovic et al. 2016; Parga-Dans 2019). Originating in the US and UK, this fragmented system of commercial CA units, in which increased competition is expected to bring higher quality and cost-efficiency, has gradually spread to CA systems in Northern Europe. In Sweden, the Netherlands and France, state-controlled sectors have shifted towards more market-dependent systems. Compared to the Scandinavian neighbours Norway and Denmark, the Swedish CA system is now more deregulated, regionalized and market-orientated (Pettersson & Ytterberg 2009). Since the 2020 Regional Reform, Norway, however, has been moving towards more localized control, based on political aims to reduce bureaucracy and increase democratization of public management by empowering local government (Hølleland & Skrede 2019:128–129). The overall trend towards market-dependent systems has spurred debates concerning the quality of current CA as well as the work environment for professionals. The economic crisis in 2008 demonstrated the weakness of a model based solely on the market, leading to calls for state regulation and more stable, regional or local frameworks of archaeological organisations (Everill 2007:129–135; Demoule 2012:617–619). There is no single answer as to which models create better conditions for public participation, however. While heavily commercially dependent systems like that in the UK can sometimes be more flexible and better at creating ‘hybrid forums’ for public participation, the extent and sustainability of this participation becomes susceptible to market swings. The relative rigidity of the mixed Swedish CA apparatus – stuck somewhere in between state control and self-regulation – has created thresholds for participation, but it may also have acted as a break for rapid market-motivated changes.

Interesting examples of collaboration between the parties within state-controlled systems can be found in Denmark and Finland. Since 2014 Denmark has implemented a synchronized *National Strategy* for addressing and evaluating archaeological objects in the form of a dynamic web-based infor-

mation hub, also functioning as a forum for experts and developers. This strategy, which was inspired by Swedish scientific programmes, has been deemed successful for optimizing and qualifying the outcome of archaeological fieldwork, supporting new knowledge and clarifying the decision-making criteria to the public (Roland 2018). In Finland there is also a good example of a successful collaboration programme between national heritage authorities and the forest industry for upholding a sustainable cultural environment. This has taken place through the SKAIK project, conducted in 2009–2014, supporting training programmes on both the law and on techniques for identifying and, with the help of GIS-mapping, protecting archaeological sites during logging operations, as well as building important relationships among the parties and facilitating communication to prevent destruction (Laulumaa & Koivisto 2016:61–87).

Conclusion

Through the lens of critical heritage studies, this article has analysed the values, goals, functionality and impacts of political demands on the current CA system in Sweden. Specific focus has been placed on how new directives and policies influence the relationships between the three main parties that constitute the apparatus of Swedish CA, and how this in turn affects the entanglement with the rest of society. When it comes to the functioning of the Swedish CA system, while still fairly hierarchical, it is much more deregulated, regionalized and market-orientated today than 30 years ago. Evaluations of the nature and outcomes of these changes have been few and limited in scope. All too often, changes are made to governmental systems without realizing the final consequences.

Looking at the development in neighbouring countries with similar conditions can offer insights into where the Swedish CA system stands today, and may lead to innovative ideas, while also instructive about mistakes or dead ends. Scandinavian countries seem to wrestle with similar issues of transforming their CA systems for ensuring better and more sustainable administrative flow and collaboration between parties and stakeholders, upholding good scientific quality and preservation of archaeological sites and creating stronger democratic links to the heritage-making process. The Swedish CA system could be seen as representing a middle ground between state control and regional self-regulation, as well as balancing market values with public interests. It is important to point out, however, that addressing heritage systems and advocating change requires that decisions should be reached for what it should achieve in correspondence to what it does (Carman 2018:11–12). Every kind of heritage management system has its ben-

efits and flaws; the main prerequisite for it to be considered as ‘working well’ is that all parties and stakeholders agree on their roles and responsibilities, and that the results of the system are accepted. This requires that the system is well managed and constantly scrutinized, upgraded and communicated to both stakeholders and society at large, and last but not least, in tune with both policy-making decisions as well as adhering to the needs of society. Otherwise, it risks becoming irrelevant and the new heritage legislation and goals will sound like empty and inconsequential rhetoric.

I have argued that Harrison’s critical view on heritage-making has a bearing on changing the role of Swedish CA, in so far as the process needs to be extended beyond the limitations of the apparatus and become more symmetrical in its relationships with the rest of society, taking into account the conditions of local contexts and the interests and needs of communities. There is a necessity for a more dialogical and inclusive nature in communication and collaboration, a hybrid forum, already at an early stage in the planning of projects, something that has been applied at the *Ostlänken* project in Sweden, the SKAIK project in Finland and in the National Strategy of Denmark. These forums should not try to find a total consensus for all parties, but to find common ground in collaborating and discussing diverging positions (Andersson 2023:9, 20; Laulumaa & Koivisto 2016:61–87; Roland 2018). This could diminish the risk for dissonance, conflict, negative impact and added costs while creating conditions for generating more positive outcomes and values. Furthermore, there should be an ambition for co-creating and cultivating archaeological heritage in accordance with local interests, and producing narratives which are meaningful to a wider audience. Closely following the implementation and consequences of the new Norwegian model of regional and local control could offer important insights (Hølleland & Skrede 2019). It also requires initial surveys that define target groups, consultations, evaluations, continuous feedback and contact with people, which includes listening to and understanding a range of perspectives. A more horizontal CA system would also permit greater inclusion of non-authoritarian movements and narratives in society. These adaptations must, however, be implemented through first ensuring a robust and well-functioning cultural heritage collaboration network and management system that is able to coordinate a variety of parties, target groups and stakeholders, while being aware of the unwanted trajectories that heritage work could take in the wrong hands.

There has been some progress in the field concerning the demands of change formulated by new legislation, policies and research, especially in the establishment of public dissemination within the cost frame of CA projects. Nevertheless, there is a need for more direction, coherence and an active stance among government agencies to implement new takes on both

process and practice in order to come to terms with an unbalanced flow and deficient communication within the system, how to achieve long-term sustainability and to address the discrepancies between the cultural heritage goals and reality. Problem areas in the CA apparatus and system could – through focused and active rebuilding of structures, mandates, directives and processes – be reprogrammed to follow in step with the demands and needs of the society that sustains it, instead becoming a potential resource for progressive and sustainable developments in society.

References

- Agamben, G. 2009. *'What is an Apparatus?'* and *Other Essays*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Andersson, C., Lagerlöf, A. & Skyllberg, E. 2010. Assessing and Measuring Quality in Development-Led Archaeology. *Current Swedish Archaeology*. Vol. 18 pp. 11–28, doi:10.37718/CSA.2010.01.
- Andersson, F. 2023. *Underlag till vetenskapligt program. Inför arkeologiska undersökningar längs Ostlänken*. Rapport 23:5. Nyköping: Länsstyrelsen i Södermanlands län.
- Andersson, J. 2005. Slättbygdsprojektets förmedlingsverksamhet. In: Andersson, J., Aronsson, P. & Pettersson, B. (eds), *Uppdragsarkeologins publika sida: Slättbygdsprojektet*. Rapport UV Öst 2005:52, pp. 16–77. Linköping: Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Arnberg, A. & Gruber, G. 2014. Participate in a Broader Sense? Thoughts on Swedish Contract Archaeology and Approaches to the Public in the Light of the Excavations in Motala 1999–2013. *Current Swedish Archaeology*. Vol. 22 pp. 157–182, doi:10.37718/CSA.2014.11.
- Aronsson, P. 2004. *Historiebruk – att använda det förflutna*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Bergkvist, J., Litborn, J., Karlsson, N., Millde, Y., Jonsson, M. & Björckebaum, M. 2019. *Trafikverkets kulturmiljöstrategi*. Regeringsuppdrag rapport 2019:188. Borlänge: Trafikverket.
- Burtenshaw, P. 2014. Mind the Gap: Cultural and Economic Values in Archaeology. *Public Archaeology*. Vol. 13 (1–3) pp. 48–58, doi:10.1179/1465518714Z.00000000053.
- Callon, M., Lascoumes, P. & Barthe, Y. 2009. *Acting in an Uncertain World: An Essay on Technical Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Carman, J. 2018. Assessing Possible Futures for Cultural Heritage: National, Global, Public, Private, Commercial? In: Antoniadou, S., Vavouranakis, G., Poullos, I., & Raouziou, P. (eds), *Culture and Perspective at Times of Crisis: State Structures, Private Initiative and the Public Character of Heritage*, pp. 10–20. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- DeLanda, M. 2006. *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*. London: Continuum.
- Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. 2004. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. London: Continuum.
- Demoule, J. 2012. Rescue Archaeology: A European View. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 41(1) pp. 611–626, doi: 10.1146/annurev-anthro-092611-145854.
- Dutra-Leivas, I. 2020. *Stadsarkeologi, förmedling och skolan: Bortom historieämnets horisont*. Växjö: Linnéuniversitetet.

- Elgh, S. & Lihammer, A. 2009. Introduktion. In: Lihammer, A. (ed), *Vetenskapligt program 2009*, pp. 1–17. Västerås: Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård Mälardalen.
- Engström, E. (ed). 2021. *FuTarks verktygslåda för en tillgängligare uppdragsarkeologi del 2*. Västerås: Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård Mälardalen.
- Everill, P. 2007. British Commercial Archaeology: Antiquarians and Labourers, Developers and Diggers. In: Hamilakis, Y. & Duke, P. (eds), *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics*, pp. 119–136. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Gill, A. 2020. *Hur kan det uppdragsarkeologiska systemet påverkas av Ostlänken?* Riksantikvarieämbetet PM, Dnr: RAÄ-2020-843. Visby: Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Gill, A. 2021. Development-Led Archaeology and Public Benefit from a Swedish Perspective. *Internet Archaeology*. Vol. 57, doi:10.11141/ia.57.4.
- González-Ruibal, A., González, PA. & Criado-Boado, F. 2018. Against Reactionary Populism: Towards a New Public Archaeology. *Antiquity*. Vol. 92 (362) pp. 507–515, doi:10.15184/aqy.2017.227.
- Gould, P. 2016. Collision or Collaboration? Archaeology Encounters Economic Development: An Introduction. In: Gould P. & Pyburn, K. (eds), *Collision or Collaboration: Archaeology Encounters Economic Development*, pp. 1–13. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Gruber, G. 2009. The Disputed Responsibility for Cultural Heritage. *Current Swedish Archaeology*. Vol. 17 pp. 109–130, doi:10.37718/CSA.2009.08.
- Gruber, G. 2010. *Medeltider: Samtida mobiliseringsprocesser kring det förflutnas värden*. Linköping: Linköpings universitet.
- Gruber, G. 2017. Contract Archaeology, Social Media and the Unintended Collaboration with the Public: Experiences from Motala, Sweden. *Internet Archaeology*. Vol. 46, doi:10.11141/ia.46.5.
- Gruber, G. 2021. Delstudie 1. Uppdragsarkeologin och funktionshinderspolitiken: Attityder till funktionshinderperspektivet inom uppdragsarkeologin. In: Engström, E. (ed), *FuTarks Verktygslåda för en tillgängligare uppdragsarkeologi*, del 2 pp. 13–41. Västerås: Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård Mälardalen.
- Gunnarsson, F. 2022. *Det digitala uppdraget: Om uppdragsarkeologins möjligheter att skapa relevant kunskap i ett digitalt samhälle*. Kalmar: Linnéuniversitetet.
- Hamilakis, Y. 2015. Archaeology and the Logic of Capital: Pulling the Emergency Breaks. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*. Vol. 19(4) pp. 721–735, doi:10.1007/s10761-015-0307-4.
- Harrison, R. 2013. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Hodder, I. 2012. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Holtorf, C. 2007. *Archaeology is a Brand! The Meaning of Archaeology in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Högberg, A., Alfsdotter, C., [...], Svedin, M. & Söderström, U. 2021. Uppdragsarkeologiska möjligheter: Nya sätt att tänka om en samtidsverksamhet i en framtidsbransch. *In Situ Archaeologica*. Vol. 15 pp. 5–30. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet.
- Hølleland, H. & Skrede, J. 2019. Regionreformen: Demokratisering og politisering av kulturminneforvaltningen. *Heimen*. Vol. 56(2) pp. 127–142, doi: 10.18261/issn.1894-3195-2019-02-05.
- KRFS 2015:1. *Riksantikvarieämbetets föreskrifter och allmänna råd om uppdragsarkeologi*. Kulturrådets författningssamling. https://www.kulturradet.se/globalassets/start/omoss/saarbetarkulturradet/sastyrsvi/forfattningssamling/forfattningssamlingdokument/forfattningssamling/riksantikvarieambetet/krfs_2015_1_web.pdf [Accessed 27 April 2021].

- Latour, B. 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor–Network–Theory*. Oxford: University Press.
- Laulumaa, V. & Koivisto, S. 2016. From Conventions to Convictions or to Cooperation? Cultural Heritage and Forestry in Finland. In: Gould P. & Pyburn, K. (eds), *Collision or Collaboration: Archaeology Encounters Economic Development*, pp. 61–87. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Molin, A. 2012. *Slutrapport. Kalejdoskop – sätt att se på kulturarv*. Dnr 430-6583-09. Härnösand: Länsstyrelsen i Västernorrland. https://catalog.lansstyrelsen.se/store/21/resource/2012__13, [Accessed 4 October 2022].
- Myndigheten för kulturanalys 2016. *Kulturmiljöstatistik. Kulturfakta 16:2*. <https://kultur-analys.se/publikation/kulturmiljostatistik-2016/> [Accessed 4 May 2023].
- Nelson, M. 2023. Contract Archaeology and Dissemination in a Contested Landscape. *Public Archaeology*, pp. 1–21, doi:10.1080/14655187.2023.2206777.
- Niklasson, E. & Hølleland, H. 2018. The Scandinavian Far-Right and the new Politicisation of Heritage. *Journal of Social Archaeology*. Vol. 18(2) pp. 121–148, doi: 10.1177/1469605318757.
- Novaković, P., Milan, H., Guermandi, M., Stäuble, H., Depaepe, P. & Demoule, J. (eds). 2016. *Recent Developments in Preventive Archaeology in Europe: Proceedings of the 22nd EAA Meeting in Vilnius, 2016*. Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press.
- Olausson, M. 2012. *Arkeologiskt program för Stockholms län*. Rapport 2012:2. Stockholm: Länsstyrelsen i Stockholms län.
- Ottander, J. 2012. *Bedömnings- och utvärderingsmetoder inom uppdragsarkeologin: En studie av anbudsförfaranden genomförda under åren 2008–2009*. FOU-Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet. Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Parga-Dans, E. 2019. Heritage in Danger: The Collapse of Commercial Archaeology in Spain. *Archaeological Dialogues*. Vol. 26 pp. 111–122, doi:10.1017/S1380203819000217.
- Petersson, B. 2005. Uppdragsarkeologi, kommunikation och kunskapsåterföring. In: Andersson, J., Aronsson, P. & Petersson, B. (eds), *Uppdragsarkeologins publika sida: Slättbyggsprojektet*. Rapport UV Öst 2005:52, pp. 78–100. Linköping: Riksantikvarieämbetet.
- Petersson, R. 2003. *Den svenska kulturmiljövårdens värdegrunder: En idéhistorisk bakgrund och analys*. Skrifter från forskningsprogrammet: Landskap som en arena nr 7. Umeå: Umeå universitet.
- Petersson, H. & Ytterberg, N. 2009. Debatt: Att kvalitetssäkra den svenska uppdragsarkeologin. För en nationell centralisering av den vetenskapliga bedömningen. *Fornvännen*. Vol. 104(3) pp. 199–204.
- Plets, G. 2016. Heritage Bureaucracies and the Modern Nation State: Towards an Ethnography of Archaeological Systems of Government. *Archaeological Dialogues*. Vol. 23(2) pp. 193–213, doi:10.1017/S1380203816000222.
- Regeringen 2018. *Tillåtlighetsprövning enligt 17 kap. miljöbalken av Ostlänken, Södertälje, Trosa, Nyköpings, Norrköpings och Linköpings kommuner*. Regeringsbeslut M2015/03829/Me. Miljö- och energidepartementet. <https://bransch.trafikverket.se/contentassets/1e7eb7edd52d46e3b4c040431b43da38/0100-beslut-tillatlighet-2018-06-07.pdf> [Accessed 4 May 2023].
- Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012. *Angelägna berättelser. Inriktningsdokument för handlingsprogram inom uppdragsarkeologin*. <http://raa.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1235192/FULLTEXT01.pdf> [Accessed April 5 2021].
- Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015. *Nya nationella mål för kulturmiljöarbetet. Myndigheters arbete för att bidra till målen uppfyllelse*. <https://www.raa.se/app/uploads/2015/05/>

- Nya-nationella-m%C3%A5l-f%C3%B6r-kulturmilj%C3%B6arbetet-150504.pdf [Accessed April 5 2023].
- Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016. *Vision för kulturmiljöarbetet till 2030. Redovisning av regeringsuppdrag om ett offensivt och angeläget kulturmiljöarbete*. https://www.raa.se/app/uploads/2016/05/Visionsrapport_vlslutversion_med-bilaga.pdf [Accessed April 5 2023].
- Riksantikvarieämbetet 2021. *Uppdragsarkeologi 2020. Statistik baserad på beslut fattade av länsstyrelser enligt 2 kap. 11–14 §§ KML*. <https://raa.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A11621101&cdswid=4840> [Accessed April 28 2023].
- Riksantikvarieämbetet 2022. *Uppdragsarkeologi – nuläge och utvecklingsbehov*. <http://raa.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1653325/FULLTEXT01.pdf> [Accessed April 5 2021].
- Roland, T. 2018. Making choices – Making Strategies: National Strategies for Archaeology in Denmark. *Internet Archaeology*. Vol. 49, doi:10.11141/ia.49.5.
- SFS 1988:950. *Kulturmiljölag*. Sveriges riksdag, svensk författningssamling. https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/kulturmiljola-1988950_sfs-1988-950 [Accessed April 8 2021].
- SFS 2013:548. *Lag om ändring i lagen (1988:950) om kulturminnen m.m.*; Sveriges riksdag, svensk författningssamling. https://www.lagboken.se/Lagboken/start/forvaltningsratt/kulturmiljola-1988950/d_1677048-sfs-2013_548-lag-om-andring-i-lagen-1988_950-om-kulturminnen-mm [Accessed April 8 2021].
- Shlanger, N. & Aitchison, K. 2010. Introduction: Archaeology and the Global Economic Crisis. In: Shlanger, N. & Aitchison, K. (eds), *Archaeology and the Global Economic Crisis: Multiple Impacts, Possible Solutions*, pp. 9–12. Tervuren, Belgium: Culture Lab Éditions.
- Silberman, N. 2013. Discourses of Development: Narratives of Cultural Heritage as an Economic Resource. In: Staiff, R., Bushell, R. & Watson, S. (eds), *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*, pp. 213–25. London: Routledge.
- Smith, L. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.
- Smits, V. 2022. *Kulturarvsparadoxen: Om uppdragsarkeologin och kulturarvets användning i samtiden*. Växjö: Linnéuniversitetet.
- SOU 2005:80. *Uppdragsarkeologin i tiden. Betänkanden av uppdragsarkeologiutredningen SOU 2005:80*. Kulturdepartementet, Statens offentliga utredningar. <https://www.regeringen.se/49bb98/contentassets/4foe76792d98479eac694ffd71879534/uppdragsarkeologi-i-tiden> [Accessed April 5 2021].
- Svanberg, F. & Wahlgren, K. 2007. *Publik arkeologi*. Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum.
- Vander Linden, M. & Webley, L. 2012. Introduction: Development-Led Archaeology in North-West Europe. Frameworks, Practices and Outcomes. In: Webley, L., Vander Linden, M., Haselgrove, C. & Bradley, R. (eds), *Development-Led Archaeology in North-West Europe: Proceedings of a Round Table at the University of Leicester, 19th–21st November 2009*, pp. 1–8. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Wigert, L. 2018. *The Swedish system of Contract Archaeology: An analysis of current opinions*. Lund: Lunds universitet.