The Rise and Decline(?) of the Modern in Sweden

Reflected through Cultural Resource Management Archaeology

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A social and ideological trend that has been most influential in the 20th century is modernism. It is of interest to closer examine the relationship between archaeology and the western social-liberal modernistic project. The archaeology related to Cultural Resource Management in Sweden is a suitable for a study of this kind. This article tries to illustrate this by presenting a case study from Malmö in Scania, south Sweden. The Swedish modern project went hand in hand with industrialization. This development has been of importance for the accumulation of archaeological data. Modernistic ideas were however also largely to influence archaeological methods and interpretations.

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INTRODUCTION

Archaeology and modernistic ideas

Archaeological debate in the last decades has made it very clear that there exist close ties between the elaboration of archaeological theories and methods and the social and political developments of society in general. Archaeology and history are topics which largely deal with how we define and identify ourselves as humans and people. Research in archaeological history has often come to focus upon aspects of nationalism and colonialism, where archaeology has played a central role in legitimizing political ventures, undertakings that have in several cases involved armed repression of other ethnic groups (Trigger 1993; Magnusson Staaf 1994; Werbart 1999).

Another social and ideological trend that has been most influential in the 20th Century is modernism. Its influence on archaeological theory has also been pointed out, discussed and criticized. So-called processual archaeology can be regarded as perhaps the most evident exponent of modernistic thought in archaeology. In the 1980s and 1990s we saw the rise of post-processual archaeology, a heterogeneous orchestration of ideas strongly inspired by post-modern philosophy. Modernistic rationality, fundamental for the theoretical approach in processual archaeology has been a target for critique in the texts of post-processual archaeology (Hodder 1986; Tilley 1990; Burström 1991; Gustafsson 1996; Karlsson 1998). However, the actual impact of modernistic thought on society in general has not been the center of these discussions. A reason for this could be that

modernism is basically ahistoric in its determination.[1] Another reason for this could be that modernistic ideals, for many of us, in spite of the critique that we may have formulated, still function as the backbone of both our rationality and our ethics. Our ethical outlook on society is perhaps still modernistic, even if we as archaeologists use a post-modern rhetoric. I believe it is of interest to closely examine the relationship between archaeology and the western social-liberal modernistic project. I believe that Cultural Resource Management archaeology (CRM archaeology or contract archaeology) in Sweden is a suitable subject for a study of this kind.

The modern concept

Naturally, we must first try to define the concept we call "modern", almost a field of studies on its own. The definition of the "modern" and its historical development will therefore be kept very brief and rudimentary here, since this discussion does not form the central scope of this article. The philosophical roots of modernity can be traced back to the Renaissance and thinkers like More (1979) and Bacon (1983) who emphasized the importance of empirical observation. In the 17th Century, philosophers like Descartes (1996), Hobbes (1976) and Locke (Locke 1992), as well as scientists like Newton (1986) and Leibniz (1990) laid a more stable foundation for what was to develop into a modern outlook on the world. During the Enlightenment of the 18th Century ideas of secularization gained terrain in the philosophical reasoning promoted by, for example, Voltaire (1994), Hume (1992) and La Mettrie (1984). These earlier concepts and notions were to create a framework of ideas which in the 19th Century ripened into a political movement represented primarily by Liberals and Socialists. Philosophers like Comte (1979), who introduced the concept of positivism, and the liberals Mill (1998) and Spencer (1972) laid a theoretical foundation for modernism as we recognize it today. In the 20th Century, positivism was further developed by mathematicians and logicians such as Russel, Whitehead (Russel & Whitehead 1910-13) and Carnap (1954). Leading notions in classical modernism are: scientific objectivity concerning observation and interpretation, independent of the human subject; objective and scientific identification and solution of social and economical problems; an emphasis on material factors, external to the human agent, for explaining social conditions and states, as well as changes of these; a favoring of technical solutions to social problems; secularization and an ahistorical perception of society; and the aspiration to attain an instrumental rationality in society. This description of the classical modern may be short and unfair, but I hope it will give an idea of what I consider to be an important content in "modernism".

In the 20th Century, Sweden was at the forefront of the social modernistic project. The idea of modernism permeated most spheres of society. It had a large impact on urban planning, on architecture and on landscape transformation. The Swedish modernist project went hand-in-hand with the large

1) This claim can be discussed. Archaeological conclusions have at points in history played a part in the development of certain modernistic ideas. The idea of hygiene and cleanliness constitutes a strong element in modernistic ideology. These ideas were also transferred into genetic science at the beginning of this century. Ideas concerning the importance of maintaining pure races for improving the genetic stock of the population have been directly connected with the modernistic movement in the 20th Century. There were thus profound modernistic rational traits in totalitarian ideologies which have often been claimed to be extremely conservative-irrational (Bauman 1994; Cohen 1998). Parts of archaeology have in history contributed to the legitimization of ideas related to the thought that certain human races are superior to others.

scale industrialization of the last century. This development has been of great importance for the accumulation of archaeological data in Sweden. Yet it is not only the amount of data that has been affected by this; the modernistic idea was also to influence greatly the direct archaeological methods used to collect the data.

The laws concerning Cultural Resource Management

The law concerning the protection of ancient monuments in Sweden dates back to 1666. The clauses and content of this law have of course been subject to several changes since then. Yet it is this law that CRM archaeology is founded upon. Archaeological investigations are called for if the social interest for construction development requires that archaeological remains be removed. The scale of these investigations has increased over the years. The vast majority of archaeological excavations in Sweden during at least the later half of the 20th Century have been carried out as a consequence of this law.

These excavations have since the 1960s to a large extent been executed by *Riksantikvarieämbetets Avdelning för arkeologiska undersökningar UV* (The National Heritage Board – Department for Archaeological Investigations). Regional museums, university institutions and private companies have also conducted excavations in relation to the laws concerning Cultural Resource Management. I will not try to give a general history of this type of archaeology in Sweden in this article. There are, for example, interesting regional differences in the number, pace and scale of investigation depending on such factors as economic cycles, rates of investment, landscape topography and, naturally, the nature of the archaeological remains. The circumstances surrounding the excavation of a Sami settlement in Lapland are quite different from the investigation of an Iron Age burial site in a densely built-up area in the surroundings of Stockholm. The scale of CRM archaeology is directly related to the general social and economic development of the various parts of the country.

There have still been some common trends for the development of CRM archaeology in Sweden during the last hundred years. I will try to illustrate this by presenting a case study of Malmö in Scania, southern Sweden. Archaeology in Malmö has since the 1960s primarily been administrated by Malmö Museum and not by UV. The scales of the excavations are however similar in proportion and intensity to those that have been conducted by UV in other parts of southern Sweden. Malmö Museum can be said to be quite representative for describing the general development of CRM archaeology in the 20th Century as this institution has directed excavations since the turn of the century.

PHASE I 1900-1945: IN SEARCH OF A HISTORICAL IDENTITY – THE INCIPIENT MODERN

The beginnings of CRM archaeology in Malmö

The industrialization of Malmö began in earnest around the middle of the 19th Century. The industrialist entrepreneur Frans Henrik Kockum founded in 1840 a large mechanical factory in the city. The harbor had already started to be enlarged and modernized at the end of the 18th Century, and in 1856 the city was connected to the railway, thus making it a center for communication in southern Sweden. Further industries, for example in textile and food enterprise, were established in Malmö during the later half of the 19th Century. The population of the city was less than 10 000 in 1814; one hundred years later the population had risen to more than ten times that figure (Svensson 1981; Bjurling 1985). The demand for new housing was great and most of the older two story buildings had to give way to four and five story edifices. The marshes surrounding the old medieval city were also drained in order

to create space for new blocks of living quarters. The intensity of building reached a peak at the turn of the century (Tykesson & Magnusson Staaf 1996:13-15). It was also at this time that archaeological excavations started to take place on a more organized scale in the city. The first excavation, or rather archaeological surveillance, was brought about due to the construction of a more extensive sewage system in 1907. The focus of this investigation was on documenting medieval remains in the city. This work was conducted by staff from Malmö Museum (Eriksdotter, Gardelin & Wallin 1998:30). This institution had at this time just moved into new quarters in a specially made edifice situated in one of the more attractive locations in the city (fig. 1).

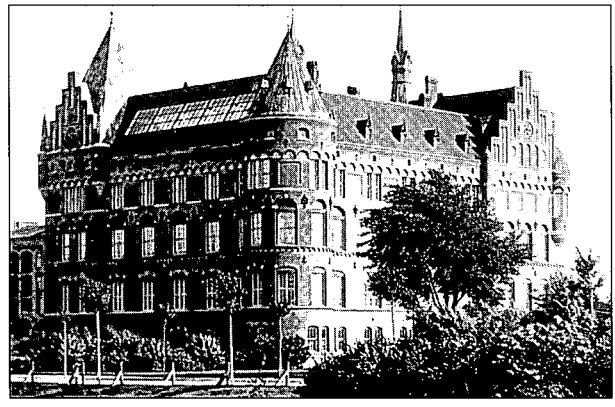

Fig. 1. The museum of Malmö designed by John Smedberg and Fredrik Sundbärg in 1898. Currently functioning as library. Photo: unknown, ca. 1902.

National Romanticism in archaeology and architecture

The building for the museum had been designed by the architects John Smedberg and Fredrik Sundbärg in 1898, and the museum opened in 1901. The museum bears a close resemblance to Scanian castles (such as Torup and Vittskövle) from the 16th Century Renaissance when the province of Scania belonged to Denmark, a period of history that has been regarded as prosperous for Scania. The architecture clearly signals the importance that history and archaeology played in the public discourse at this time. Sweden was changing from being a rather poor country where most of the population worked in agriculture to an industrialized nation. Large numbers of people moved from the rural areas to find employment in the city. Living conditions and social patterns were transforming at a fast pace. Parts of the Swedish intellectual elite turned to history and archaeology in order to find a source for the defining of a national identity. This became evident, for example, in architecture. The dominant style of architecture from the 1870s to the 1890s had been Historical Eclectic, a fashion in which the architects quite freely chose from various architectural styles in history. Smedberg had been trained in this tradition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris by his teacher Charles Garnier. Several of Smedberg's buildings are built in Historical Eclectic style. Yet at the turn of the century several architects in Sweden, who had often previously used the Historical Eclectic style in their works, turned away from these "foreign" ideals and looked instead for inspiration in local traditions, both considering design and choice of construction material. This style was to be given the name National Romantic. Most architects working in the National Romantic fashion in central Sweden were influenced by the architecture of the Vasa period. However, the architects working in Scania and Malmö, like Smedberg, Salomon Sörensen, Harald Boklund and Alfred Arwidius, were more interested in the architecture of the Hanseatic period and the Danish Renaissance. The National Romantic architecture of Scania therefore stood in contrast to the central Swedish, a fact that was pointed out by, for example, Boklund. The historically defined identity that evolved in

Scania at the turn of the century emphasized the regional history, rather than an idea of a general Swedish historical identity (Tykesson & Magnusson Staaf 1996).

There were at this time close ties between architecture and archaeology. Much of the CRM archaeological work in Malmö was centered on buildings during this time. Several medieval and renaissance buildings had to give way to the construction of new larger houses (Reisnert 1996). Public opinion started to demand that historical edifices should be preserved and not demolished (Djurklou 1920). Some influential citizens had their old houses restored instead of torn down and rebuilt in a new style (Tykesson & Magnusson Staaf 1996:229-230). One solution to this problem from the point of view of Cultural Resource Management at the time was to document the building and preserve the construction material when the building was demolished. The idea was in some cases to re-erect the building elsewhere, for example at an open-air museum. This method was for example practiced on the house of Lembke in Malmö. There were however not enough resources to rebuild the whole house. Parts of it were brought to Lund instead and fitted into a free reconstruction of a renaissance house at the open-air museum at Kulturen. This open-air museum was and is dedicated to the architecture and building traditions of southern Sweden. Material and fittings from several of the medieval edifices that were torn down in the decades before the First World War were saved and kept at Malmö Museum (Isberg 1920; Bager 1971). The archaeological work related to buildings was at this time focused on objects rather than contexts. The stone portals and sculpted capitals were thus almost treated as relics, which in themselves contained the memory and identity of a region.

Modernism before the Second World War

The National Romantic movement had strong conservative traits, with several of its intellectual adherents also having a conservative outlook on the world, several of whom, quite naturally, were historians and archaeologists. There was, on the other hand, also another intellectual elite with different ideals, ideals we can call modernistic. These intellectuals wanted to distance themselves from the conservative historical traditions. They felt that a new society, with a new mode of production, required completely new standards of ethics, aesthetics and policies. Some of these individuals joined the Swedish Social Democratic movement, which had had its beginning in Malmö in 1881. In 1887, a Social Democratic newspaper, *Arbetet*, was founded in the city. Several intellectuals, such as the biologist Bengt Lidforss, contributed articles to this paper (Tykesson & Magnusson Staaf 1996:32-33). It can be noted that Lidforss, who was a radical socialist, was in parts also influenced by the pan-Germanic and racial biological ideas of his time. In his articles he also argued for a secularization of society. The works of conservative-minded archaeologists, like for example Kossinna, had a considerable influence upon the pan-Germanic ideology (Magnusson Staaf 1994). The development of modernistic ideas was not free from paradoxical complexity.

Yet it must be stressed that all archaeologists and historians in Sweden were far from being one-sidedly conservative and nationalistic. The archaeologist Oscar Montelius, married to Agda Montelius (a prominent figurehead of the Swedish women's rights movement), was an advocate of the right to vote for women (Arwill Nordbladh 1989). Lauritz and Curt Weibull, historians from Lund and precursors of radical source criticism, entered into open polemic with contemporary conservative National Romantic historians at the turn of the century (Arvidsson 1971, 1982). These persons were most influential in their respective topics and were going to have a considerable impact on the development of archaeology and history in Sweden. They laid, in many senses, the

modern foundation for these subjects.

The more regular excavations in the Malmö area were documented according to the scientific standard of the day, even if the quality of documentation varied between individuals. The records of some stratigraphies from this time are still very useful for archaeologists working in the present (Kjellmark 1905; Jonsson 1995). The archaeological methods that were applied in these investigations were scientifically modern in their approach. An emphasis was placed upon documenting observations in the field. Construction development did not affect the countryside outside Malmö as much as the city area itself. The scale of the excavations was therefore very modest. Most archaeological excavations carried out in the Malmö area before the Second World War were conducted by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Lund. Many archaeological finds of artifacts and sites were made and reported by laymen like, for example, Carl Stadler, a customs official who discovered several Stone Age settlements in the area around Malmö. Several graves, dating from the Bronze and Iron Ages, and Stone Age artifacts were also found while digging for gravel along the seashore of the Sound south of Malmö (Salomonsson 1971:135-136). Fens were drained in order to increase the arable farmland, uncovering prehistoric ritual depositions of bronzes and stone artifacts. Particularly large finds of this type were made, for example, when the Sege river was dredged in the 1930s (Forssander 1933). Regional historical and archaeological interest was also encouraged through the work of local historical societies which also started to come into being during the first decades of the last century. CRM archaeological work was in many ways founded on a collaboration with the public. The number of reported artifact finds was to decrease as agriculture became more mechanized. A similar pattern can be seen in the cities as excavating machines started to be used in the 1930s.

The conservative movement was to suffer from the outcome of the First World War. In 1918 all men and women aged over 23 were granted the right to vote. This favored the Liberal and Social Democratic parties. The Social Democratic Party was to take the political lead in the modeling of the modernist project in Sweden in the 20th Century. It came to power in the City Council of Malmö in 1929 and was to stay in power for 66 years (Häger 1989). The Social Democrats started to carry out a new public policy as the welfare state began to take form. One of the most important political goals was to offer good housing to all citizens. The economic development of the 1920s and 1930s was however less stable than in the years before the First World War. The economic recessions of the early 1920s and 1930s are clearly detectable in the urban growth of the time. It was only in the later part of the 1930s that the economy began to stabilize, making the number of construction projects rise (Tykesson & Magnusson Staaf 1996:189-196). This was the first time in Swedish history that the number of people employed in industry became larger than that of those employed in agriculture (Heckscher 1980:251). The impact of this urban growth was still modest on the landscape and the archaeological remains surrounding the city.

PHASE II 1945-1979: THE SEARCH FOR SYSTEMS – THE MODERN TRIUMPHANT

The affluent society and the increase of CRM archaeology

Cultural, social and economic life was to transform considerably in Sweden after the end of the Second World War. Sweden never took any armed part in the war, so her infrastructure and industry were therefore intact and comparatively modern, ready to meet the demands of the post-war era. The increasing affluence of these years lacks parallel in Swedish history. In the 1970s, Sweden had one of the highest Gross National Products

per capita in the world. These years were also very prosperous for Malmö, which in the 1960s was one of the fastest growing cities in Sweden. Kockum's shipyard, specialized in the building of oil tankers, was in the early 1970s the largest shipyard in the world outside Japan. The population of Malmö amounted at this time to over a quarter of a million inhabitants (Ohlsson 1994).

The population growth of the post-war era led to a shortage of housing. The Social Democratic Party therefore made the construction of new housing a key issue in their policy. The city grew considerably in physical size in the 1950s and even more so in the 1960s and early 1970s as new areas for living were developed. The first stretch of motor freeway in Sweden opened between Malmö and Lund in 1953. The car had gained the position of main means of transportation and most people could afford a vehicle of their own. The old road systems had to be rebuilt and new paths of traffic had to be constructed. In the 1970s a circular road for the heavy traffic around Malmö was completed (Malmsten 1994). The landscape around Malmö transformed at a faster speed than ever. This was of course to have consequences for the archaeological remains in the area as well.

The number and size of archaeological investigations related to Cultural Resource Management increased. The intensity of investigation can be seen as rather low in relation to the vast areas that were developed for construction though. This can be explained by the fact that the structural transformation of Cultural Resource Management went at a slightly slower pace than development in general. The public institutions dealing with questions related to Cultural Resource Management were not prepared and organized in order to meet the new demands. Their resources of staff were also very limited. It was first in the 1960s that more stable organizations for CRM archaeology began to take form. This general pattern for Cultural Resource Management in Sweden was also characteristic of Malmö. Bengt Salomonsson, who had conducted important investigations in the Malmö area (for example, a Palaeolithic site in the vicinity of the northern bound freeway to Lund (Salomonsson 1964)) became keeper at Malmö Museum in 1967. Salomonsson was to develop and considerably enlarge the organization for CRM archaeology in Malmö.

Modernistic ideals

Archaeology in Sweden also transformed after the Second World War. A new generation of archaeologists with in many senses a clearer modernistic perspective on history started their careers. Two of these were Berta Stjernquist and Mats P. Malmer, both to be influential professors having a large impact on the theoretical development of archaeology in Sweden. Stjernquist and Malmer also conducted CRM archaeology in the Malmö area. Malmer excavated for example a Bronze Age barrow as the airport of Malmö needed to expand (Petersson 1950).

Both Stjernquist and Malmer have in their major works stressed the principal importance of economical material factors, such as commercial trade, for explaining historical change, an explanation that stands in clear contrast to the idea that cultural and social change is primarily caused through the migration of people, an interpretation of history that was most common before the War (Malmer 1962; Stjernquist 1967a,1967b). The historical perspectives of Stjernquist and Malmer cannot be regarded as being historically materialistic in a Marxist sense though, since they do not emphasize class conflict as a prime factor for change. Technological developments and transformations of mental concepts are in their interpretations regarded as phenomena which, apart from the more strict economic determinants, are relevant for explaining social change.

Archaeological methodology was also modernized by Stjernquist and Malmer, both in consideration to excavation strategies and

typological artifact analysis. Malmer in particular emphasizes the importance of strictly formulated criteria for the description and definition of the archaeological material. He claimed that most of the systems for categorization and typology which had been used in archaeology since Montelius were biased and "impressionistic". The definitions of archaeological assemblages should, according to Malmer, be as absolute and unambiguous as possible, preferably quantifiable. These explicit unbiased frames of definition were to function as tools for the understanding of the archaeological material (Malmer 1963, 1980).

Malmer clearly expressed modernistic scientific ideals (Malmer 1984). It was also modernistic scientific ideals that were to distinguish the archaeological methods in Cultural Resource Management in the 1960s and 1970s. The archaeological documentation from this period demonstrates this, for example, through an often very formalized character. General uniformity in documentation was considered as a most important quality in CRM archaeology. Standardization also made the legal administration easier. Quantification of archaeological data in the form of tables belongs to the more common illustrations in documentation from this period, which is seen in Malmö. There are very few interpretative reports from this period. The economic resources for writing reports were very limited. The most important task for CRM archaeology was considered to be to supply academic research with data, not to direct research. The accumulated data was then to be interpreted by specialized scholars. The archaeological data from these types of excavations in Malmö was also focused upon in a number of syntheses, in-depth reports, dissertations and articles (Salomonsson 1971; Burenhult 1973; Widholm 1974; Winge 1976; Larsson 1982; Larsson 1984). Most of these showed the influence of modern frames of interpretation. The investigations of Lars Larsson and Mats Larsson, who also participated in CRM archaeology in the Malmö area, presented archaeological research that can be characterized as processual. Economic material factors are in these texts seen as central to understanding settlement patterns and site structuration. Site catchment analysis plays a part in the interpretations of both works (Larsson 1982:83-101; Larsson 1984:177-186). Processual archaeology was focused on finding universal pattern in human social and cultural behavior rather than describing local historic specifics. There are links between the theories of processual archaeology and sociological systems theory (Magnusson Staaf 1994).

Systems theory can be regarded as a typically modernistic idea complex which aims to identify and describe social and economic patterns in human behavior in order to enable, for example, efficient public planning (Magnusson Staaf 1994). Systems theory was also to play a role in urban planning (Hägerstrand 1974). The modernist architects of the 1920s and 1930s had expressed similar ideas when they advocated standardization and mass-production in architecture in order to serve the human need for good housing (Svedberg 1996:46-47). These ideals guided the planning and designing of the housing developments that were built on the sites that were excavated through CRM archaeology. It may, at a first glance, appear as if the links that had existed between archaeology and architecture at the turn of the century had disappeared in the post-war era. The architecture of this time had a style that was truly international (Khan 1998). The houses in the district of Rosengård in Malmö could just as well have been erected in Japan or the German Democratic Republic. There are no apparent references to local traditions or history. The rise of the modern society involved an increasing specialization and segmentation between different spheres of knowledge. One could describe this development as a disconnection of the communication between different categories of intellectuals, in the present case between architects

and archaeologists. Yet, most intellectuals and most parts of society were cast in the same mold of modernity. Archaeology and architecture were guided by similar ideas and mentality, though the archaeologists and architects were themselves unconscious of this. The houses built in the international modernistic style resemble, for example, the quantitative tables in the archaeological reports (fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Apartment building at Lindeborg in Malmö. Designed by HSB-architects in 1971. Photo: Tyke Tykesson.

Stronger protection for archaeological remains

The interests of CRM sometimes clashed with the plans of urban developers. A large modern housing complex and shopping mall called "Caroli City" was schemed in Malmö in the 1960s. The construction of this compound involved the demolition of a considerable portion of the medieval part of Malmö. The street network in this part of town was, for example, transformed radically. The development of the area involving the tearing down of the older houses, some of which were of renaissance or medieval origin, began in 1968 and continued until 1975. The interpretation of the Cultural Resource Management law at that time made it possible to proceed with this work with only a minimum of archaeological surveillance. Large areas of the central part of medieval Malmö containing settlement remains dating back to the 13th Century were thus dug away by excavating machines (Rosborn 1984; Murath & Norén-Murbäck 1989; Magnusson Staaf & Tykesson 1999). Public authorities in Sweden and in Malmö, however, started also to become aware of the proportion of the destruction of archaeological remains.

The legal protection of ancient monuments became stronger in Sweden in 1982. The number of archaeologists working with CRM archaeology also increased. The permanent staff working with this type of archaeology amounted to over 20 persons in the Department of City Archaeology at Malmö Museum in the late 1980s. Various archaeological projects also required that several more archaeologists had to be engaged on shorter terms. This development in Malmö during the 1970s and 1980s was typical of the country in general. A growing cadre of professional and academically educated archaeologists started to manage the CRM archaeology. Cooperation with laymen, in the way it had been done before the Second World War, became less common. This increasing professionalism was in one way to involve a distancing from the general public. Archaeological documentation was on the way to becoming an end in itself, a standardized routine simply existing for its own sake. This could perhaps be seen as a characteristic trait of the classical modernist project as a whole. The good intentions and visions of the social engineers had paved the way for alienation and monotony. Modernism had gone stale.

PHASE III 1980- :THE DECLINE OF THE MODERN?

The modernistic system under stress

The continuous economic expansion that Sweden had experienced in the post-war era

came to a halt in the middle of the 1970s. The vulnerability of the modern western economic system was demonstrated with all clarity during the oil crisis of 1973-74. This event was to begin a transformation of economic strategies in general in the democracies of the western world, a change that had a clear impact on industry in Malmö. In the 1980s, Kockum's shipyard had to reduce their staff radically. Thousands of shipbuilders were sent into unemployment. The large textile industry in Malmö also decreased drastically. The fast technological developments in the digital industry in the 1970s made the formerly so successful production of mechanical calculation machines by the Malmö company ADDO obsolete in a very short time. An arduous restructuring of the economy in Malmö made its beginning, a process that is still going on (Ohlsson 1994; Billing & Stigendal 1994).

New directions in CRM archaeology – Fosie IV

In the 1980s it became evident that the days of industrial complexes with thousands of employees, typical for the classical modern society, were over. Industrial robots started to replace human labor. New types of industry started to take form. The city of Malmö started to develop large areas in order to accommodate these enterprises in the 1970s and 1980s, while the development for housing decreased. A major archaeological investigation conducted by Malmö Museum was brought about through the establishment of a new industrial district called Fosie IV in 1979. The investigated area covered 400 000 square meters. The two archaeologists who directed this excavation, Nils Björhem and Ulf Säfvestad, were to use a strategy of investigation that was innovative in CRM archaeology at that time. Björhem and Säfvestad based the investigation on deductive reasoning. Certain hypotheses considering prehistoric settlements in Scania were formulated beforehand. One of these hypotheses was that longhouses had been far more common than earlier assumed. It was also presumed that these houses constituted core constructions on settlements and farmsteads. This hypothesis was proven by the excavation at Fosie IV where a large number of longhouses were found (Björhem & Säfvestad 1989, 1993).

The investigation at Fosie IV not only involved documentation of archaeological remains, it was also archaeological research. The results of this research were to revolutionize Swedish settlement archaeology in general. The methods from Fosie IV were applied to a large number of investigations in CRM archaeology during the 1980s and 1990s, both in Malmö and in Sweden generally (see for example Borna-Ahlkvist, Lindgren-Herz & Stålbom 1998:8). The deductive method was a common scientific approach in processual archaeology. The reasoning and interpretations of Björhem and Säfvestad in the publications from Fosie IV also display influences from the processual framework of ideas. Demographic factors seen in relation to the settlements are for example the object of in-depth analysis in the Fosie IV study (Björhem & Säfvestad 1993:358-364).

The investigation was to a large extent conducted before the development of post-processual archaeology. The excavation at Fosie IV was to give CRM archaeology a new direction of strategy in Malmö. The deductive reasoning that had preceded the Fosie investigation made it clear that a continuous theoretical interpretive analysis directly connected to the investigation from beginning to report improved the archaeological quality considerably in CRM archaeology. The writing of research designs and scientific project plans were to become a standard for CRM archaeology in the 1990s (RAÄ 1998). No larger archaeological project is today allowed to start without this. It was at this time also made evident that resources for writing more extensive reports were needed.

Vast archaeological materials from excavations carried out in the 1970s and 1980s were largely unreported and therefore in a sense wasted from both the scientific and public points of view. The proportions between the expenses for field investigations and report costs were consequently adjusted.

A sensitivity to economic cycles

The research projects of CRM archaeology are still directly dependent upon construction development. Investigations are, for example, strictly confined to the particular areas limited by development, and it is the developing entrepreneur who pays the expenses for the archaeological excavations and reports as well. This type of archaeology is therefore quite dependent on general economic cycles. If the rate of construction development lessens, the amount of work for those employed in CRM archaeology also decreases. The economic recession struck Malmö hard at the beginning of the 1990s, leading to a dramatic reduction in construction development which affected those employed as archaeologists at Malmö Museum. Several members of the permanent staff had to leave their jobs. The uncertainty of the construction market is of course a major problem for CRM archaeology. Economic recessions inevitably involve a reduction of staff and loss of competence. Yet the economic situation was soon to change in the Malmö region.

The influence of post-processual archaeology

The construction of a bridge across the Sound between Sweden and Denmark started in 1996 after the final decisions of the Danish and Swedish governments. This infrastructural project with a planned cost of around 3 billion US dollars, involved the construction of a new circular freeway around Malmö. The freeway demonstrates in its design and plan new attitudes which stand in contrast to the ideas of classical modernism. The freeways dating to the 1950s and 1960s in the Malmö region were built to be seen. The automobile belonged among the material icons of classic modernity, but they are in the present day no longer regarded with the same unrestrained reverence. Large efforts have been made to make the freeway "invisible" in the landscape. Long stretches of the freeway have been dug down into the plains around Malmö in order to keep the sight horizons free. An "ecological" freeway has even been spoken of, still, vast areas with archaeological remains around Malmö were to be affected through construction works (Magnusson Staaf 1996). The archaeological investigations conducted in relation to this infrastructural project, named "The Sound Connection", are one of the largest field archaeological research projects in Europe. Over 100 archaeologists have been engaged in this project. The project is directed by archaeologists from Malmö Museum.

The research designs and project plans of this project demonstrate a new attitude towards the modernistic tradition in CRM archaeology. The project is divided into a number of sub-projects which will most likely lend the scientific syntheses a kaleidoscopic character. The interpretations and analyses do not focus only on the economic and material dimensions of the archaeological material. Ritual and mental aspects of prehistoric and historic society are subjected to study as well. The ambitions of the project plans are also set on the regionally and historically specific instead of trying to find universal patterns of human behavior. A clear influence from the ideas of post-processual archaeology can thus be seen in this research project (Björhem 1994; Billberg, Björhem & Thörn 1996; Billberg, Björhem, Thörn & Magnusson Staaf 1998).

The bill that someone has to pay

The general cost of CRM archaeology increased in the late 1980s and 1990s, though not only because of the increasing sums for reports. General archaeological ambitions

were now higher than in the 1960s and 1970s. CRM archaeology is now considered as research, not only documentation of ancient monuments. A Swedish government bill from 1993/94, addressing CRM archaeology, distinctly says that this CRM archaeology should be part of a research process (RAÄ 1998). This government bill has been debated by archaeologists since it has at least two consequences. It firmly establishes on the one hand, the opinion that CRM archaeology should be connected to research, which most archaeologists find to be a good thing. It implies on the other hand that all documentation of archaeological remains must be balanced on the scale of their scientific interest. The ideal of general conformity of all archaeological documentation no longer applies. It is not enough to justify the excavation of an archaeological site merely by claiming it to be an ancient monument. The government bill from 1993/94 therefore says two things; firstly that the CRM archaeology must have scientific substance, and secondly that there must be a roof for how much this archaeology can cost.

A research design emphasizes certain sets of problems, normally suggesting that specific types of archaeological remains are given a higher priority in the documentation. Certain remains or materials are therefore at the same time considered to be of less interest. The inductive ideal of unbiased observation and documentation of all remains at a site is not compatible with the idea of deductive research designs. The research designs are based on the preliminary investigations which precede all larger excavations in CRM archaeology in Sweden. There are, however, always inductive elements on excavations. It almost belongs to the nature of archaeological investigations that surprising finds turn up, no matter how good the preliminary excavation has been. These finds often force a reevaluation of the strategies of the research design. The illusion that everything on an archaeological site can be recorded at 100% is however still quite a vivid thought among certain archaeologists, even if they at the same time embrace the idea of a research design. They are therefore ambivalent to the government bill of 1993/94. Yet the reluctance to prioritize can make cost estimations of archaeological investigations unrealistically high from the perspective of general public economy.

Understanding of the costs of archaeology can vary widely between developers. As an example, one of the developers for the new circular highway around Malmö protested against the cost estimation for archaeology. The total cost of the archaeological project related to the "Sound Connection" will be about 12 million US dollars, which may appear to be a large sum. It amounts, however, only to less than 1% of the total cost of all the construction work (including the bridge across the Sound) made for the "Sound Connection" (Magnusson Staaf 1996). The Swedish government found that the archaeological cost estimation was appropriate and balanced in relation to the suggestions presented in the project program and research design. One could say that research programs give arguments for legitimizing the archaeological costs. However, the real estimate of whether these costs really are legitimate can only be made when the results have been presented.

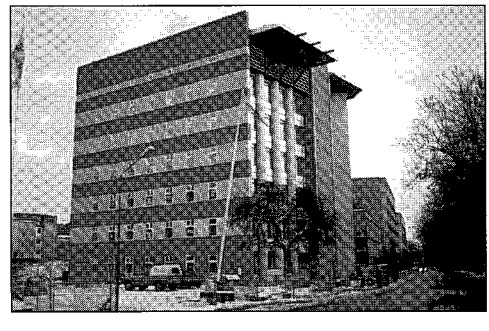

Fig. 3. The Wallenberg laboratory at the Public Hospital of Malmö. Designed by Lars Asklund in 1994. Photo: Tyke Tykesson.

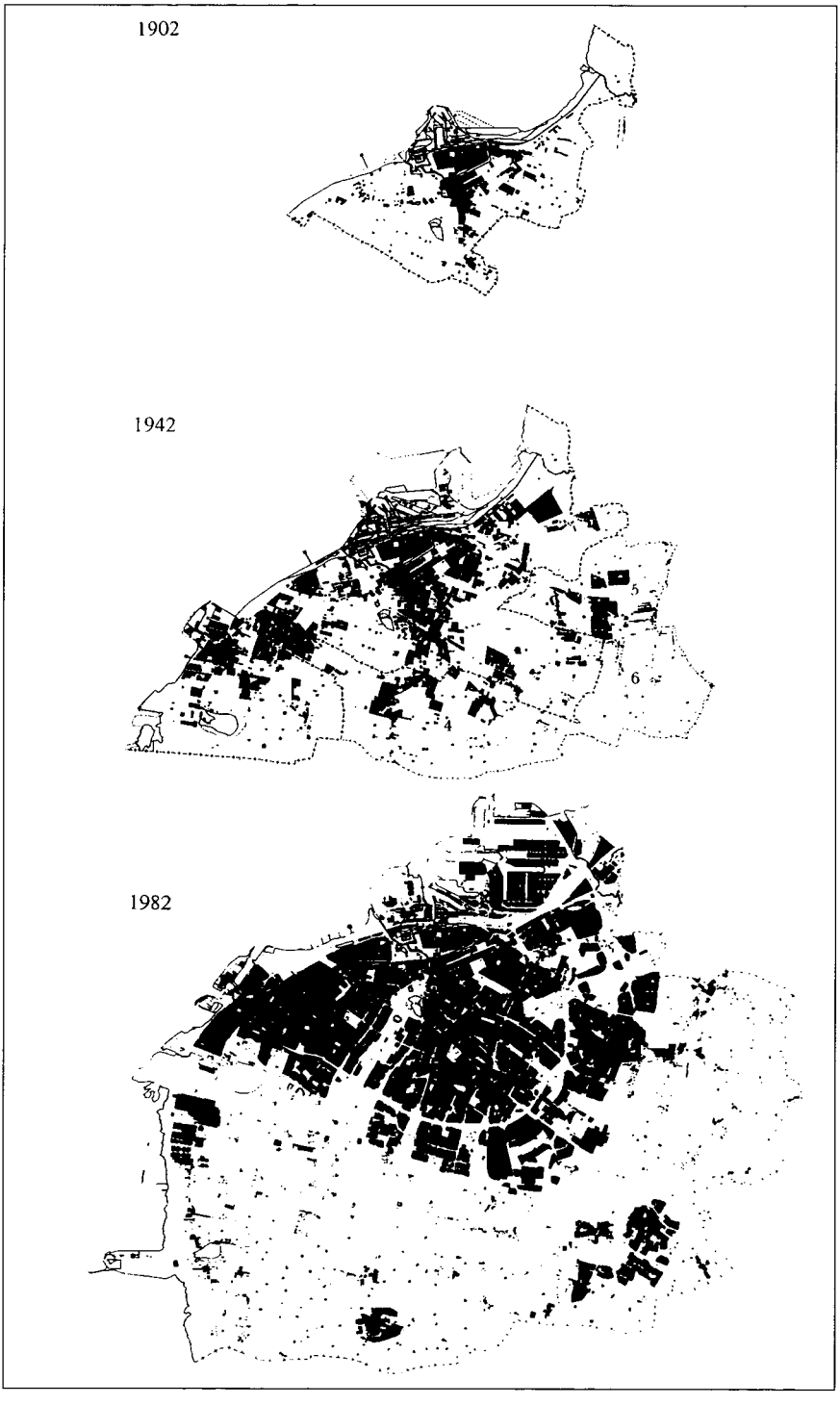

Fig. 4. The growth of Malmö 1902-1982.

Expectations for archaeology beyond the classic modern

The reports and syntheses of interpretation are of course important for the qualitative evaluation of archaeological projects. However, one of the most important factors deciding the future of CRM archaeology in Sweden is whether or not the investigating institutions will be making their results public. An awareness of this fact is also reflected in the publication plan of the "Sound Connection", where a number of publications are intended for a wider audience. The project can thus in itself be regarded as a reflection of the changing society we are living in.

We must perhaps ask ourselves whether the idea of the modern is on the decline, or if we rather are experiencing a redefinition of the modern? Earlier in this article, I have myself used examples from the architecture of Malmö to illustrate general mental and cultural tendencies during various periods of the 20th century. Clear historical references started to appear in the post-modern architecture of Malmö during the 1980s. This architecture can, just as can the deconstructivist philosophy of Jacques Derrida (Derrida 1978), be regarded as a polemic against modernity. Both post-modern architecture and post-modern philosophy have however not been very successful in presenting alternative social strategies (Werne 1997). The sociologist Ulrich Beck speaks of a reflexive modernity in contrast to the classical modernity. The absolute character of reasoning in classic modernity, which Beck describes in terms of "either or", has proved to be unsatisfactory. Instead, considerations of ambiguity play a central role in the ideology of the reflexive modernity that Beck introduces. We must, according to Beck, constantly redefine ourselves in relation to society and environment in order to be able to democratically handle the present (Beck 1995). The architect Finn Werne puts similar demands on architecture (Werne 1997). The edifice of the Wallenberg Institute at the General Hospital of Malmö, designed by Lars Asklund, could be seen as an architectural exponent of a "reflexive modernity". The building has a distinct individual profile at the same time as it clearly signals references to the local historical context in the choice of building material, using bricks interfused with decorative white stripes. The local history of Scania has also become a current issue with the construction of a bridge across the Sound. The inhabitants of southern Sweden will most likely have to redefine their identity as a new economic and political region centering around the Sound develops. The regional "Scanian" identity is not without historical complexity (Svanberg 1999). The general interest in the archaeological results of the excavations related to the "Sound Connection" is also considerable.

A perhaps unforeseen consequence of the modernistic development was the devaluation of history in the general intellectual discourse. It appears as if the social and political transformations that have taken place after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 have put matters of history back into the center. The rise of a new network society also forces us to redefine ourselves and our social relationships (Castells 1999). It is most likely that we will turn to history in order to do this. The great challenge for the archaeologists and historians of the 21st Century will be to make their research of central social relevance. It is therefore necessary that a redefinition of the relationship to the classic modernistic traditions in the humanistic sciences takes place. These are also the future demands that will be put on Cultural Resource Management in Sweden.

English revised by Calum McDonald.

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