

Development Through Culture

A Policy Study of Region Skåne's Cultural Policy

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Abstract

Today we can sometimes discern a tendency in cultural policy – in Sweden and abroad – of using culture as a tool to achieve development. In Sweden this tendency is the most obvious at the regional level.

In this thesis I study this tendency in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. The aim is firstly to examine in what way the tendency of integrating a development perspective in the cultural policy, is present in the region. Furthermore, the aim is to study which factors that may have evoked this tendency.

I find in my study that the development perspective is very present in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. The tendency appears the most when analysing the values and the visions within the policy. I find that the main representative for these values is the bureaucracy. The bureaucrats also have a great influence over the cultural policy in Region Skåne and are therefore an important factor in evoking this tendency. Other factors that have been important are the economic structures and the influence of international institutions such as the Council of Europe, Unesco and the European Union. Common for these is that they all have interests in this development of cultural policy. Finally, I find that this tendency is very closely linked to a regionalisation of cultural policy, since it gives new actors access to the policy. The regionalisation is probably also the main explanation to this tendency in the case of Region Skåne.

Key words: culture, cultural policy, development, policy, region

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1 Introduction

During the past ten-fifteen years the role of culture has gained increased attention in social and economic development perspectives. Within the field of cultural policy¹ there is a tendency towards integrating development issues into the policy formulation. The importance of adding a cultural perspective on development, next to an economic and technical one, was emphasized in the report *Our creative diversity* (*Vår skapande mångfald*, 1996), from the Commission of Culture and Development. Thereby, these ideas were lifted to discussion at an international level. In Sweden, this tendency has been most evident at the regional and local level.

The role of culture in the local and regional development is getting more and more attention. The national goals within cultural policy shall not only concern the cultural sector but all sectors in society such as education, health care and society planning. (*Tillsammans når vi längre. Regionala kulturstrategier – kommuner och landssting i samverkan*, 1999: 6) (*My translation*).

Traditionally, cultural policy has not been a priority in political science (Eling, 1999: 20). Consequently, the research within this discipline is rather limited. The knowledge about the factors behind this evolution in cultural policy towards culture as a positive force in local and regional development is thus quite restricted. There is a need of more research on the subject (*Om världen 2000. Kulturrådets omvärldsanalys*, 2000:83).

By integrating politics, economics and culture this subject points at the broadness in political science, and therefore I find it an interesting field of study for my final thesis at the Program for Political Science and Economics. The study will thus hopefully be a good example of the importance of taking into account new research perspectives within political science as well as the importance of integrating cultural policy as a natural part of political science.

1.1 Statement of Purpose

The prominent role of the regional level in Sweden within this tendency in cultural policy thus makes it an interesting level to study. In order to better

¹ The English concept of “policy” can in Swedish be used both in the sense of “policy” and in the sense of “politik” (Hugoson, 2000:191). In this thesis, the latter one will be used.

penetrate the formulation of policy I have chosen to focus on one specific region, namely Region Skåne, which I already know is a region where this tendency has occurred. My first purpose with this study is thus to examine to what extent the above-mentioned tendency in cultural policy is established in Region Skåne.

To follow up the results achieved by the above-mentioned study, this thesis will further focus on the factors behind this situation. The forces and interests that have provoked this tendency in policy will thus be investigated. My second purpose is thus to investigate what factors that have determined this formulation of cultural policy in Region Skåne.

Consequently, the question that will be answered in this study is:

In what way can the tendency to use culture as a tool in achieving regional development be identified in the cultural policy of Region Skåne, and how can this tendency be explained?

1.2 Theoretical Approach

Because of the study's focus on cultural policy, policy theories will constitute the theoretical basis in this thesis. In order to detect the above-mentioned tendency in cultural policy, a policy analysis will be conducted. Models of development within cultural policy will serve as tools to identify the tendency. Goals within the cultural policy in Region Skåne will be used to operationalise the study.

Since I only focus on finding indications of a certain tendency in the policy, I do not intend to give a complete picture of the cultural policy in Region Skåne. There are of course many other components and tendencies in the policy apart from the one being studied in this thesis. The aim is to distinguish to what extent this tendency is present in the policy and not to which extent it dominates it.

In order to find explanations to the formulation of the cultural policy in Region Skåne, I will use a theory of Howlett and Ramesh (from now on referred to as Howlett et al) of public policy. Even though the government – which usually is the main actor in public policy – isn't my main object of study, I find this theory useful in this study since Region Skåne is a public authority. The focus will be on so called "policy determinants" (Howlett et al, 2003: 9), i.e. factors explaining the outcome of the formulation of a policy. Being formed by actors and structures, the theory thus comprises a sort of actor-structure perspective (Lundquist, 1993: 35). As indicated by Howlett et al (2003: 8), public policy is a very complex phenomenon to study and theories of public policy are therefore often a simplification of reality. I am aware that this is the case in this study, and that I might have to draw conclusions out of generalisations based upon this simplified theory. However, I still claim this theory being useful in my study since it offers basic guidelines of how to approach factors that might influence the policy formulation.

Since the theory is used as a tool to explain a phenomenon and the focus of the study is on the case and not on the theory, the study has a theory consuming character (Esaiasson; Gilljam; Oscarsson; Wägnerud, 2004: 41).

1.3 Method and Material

Since focus is on the factors that have influenced the tendency in the formulation of cultural policy in Region Skåne, I have chosen to conduct a case study. The reasons to why I chose Region Skåne as a case are several. The fact that I was a resident in the County of Skåne implied certain knowledge of the policies in the region and also a familiarity with the cultural activities. Further on, in the literature on the subject of cultural policy, Region Skåne was often mentioned for having a cultural policy with certain tendencies to include a development perspective. The fact that Region Skåne takes part in an experimental activity of self-governing, in which the cultural policy is included in the development issues (see 3.1.2) makes it a very interesting. This fact directly implies an integration of the cultural policy and the region's development strategy.

Region Skåne thus makes a good example of – what I have interpreted as – a general tendency in cultural policy. However, I do not intend to make any generalisations out of the results of this study of the region.

Since the formulation of the cultural policy is the focus of the study, this also means that it is the formulation phase (and to some extent also the agenda setting phase) of the policy making process that will be examined (Breslin; Hague; Harrop, 2000: 514). Out of this, the time frames of the study are drawn up. The creation of Region Skåne January 1st 1999 somehow marks an initiation of the process of formulating a cultural policy, a process that is still going on. However, the influences on the formulation, and the very appearance of the idea of culture as a development-stimulating factor on the political agenda, go back further in time. In order to take those factors into account, this study stretches from the very beginning of the 1990th up until today.

This study has been conducted on the basis of a variety of material. Secondary material, such as literature on the subject of cultural policy in general and the relation between cultural policy and development in particular, constitute a great part of the study. In addition to this, primary material such as the cultural policy program and the development program of Region Skåne will lay ground for the analysis. Finally, the study is also built upon interviews with key persons dealing with the cultural policy in Region Skåne.

Three main interviews have been conducted for this study. These have been made with persons currently involved in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. The first

interviewee, Katarina Carlsson is vice president of the Cultural Office (Kulturkansliet) in Region Skåne, as well as responsible for regional development issues. Being a civil servant, she thus represents the bureaucracy in the study². Claes-Göran Jönsson is the president of the Cultural Committee (Kulturnämnden) and represents the Social Democracy party, “socialdemokraterna” within the committee. He, together with Branimir Knezevic – the third person interviewed – represent the elected officials in the interview. Knezevic is a member of the Cultural Committee and represents the right wing party, “moderaterna”. The politicians have in this study been chosen according to their political party belongings. The reason for this is to achieve a balanced picture of the opinions within the Cultural Committee and also to try and distinguish a potential difference in opinion between the political parties. The choice of these two categories of actors, civil servant and politician, are based upon their direct involvement in the cultural policy and their strong connection to the very process of policy formulation.

In these interviews it has mainly been the persons’ own experiences, thoughts and opinions that have been the interest of the study (respondentundersökning) (Esaiasson; Gilljam; Oscarsson; Wägnerud, 2004: 253ff). However, to a limited extent the interviews have functioned as a collecting of information (informantundersökning). The interviews have been based on prepared questions, and have thus had a certain level of standardisation, which indicates a character of survey study (survey- eller frågeundersökning) (*ibid*: 255). Nevertheless, the interviews have mostly been of a non-structured kind and the aim has mainly been to map up the persons’ ideas in certain issues. In certain cases this has implied a quite profound way of dealing with the questions (samtalsintervjuundersökning) (*ibid*).

1.4 Previous Research: Development Through Culture

To enable an understanding of this study, a brief background of already existing research about culture in a social and economic development perspective will be presented to the reader.

According to the National Council of Cultural Affairs in Sweden, there is a great need of research within the field of cultural policy (*Om världen 2000. Kulturrådets omvärldsanalys*, 2000: 81). Research on this subject is poorly

² The fact that Katarina Carlsson actually is responsible for the development issues within the Cultural Office, might influence the way of which she includes the development perspective in the cultural policy. However, exactly because of her good insight into the issues I find her interesting to include in this study. Also the fact that her post is very central in the Cultural Office motivates the choice.

developed in Sweden as well as internationally. The establishment of a World Commission for Culture and Development, initiated by the United Nation through Unesco (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), did however mark some kind of turning point in this research field. An international discussion of the need of research within cultural policy was initiated and the focus was laid on the connection between culture and development. 1995 the Commission came up with its final report, *Our Creative Diversity*. The purpose of this report was to stimulate and deepen the debate and analysis of the connections between culture and development. It pointed at the fact that development not only is to be seen as purely economical but also as a way for people to chose a satisfactory and a meaningful life together with other people. Culture plays a crucial role in achieving this kind of development (*Kultur som regional tillväxt*, 1998: 4). The value of cultural creativity was emphasized as a latent fundament for economic and social development rather than as an instrument.

The report from the World Commission later laid ground for the Unesco conference in Stockholm, 1998, “The Power of Culture”. This was the third global conference between cultural ministers and resulted in the action plan *Cultural Policy for Development*. The conference requested all member states to set up five goals for the cultural policy, of which the first one was to “give cultural policy a key role in the development policy” (*Kulturpolitik för utveckling*, 1998: 13).

Our creative diversity was 1997 followed by *In From the Margins*, a research report from the Council of Europe, adapted to European contexts. The role of culture for achieving a sustainable development and its role to support and activate neglected groups in the society, are two main issues raised in this report (*Kultur för regional tillväxt*, 1998: 18).

In the literature on the subject there has started to occur a whole range of ways in which culture can contribute to public welfare and economic development. The sociologist Göran Nylöf, a previous employee at the National Council of Cultural Affairs, has distinguished a few different aspects of the side effects of cultural investments, reformulated in *Kulturens nya vägar* (Nilsson, 2003: 402). The list serves as a good introduction to the research of the relationship between development and culture and may to some extent serve as an explanation to the formulation of cultural policy.

- 1) Culture as a factor to attract companies
- 2) Culture as a contributor to the economy
- 3) Culture as attraction to new inhabitants
- 4) Culture as a resource for tourism
- 5) Culture as an impact on the regions profile
- 6) Culture as a factor for creativity
- 7) Culture as a contributor to a feeling of community
- 8) Culture as factor for empowerment

- 9) Culture as a stabilising factor
- 10) Culture as a health-creating factor
- 11) Culture as a support in a crisis situation

The research field within cultural policy is, as we have seen, broadening. To adapt the research to contemporary conditions in the empirical cultural policy there is a need to integrate a range of scientific fields, such as sociology, ethnology, social economy and social science (*Om världen 2000. Kulturrådets omvärldsanalys*, 2000: 82). This development in research is equally linked to the development of the definition of culture, as we will see in the following chapter.

1.5 Definitions

Culture is considered being one of the hardest concepts to define within social science (*Sociologiskt lexikon*, 1998: 169). The enormous range of interpretations of the concept is also the very origin to the difficulties – as well as the possibilities – in cultural policy. In order to conduct a discussion about cultural policy it is of great importance to clearly define what is meant by the notion “culture”. Out of this definition, a delimitation of the domain of cultural policy can be made. Also the concept of development is necessary to define for the coming discussion and analysis in this study, and this will be made in the second sector.

1.5.1 The notion of culture

The word “culture” originates from Latin and means “cultivate”(Stenström, 1997: 11), but this etymology of the word offers little guidance in the search of a definition. To be able to seize the concept it seems necessary to draw up some guidelines, based upon how much the concept should include. The most frequently used categorization of “culture” in the cultural policy discourse is the one between the *humanistic* and the *anthropological* definition. In the humanistic one – also referred to as the narrow one – culture is understood as “*a humanistic concept of art and enlightenment*” (Duelund, 2003: 19). Culture is here limited to include the artefacts. The *anthropological* – broad or open – concept of culture on the other hand, opens up the definition to include all aspects of culture in a society. This definition is often referred to as the extended concept of culture, where the “*whole way of life*”(ibid) is included.

As already stated, the choice of definition is a crucial positioning in the formulation of cultural policy, since the concept of culture is considered to determine the area of action for the policy concerned. Therefore there exists a discussion among politicians and cultural workers as well as among researcher, whether the humanistic or the anthropological definition should be applied.

However, in Sweden the anthropological definition has been considered difficult to build a cultural policy upon. In the cultural Governmental Bill (SOU 1972:66, p 168)), the National Council of Cultural Affairs stated that the cultural policy could not be based upon this definition. Instead of defining the concept of culture, the very area of cultural policy was delimited. Also the following cultural Governmental Bill (SOU 1995:84, p 40) makes the same distinction between the concept of culture and the area of cultural policy. The actual policy is limited to concern 1) The Artefacts, 2) The Media, 3) The Educational aims, and 4) The Cultural Heritage. (Nilsson, 2003: 354f).

Nevertheless, the awareness of the need to include the anthropological definition has increased during the last 10-15 years. The artefacts are still the heart of the cultural policy in Sweden, but the “area of diffusion” of the cultural policy is increasing and demands a broadening of the definition of culture (*Om Världen 2000. Kulturrådets omvärldsanalys*, 2000: 8). The role of culture in the development of the society and of the individuals is becoming more and more present in the discussions of cultural policy at an international level (see 1.4). In Sweden this perspective is gaining ground at mainly the regional level (*ibid*: 7). A wider definition of culture will have implications on the actual policy since the very definition opens up for new areas of influence of the cultural policy. An increased co-operation between the different sectors in the society is one expected consequence of this transition of the concept of culture (*ibid*).

There is a need to keep both definitions in mind and of great importance to take into account the context when defining culture and delimiting the area of cultural policy. For example, the definitions and delimitations differ between different actors at national, regional and local level. (*Tillsammans när vi längre*, 1999: 15). According to Rolf Hugoson, lecturer in Political Science, a wide definition of culture is however to be preferred in political situations since it, because of its abstractness, is considered being more neutral than the narrow one (2000: 191). In most of the research on the subject of cultural policy, this is also the definition that is being used. Because of these facts and of the central role of the anthropological definition in the transition of cultural policy towards integrating a development perspective, this is the definition of culture that will be used in this thesis.

1.5.2 The notion of development

Development is a very vague notion when used by itself. Therefore it is quite problematic to clearly define what kind of development that is referred to when speaking of achieving development through culture. Often the notion is used in economical contexts. However, as emphasized in the research reports, development was not only to be seen in this sense but the notion should also include other aspects such as helping people to create meaningful lives. I intend to combine these different definitions and use the notion in the sense of development

of society. This includes both an economic aspect as well as development of the individual, which in a long-term perspective is in benefit of society. This is also a definition that I find fits in well in the way the notion of development is used in the cultural policy in Region Skåne

1.6 Disposition

The thesis is divided into three main chapters. In the following one the theories that will be used to answer the research question, will be presented. The theory chapter consists of two sections, in which the first one is devoted to models of cultural policy and the second one to the theory of cultural policy. The following chapter deals with the very case, Region Skåne. The chapter is initiated by a section devoted to provide the reader with an understanding of the background of the case. The following section mainly focuses on the first purpose of the study, to examine to what extent the tendency in cultural policy to use culture as a tool to achieve development is established in Region Skåne. The last section of the chapter will handle the second purpose, to examine what factors that may have provoked this tendency. In a concluding chapter the result of the study will be presented and analysed and the research question answered.

2 Theory

In this chapter, the theoretical basis laying ground for the analysis of the study will be introduced to the reader. The first section will be devoted to models of cultural policy, pointing at certain tendencies in the development of the policy during the past decades in general and in Sweden in particular. These will later on serve as tools when trying to detect tendencies of integrating a development perspective in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. In the second section of this chapter, a theory of public policy focusing on so-called “policy determinants” will be treated. This theory will be used in order to facilitate an analysis of the factors that have provoked this development of the cultural policy in Region Skåne.

2.1 Tendencies in Cultural Policy: Models

2.1.1 Humanistic, Sociological, Instrumental

The Danish cultural researcher Dorte Skot-Hansen has developed a model to describe the development in cultural policy since the 1960's until today (*Kultur til tiden – strategier i den lokale kulturpolitik*, 1998). The perspective is mainly Danish but since the cultural policies in the Nordic countries are very similar to each other (Duelund, 2003), Skot-Hansen's model is applicable to the Swedish case as well. Still, some modifications of the model have been made by Sven Nilsson in order to adapt it to the Swedish conditions, and these are used in the model below. The model serves as a tool to understand the development of the cultural policy during the past decades and the situation of the cultural policy in Sweden today.

Figure 1: The Development of Cultural Policy

<i>Humanistic</i>	<i>Sociological</i>	<i>Instrumental</i>
<i>Goal:</i>	Education	Deliberation Visibility
<i>Background:</i> society	The state	The civil The market
<i>Anchorage:</i>	National	Local Global
<i>Strategy:</i> the people personal events, creation marketing	Fine art to democracy,	Cultural profilisation, Culturalisation,
<i>Audience:</i> population	The whole	Groups lifestyles Segments,
<i>Frame:</i> institutions pluralistic frames	Cultural participation,	Active flagships Festivals,
<i>Function:</i> education communication	Enlightenment, development,	Confirmation, experiences Entertainment,
<i>Mediation:</i> intermediators (ex. librarians)	Cultural pedagogues	Animators, project leaders Curators,

(Source: Sven Nilsson, *Kulturens nya vägar*, 2003: 448. My translation.)

In the *humanistic* motivated cultural policy, enlightenment and education are seen as the adequate way to strengthen the democracy. The people are in need of guidance in order to reach the values of art and culture, and the cultural institutions with their specialised staff play an important role in connecting these two. The state is central in this model that shows the Swedish cultural policy up until the time of the first cultural Governmental Bill. The presentation of this bill marks the change in cultural policy to a more *sociological* one. By this, the passive distribution of culture was questioned. Instead of guiding people to access “fine culture”, the cultural workers were supposed to help the people to become part of the creative work of culture. Cultural democracy is central in this model and everyone should have access to culture and have the right to express him- or herself. Culture was seen as a process instead of something that should be consumed. By the end of the 1980’s the *instrumentally* motivated culture started to develop (Nilsson, 2003: 449). In this model, culture is a symbol for creativity and innovation. There is a tendency to look upon culture as a tool to create economic development. The market claims its place in the cultural policy and the international aspect is growing more present. The new role of cultural intermediaries is to access the financial opportunities and to be familiar with the new crucial vocabulary such as experimental, international, attraction, and infotainment etc (ibid).

This is however a very simplified description of the development of the Swedish cultural policy. In reality all the different variables are mixed together and the tendencies are not very clear (*ibid*: 47). The cultural policy of today has influences from all three categories. Still, the model lines up general tendencies showing the development of the direction of policy and it is therefore useful when analysing formulation of cultural policy.

2.1.2 Culture's Relation to Other Sectors in Society

Cultural policy develops alongside with the development of the society in general (Lundberg; Alvarsson, 1996: 188ff). Sverker Sörlin (2003:33) has developed a model describing the relations between culture and other sectors of society. He describes it as interplay between three different systems;

- the economical system or the production system
- the knowledge system (research, education and innovations)
- the life of culture (culture, art, design, fashion etc)

Figure 2: Society Sectors in Integration

(Source: Sven Nilsson, *Kulturens nya vägar*, 2003: 318)

(Because of technical problems to integrate this model in the document, the model is placed in the end of this document as *Appendix I*).

In the industrial society these three systems were all relatively autonomous. The knowledge society implied a more comprehensive integration of them, implying a greater dependency between the sectors. The breaking point between the sectors consequently increases. According to Sörlin, this will eventually lead to a harmonisation of goals, norms, values, institutions etc (*ibid*). This model will serve as a tool to concretise the way culture is being integrated with other sectors in the society and consequently how the traditional limits between the different policy fields are fading.

2.2 Public Policy

In this section, a theory of public policy will be presented. Since the study focuses on factors that have evoked a certain tendency in the cultural policy in Region Skåne, theoretical tools for detecting these factors will be presented here.

2.2.1 Definition of Public Policy

Among the theories of public policy there are many different definitions of the very concept of “public policy”. Michael Howlett and M Ramesh (2003: 5) claim that despite all the variations, there are some key aspects upon which the definitions can agree and these are that “*public policies result from decisions made by governments and that decisions by governments to retain the status quo are just as much policy as are decisions to alter it*” (ibid). The main actor in public policy is thus the government. Even if non-governmental actions may have great influence on what the governments do, it is the actions of governments that constitute public policy. Howlett et al also emphasize the fact that public policy constitute a fundamental choice for the government either to undertake an action or to do nothing, a so-called “non-decision” (ibid). However, public policy can also be seen as “*a set of interrelated decisions*” (ibid), a sort of process, where most policies involve a series of decisions, taken by a number of different governmental actors.

Howlett et al also points at the possibility to identify governmental goals by the formulation of policies. He holds that public policy making is a goal-oriented behaviour on the part of governments and analysing the policy is often a way to reveal these goals (ibid: 7). Finally, the problem-solving perspective in public policy is emphasised, which according to Howlett et al may be of great importance in the understanding of formulation of public policy.

2.2.2 The Theoretical Approach

The theory of public policy is considered to be a very complex theory (Howlett et al, 2003: 8). All the possible ways to use the theory implies a need to reduce the level of complexity in order to facilitate the use of it. This can be made by reducing the number of causal and explanatory factors which imply a somewhat simplification of reality (ibid: 8).

In order to reduce the complexity, one can choose to approach the theory in different ways. Since one of this study’s aims is to find explanations to a certain tendency in cultural policy, the approach that will be used here, is to focus on causal variables, or so called “policy determinants”, in public policy-making (ibid: 9). The main approach in this tradition is to focus on “*the relationship between public policies, the characteristics of domestic societies and the international system and the behaviour of public policy-makers*” (ibid). In order to include all these components in the study, a theory comprising of all these will be used, as we will see in the next section.

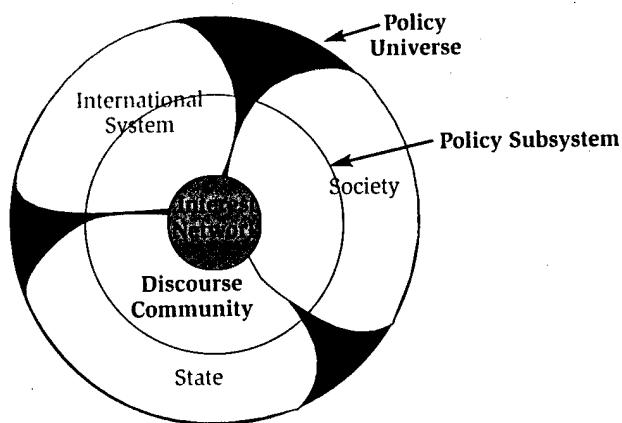
2.2.3 Policy Actors and Institutions

Institutions can in some contexts be considered as actors. In this study they are however rather seen as structures (Lundquist, 1993: 35) when constituting patterns of ideas, norms and relations in which actors take part. We will thus see how actors and institutions interact in the process of determining policies.

2.2.3.1 Policy Universe and Policy Subsystem

In order to describe the fundamental policy relationship that exists between actors and institutions, a model illustrating the concepts of Policy Universe and the Policy Subsystem will be used (Howlett et al, 2003: 54). The model includes all possible international, state and social actors and institutions that somehow influence a specific policy area, i.e the Policy universe. Out of this, a subgroup is distinguished, a so-called Policy Subsystem. A policy subsystem “*is a space where relevant actors discuss policy issues and persuade and bargain in pursuit of their interests*” (*ibid.*:53). The outcome of these interactions is determined by the different institutional arrangements and the influence of these on the actors’ interests and ideas.

Figure 3: The Policy Universe



(Source: Michael Howlett and M Ramesh, *Studying Public Policy. Policy Cycles and Public Subsystems*. 2003: 54)³

³ Within the policy subsystem, Howlett et al makes a distinction between “interest network” (actors who participate more often and directly in the policy process) and “discourse community” (those involved to a lesser degree) (Howlett et al, 2003: 54). Because of the limitations in this study, I have chosen not to use these in my study.

In the next two sections the principal actors and institutions that determine and comprise the membership of policy subsystem will be introduced to the reader, starting with the international system.

2.2.3.2 The International System

According to Howlett and al, there is within the research of public policy an increasing interest in the international system's influence on the domestic⁴ policy process (Howlett et al, 2003: 54). The reason for this is probably a growing awareness of the actual influence of international actors and structures due to the so-called *internationalisation* or *globalisation* (*ibid*: 55). This recognition of the importance of this system has also implied a higher awareness of the complex character of the internationalisation, and even though researchers have invested in deepened studies of the phenomenon, these studies offer a great challenge and are still at an early stage (*ibid*). In order to bring some structure to the research, the international system's influence on the policy process has been divided into two groups; institutions and actors.

Within the study of *international institutions'* influence on states'⁵ behaviour, the concept of "international regimes" (*ibid*: 56) has been developed. Regimes are defined as "sets of governing arrangements" or "networks of rules, norms, and procedures that regularise behaviour and control its effects" (Keohane and Nye in Howlett et al, 2003: 56), i.e. structures (*my remark*). The influence of these regimes varies to a very large extent according to their form, their size, their level of adherence, the instruments by which they function etc. However, they all affect public policy by supporting certain options and hampering others and may have considerable influence on actors' preferences. The impact of international regimes also depends on the autonomy of the nations they try to influence. A less powerful nation possesses less policy autonomy and tend thus to be more influenced by the dominant powers, voluntarily or not. However, the internationalisation is not only a question of a regime imposing power to less powerful nations. It is a development that "creates new opportunities for learning from the policy experiences of others" (Howlett et al, 2003: 59) as well as the development of new policy patterns. International organisations and regimes such as the United Nations, European Union and the World Trade Organisation are important in the shaping of these structures.

These international regimes determine to a very large extent the possibility for *international actors* to affect domestic policies (*ibid*). Whether a regime in one

⁴ Because of the way the theory is being used in this thesis – public in the sense of governmental authority and not purely the government – the international influences on a nation is thus not limited to concern the policies at national level but also at regional and local level.

⁵ As already mentioned, in this theory of public policy the state is in focus. Consequently, in the description of the theory I will talk in terms of states, even though I further on will apply it to the regional level.

way or another will facilitate the actors' involvement in a policy process or not, may determine the success of the actors' influence at a domestic policy. Another resource that will affect the actors' power is "*the possession of theoretical and practical expertise in the policy*" (ibid: 60). Governments tend to rely on the expertise that international organisations offer, and the experts within these organisations thus have a great influence on the domestic policy making. Another source of influence is the financial resources that the international organisations possess and that may affect the direction of the policy evolution. Finally, the policy subsystem that exists at the national level may have great influences on the international actors' role in the policy process – and vice versa – depending on the nature of the policy subsystem. A coherent one that opposes the will of the international actor can be successful in preventing the external influence at the policy process, while on the other hand a fragmented one allows greater opportunity for intervention of the international actor (ibid). Consequently, the most advantageous situation for the international actor is when the policy subsystem is at the same time united and in favour of external intervention. When this occurs, there is a great possibility for the international actors to influence the domestic policy process.

2.2.3.3 Domestic State System

At domestic level, the level of *autonomy* and the *capacity* of the political institutions are crucial for the ability of the states to influence the policy process. Autonomy concerns the state's "*independence from self-serving and conflicting social pressures*" (ibid). By a high autonomy, a state can avoid having to obey a societal pressure which could benefit certain groups but worsen the welfare for the society as a whole. The capacity of a state refers to a function of its organisational coherence and expertise, where the unity between different sections and levels of the government and bureaucratic expertise will determine its success in performing policy functions (ibid: 61). When studying the making of a specific policy, one has to examine the autonomy and capacity of governmental institutions.

Elected Officials

The state actors that may influence the policy making process are divided into two groups – elected officials and appointed officials (ibid: 65). Concerning the elected officials, these can be divided into members of the executive and members of the legislators. The task of the latter category is in parliamentary systems to "*hold governments accountable to the public rather than to make or implement policies*" (ibid: 66). They thereby possess a rather marginalized role in the policy process. The executive on the other hand is one of the key players in the policy subsystem. Its central role derives from several facts. Most importantly it possesses the constitutional authority to govern the country (ibid). Other actors have the possibility to influence the policy process but only the executive has the

authority to make and to implement policies. The executive also possesses other resources that strengthen its position. Control over information, control over fiscal resources and a unique access to mass media constitute some examples of resources that the executive is in receipt of. In addition to all this, the executive has the bureaucracy at its disposal. This is of great importance in terms of professional advice and for finding the optimal way of carrying out the political preferences. All these resources can be used to influence societal actors such as interest groups, mass media and think tanks (ibid: 65). But also the executive suffers from limitations in the formulation of policy. Societal demands that have to be obeyed because of electoral strategies, limited organisational capacity and the increasing complexity of governmental functions are factors that restrict the freedom of the executive in the policy formulation.

The Bureaucracy

Because of the complexity of the function of the modern government, most of the policy-making functions once performed by the elected officials are now performed by the appointed officials (ibid: 69). These appointed officials dealing with public policy are often referred to as the “bureaucracy”. “Civil servants” and “public servants” are other designations that refer to the fact that they are supposed to assist the executive in the performance of its task. According to Howlett et al, this is however a very modest description of these actors that in fact are the central figures in many policy subsystems and often the very key stone in the policy process (ibid: 68).

The structure of the bureaucracy is considered being one of the most important determinants for the public policy process. Concentration of power in the hands of only a few officials and a relatively high degree of autonomy are, according to Atkinson and Coleman in *Studying Public Policy* (Howlett et al, 2003: 68) crucial for the success of the bureaucrats in the process. This reduces the risk of conflicts and permits long-term planning. *“To be strong, a bureaucracy must have a clear mandate, a professional ethos, and enjoy strong support, but not interference, from politicians in its day-to-day activities”* (ibid). In addition to this, bureaucrats have a number of policy resources at their disposal, which increases their power and influence in the policy process. By the law itself, bureaucrats are given a certain level of freedom of action, and may make decision on behalf of the state. Further on, bureaucrats have a great access to material resources to be used in the organisation’s objectives, a fact that gives the appointed officials a prominent role in many policy areas. The expertise and skills that the bureaucrats hold constitute another resource. The professional establishment and the fact that they deal with similar issues on a continuing basis, implies great insight in many problems.

The permanence of the members of the bureaucracy also gives them an advantages vis-à-vis the elected officials. Also the fact that the appointed officials in contrast to the elected ones, can operate more or less in “secret”(i.e. are in relation to the politicians less controlled) reduces the possibility for other policy

actors to oppose the plan of the bureaucracy. Finally, the vast information that the appointed officials have access to – deliberately gathered or received just because of its central location – is an important factor in the explanation to why bureaucrats often are keystones in the policy process. However, despite all these factors, Howlett et al emphasizes the fact that in the end it is the political executive that is responsible for all policies, and that the role of the bureaucrats should not be exaggerated (ibid: 69). In cases where issues has high political profiles or where the bureaucracy opposes a policy option the executive control is in general higher. The role of the executive is also likely to be stronger when the bureaucracy suffers from great intern division.

Business and Labour

Because of their central role in the production process with activities that have effect far beyond the economy, the organisation of business and labour is crucial in determining the state's policy capabilities (ibid: 71). While the labour in relation might have a slightly smaller impact among social groups – because of its need of a collective organisation to be able to influence the governmental behaviour – business is among interest groups generally the most powerful (ibid). The globalisation of production and financial activities that we have witnessed the last couple of years, has contributed largely to the power of capital. Businesses, being well equipped with this weapon, therefore possess great power vis-à-vis governments.

The Public

The role of the public in the public policy process is, according to Howlett et al, less important than one would imagine (ibid: 74). It is true that it contributes to the formulation of norms and values in the society upon which public policy is based, but in democratic states with representative institutions, specialised actors still dominate the determining of policy. One of the main ways in which the members of the public can influence the political agenda is by voting. However, Howlett et al claim that the impact of this manifestation is limited since “*candidates and political parties often do not run in elections on the basis of their policy platforms; and even when they do, voters usually do not vote on the basis of proposed policies alone*” (ibid: 75).

Researchers and Think Tanks

Researchers working at universities or research organisations and think tanks, constitute another set of societal actors influencing the policy processes. While often focusing on specific policy issues they are of great use for the work of the governments in their policy making work.

Political Parties

In between the state and societal actors, the political parties are to be found in the policy universe. This intermediating actor tends to influence the policy process indirectly, mainly because of the fact that the members of the political parties also are elected officials. The direct influence though, is according to Howlett et al more limited (ibid: 80). An increasing influence of policy specialists in the government and those of interest groups and research organisations, challenge the role of the political parties in the daily policy-making.

Mass Media

The role of the mass media in agenda-setting is often of great importance (ibid). Their function as passive reporters, active analysts and advocates of specific policy issues gives them a very advantaged position in the policy process. Issues highlighted in the media tend to get much attention in the public debate and often achieve the attention of governmental actors. In that way, the mass media constitute a crucial link between the state and society (ibid: 82).

Interest Groups

Finally, organised special interest groups are important actors in the policy process according to Howlett et al. Their most crucial resource is their often unique knowledge in specific policy issues. Since “*policy making is a highly information-intensive process*” (ibid: 83), the interest groups have a highly advantaged position in the policy process. Often the work of governmental actors relies on the information provided by the interest groups. The extent, to which these actors actually manage to have an effect upon the policy process, is however determined by their size, their ability of organisation and their financial resources (ibid: 84).

There is a complex system of interaction between all these actors within the policy subsystem. All of them have their own interests, which they try to promote by membership in the subsystem and by that access to the policy processes. “*But what objectives they pursue, how they do so, and the extent to which they succeed in their efforts depend to a large extent on the domestic and international context in which they operate*” (ibid: 84). The structure of political institutions and international regimes determine the actors’ interests and behaviour and also the outcomes of the policy process.

3 The Case: Region Skåne

This chapter is devoted the case of the study. I will here apply the theory on Region Skåne and successively find answers to my research question. A background will serve as an introduction to the situation of the cultural policy in the region, followed up by a section dealing with my first purpose, to find out in what way culture is used as a tool to achieve development in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. In the last section of this chapter, “policy determinants” of this tendency in the cultural policy will be dealt with.

3.1 Background

In order to understand the situation of the cultural policy in Region Skåne today, a background of the surrounding conditions to the policy will in this section be presented.

3.1.1 The Development of the Swedish National Cultural Policy

Sweden did not get a real independent cultural policy until 1972. With the Governmental Bill introduced this year⁶ (SOU 1972:66) a new domain of policy was created. Already before, the Swedish state had pursued a cultural policy, but the Bill was a recognition of culture as an independent – and important – policy field. However, the Bill also marked a turning point in the direction of the policy content (Nilsson, 2003:247). The device “fine art to the people” was replaced by a will to stimulate new ambitions by culture.

The most important change, however, was that the Governmental Bill implied organisational changes in the administration of cultural policy. The symmetry of the distribution of the cultural policy assignment between the policy at national, regional and local level was emphasised. The administration was constructed according to an ideal of subsidiary. The planning, the decision making and the responsibility were as far as possible supposed to be based at the very level where

⁶ Called “New Cultural Policy”, followed up by the cultural propositions 1974:28, 1975:20 and 1975/76:135.

the activity would be taking place (Proposition 1974:28, p 174). Especially the regionalisation of the policy was given high priority in the rearrangement of the administration. The establishment of an all-covering network at the regional level is also what, according to Sven Nilsson (2003: 243), was the biggest success with the new cultural policy. Also the European programme of national cultural policy, initiated by the Council of Europe in order to investigate the situation of cultural policy in the European countries, emphasised the value of the regionalisation:

The success of national policy in this regard [the regionalisation: *my remark*] is one of the most impressive aspects of Swedish cultural life./.../ The policy has led to a significant improvement in the balance of what is available between Stockholm, the other big cities and the rest of the country" (Myerscough, 1990:146f).

The Cultural Bill of 1972 was written at a time when the Swedish economy was expanding. In the late 1980's and the beginning of 1990's, the socio-economical situation had changed and the productivity of the public institution as well as their legitimacy, was declining. Also the notion of culture went through a change. The distinction between high and low culture and between commercial and non-commercial became less relevant. To make a connection between culture and economy growth was no longer a taboo (Nilsson, 2003: 246). In this context, a need of a renewed cultural policy increased and 1995 a new Governmental Bill on culture was created (SOU 1995: 84)

Rolf Hugoson uses a metaphor to describe the two Cultural Bills (2000: 42). The first one he compares to a baptism since the Bill gave the already existing cultural institutions political status. The latter he describes as a confirmation, since in a way it was a renewed identification of the old one. The base was the same but some changes had been made as a continuation of 1972 years Bill. One of these was a new indication that art and culture should not only be supported but should also be used to other purposes (Hugoson, 2003: 55). Hugoson's interpretation of this formulation is that culture was no longer just a goal, but also an instrument in the politics of the government. Furthermore, the Bill included a proposition that goals expressing specific results of the cultural activities should be added to the already existing goals (*ibid*; 59). The connection between cultural policy and other sectors in society is thus being made in the new Cultural Bill of 1995.

In sum, the most important development in cultural policy since the beginning of the 1970's – and also the most successful one – is, according to Sven Nilsson, the decentralisation process and especially the growing importance of the regional cultural institutions (2003: 246).

3.1.2 The Regionalisation Reform: an Experimental Activity

During the 1980's a discussion of regional self-government was raised within the Swedish Parliament. The arguments behind such decentralisation of power was a wish to strengthen the democracy by bringing the decisions closer to the citizens

but also to promote economic growth and development of the regions (Törnqvist, 1998:72). 1992 the national Regional Committee was appointed to handle the question and 1995 it delivered its final communication to the government. The proposals in this communication were, among other things, to transfer the responsibility for regional development from the County Administrative Boards (Länstyrelserna) to the County Councils (Landstingen) and that an experimental arrangement concerning certain political fields, should be introduced to a number of counties from 1996 onwards (Duelund, 2003: 390). An experimental activity⁷ was proposed, where the counties of Kalmar, Gotland and Skåne⁸ and later also the newly founded Västra Götaland County, were to take over national tasks concerning primarily regional development and handle these at a regional self-government organ until 2002 (*ibid*). By letting regional politicians co-ordinate society's actions, the citizens' influence on regional development would be strengthened. In 2000 the Parliamentary Regional Committee (PARK) proposed in a report to the government an extension of the experiment. The current final date of the experimental activity is now set at 2006.

Simultaneously with this process, the cultural review work that in 1995 would be presented as the second cultural Governmental Bill (see 3.1.1) was being prepared. The review provided arguments on the new role being played by culture in regional development work, concluding that this raised demands for increased flexibility in the allocation of state contribution (Duelund, 2003: 388). The cultural aspect of the regional development was also emphasized in the final communication of the Regional Committee and culture was one of the political fields that was included in the regionalisation reform. Other areas were trade and industry, employment, education, communication and infrastructure, physical structural planning, environment and health care (<http://www.skane.se/templates/Page.espx?id=17431>).

The 1st of January 1999 Region Skåne was founded⁹ (<http://www.skane.se/templates/Page.aspx?id=1988>). The responsible for the operational planning and co-ordination of developmental efforts in 33 municipalities was then transferred to the new organisation from the Regional Association of Local Authorities in Skåne (Regionförbundet Skåne). During the experimental period the responsibility to distribute the national subsidy is transferred from the National Council for Cultural Affairs (Statens kulturråd) to the regional self-government organ by the so called "cultural purse", the state's financial contribution to cultural activities in Region Skåne. The government still

⁷ Since "försöksverksamhet" seems to be a general accepted and generally used notion when talking about this regionalisation reform, the expression "experimental activity" will be used in this study when talking about the experiment of self-governing.

⁸ The administrative unit County of Skåne was founded in January 1, 1997, by merging the Kristianstad and Malmöhus counties (<http://www.skane.se/templates/Page.aspx?id=1988>).

⁹ Region Skåne is a regional organisation led by the Regional Assembly whose members are chosen in public elections.

decides which institutions that should receive the subsidy but the amounts are decided at the regional level (*Om Världen 2000. Kulturrådets omvärldsanalys*, 2000: 103).

3.2 Culture as a Development Strategy

In order to make a policy analysis of where and how one can detect a certain tendency within a policy, goals can serve as an analysing tool. Rolf Hugoson makes in *Vad är kulturpolitik? En fråga om retorik*. (2000: 190) a distinction between instrumental goals and symbolic goals. Budget constitutes an instrumental goal, by concretely indicating what kind of cultural activities that should be subsidised. By analysing the budget, there is usually a good chance to interpret the priorities in a policy. However, according to Hugoson, symbolic goals (values) might be just as revealing as instrumental ones – if not even more. The values that constitute a policy might indicate the direction and the overall purpose to a larger extent than the budget might do.

3.2.1 Instrumental Goals

In Region Skåne there has not been any big changes in the cultural budget during the past few years, neither in the amount of money nor in the distribution of it. The introduction of the cultural purse does thus not seem to have affected the budget to any appreciable extent, a fact that is also confirmed by Katarina Carlsson. One reason for this might be the still quite vast control by the state over the cultural budget in Region Skåne, by its mandate to determine the recipients of the financial support. There is thus no real possibility to find any indications of changed priorities or goals in the cultural policy in Skåne by just looking at the budget. Also the issue of identifying a tendency of including a development perspective in the goals just by examining the amount of money distributed is problematic. It is difficult to find indications of a support to projects that would stimulate development. This difficulty is linked to the very nature of the relation between development and culture, i.e. the question of in what way culture actually contributes to development. The analysis of the priorities in the budget thus easily ends up in speculations and subjective interpretations.

However, the *motivations* of the distribution of the financial support offer some guidance. These give quite a number of indications of the importance of the regional development aspect in the cultural activity. In the budget of “Kultur Skåne” (the cultural section of Region Skåne) 2005 (p 3): is explicitly stated that “*a great part of the budget should contain free development means devoted to achieve positive effects in a regional development perspective*” (*My translation*). The importance of a regional aspect is present throughout the budget. To have a regional character seems to be one of the criteria for the cultural actors to achieve financial support. For example “Orkester Norden”, a Nordic musical cooperation

project, was considered lacking a clear regional character and consequently lost its financial support 2005 (*Kultur Skånes budget 2005*, p5). The goal to promote the tourist industry is also explicitly expressed in the motivation (*ibid*: 9). This fact can directly be referred to the view upon culture as a contributor to regional development, according to Nylöf's list (see 1.4) where culture is seen as an important attraction for tourists. The fact that the financial support to certain cultural projects will be taken from the Committee of Regional Development instead of "Kultur Skåne" (which for example is the case of "Film i Skåne" (*ibid*:3)), is an important indication of the constant presence of the consideration of culture as an important contributor to development of the region.

3.2.2 Symbolic Goals

Until the creation of the Region Skåne and the formulation of the cultural program, there did not exist any specific goals for the cultural policy in what at the time was Malmö county and Kristianstad county (interview Claes-Göran Jönsson). The goals that structured the cultural policy were the national ones and apart from that the discussions about the goals were relatively few, according to Claes-Göran Jönsson. The experimental activity did in that sense imply a turning point. The national goals still constitute the base for the policy, but a discussion of the direction of the cultural policy was, by the regionalisation, initiated and a product of this initiated process was the formulation of the cultural program.

3.2.2.1 A Wider Definition of "Culture"

Växa med kultur ("Growing with culture"), the Region Skåne's program for cultural policy is by its demand for openness and flexibility a "*cultural policy of second degree*" (Nilsson, 2003: 285) according to Sven Nilsson. That is, culture is seen as a sector, but even more as a perspective and a work of change that is integrated in many different sectors. In the program, an *open* notion of culture is the guiding star in the policy. Also according to the interviewees there is a bigger awareness of the utility – and even necessity – of an open or wide definition of culture in cultural policy today in comparison to before the initiation of the experimental activity, and the discussion about the notion of culture is constantly present within the Cultural committee. All three of the interviewees emphasised the need to take into account everything the notion comprises, but did also stress the importance to adapt the definition to the situation. The civil servant did confess herself more clearly to the wide definition of culture, while the politicians kept a vaguer attitude towards the notion. They all emphasised the difficulties that the definition of the notion implies. The individual definitions may differ between the members of the committee, but the awareness of the need of a wider perspective upon culture as a complement to the traditional art policy has increased during the past few years (interview Katarina Carlsson). A tendency of looking at culture as the whole way of life is present in all the conversations with the interviewees. This general broadening of the definition indicates a new way of

looking at the function of culture in the society as a whole and the very definition opens up possibilities of the area of diffusion of cultural policy, which might influence the goals in the policy.

3.2.2.2 Development Expectations on Culture

The Region Skåne's cultural strategy is formulated out of the region's development program, *Skånsk Livskraft* ("Scanian Vitality") (<http://www.skane.se/templates/Page.aspx?id=17434>), a fact that becomes evident in the common goals of the two programmes; growth, attraction, supporting capacity and balance¹⁰. The importance of culture in the development of the region is clearly emphasised throughout the program. "*Culture has a unique chance to contribute to growth, both of the development of the individual, to the creation of identity and participation and to the social and economical renewing and expansion in the region*" (*Växa med kultur. My translation*). Out of the four goals, the different ways in which culture can contribute to development, presented by Nylöf (see 1.4) can easily be recognised.

Already the fact that culture was included in the experimental activity, in order to create development in the region, is a clear indication of the in Sweden general belief in culture as a contributor to development in a society. With the "cultural purse" Region Skåne achieved an increased responsibility and the cultural institutions now play a more important role in the development of the regional cultural life as well as the regional development in general (*Världen 2000. Kulturrådets omvärldsanalys*, 2000: 104). This is also an indication of how culture has become more integrated in all the different sectors of the society, instead of being a marginalised issue in the regional politics as was the case before the initiation of the experimental activity (interview Branimir Knezevic). Katarina Carlsson, who finds that the cultural aspect has become more important in all sectors of the region since the experimental activity was put into practice, also confirms this development. According to her, the cooperation with the trade and industry sector for example has increased considerably. The Cultural Office is often consulted and engaged to supply the trade and industry with a cultural perspective in a variety of projects. Culture has been accepted and naturally included in the development perspective and is today viewed upon as an important factor in the development policy. According to the theory of Sverker Sörlin (see 2.1.2), this process of integration between the different sectors implies a harmonisation of goals, norms, values etc. The emphasising of the importance of the development of the region as a goal within the cultural policy – a goal that traditionally was found in sectors like trade and industry, infrastructure etc – in Region Skåne, confirm this theory.

¹⁰ Tillväxt, attraktion, bärkraft, balans.

3.2.2.3 Instrumentally Motivated Culture

When examining the cultural policy in Region Skåne, a tendency of a transition to an instrumentalised view upon culture like the one described in the model of Dorte Skot-Hansen (see 3.1.1), can be detected. Most of the qualities of the policy are found in the two other models, the humanistic and the sociological one – especially in the latter – but quite a few of the qualities fits into the instrumentally motivated culture. Culture as a symbol for creativity and innovation, that characterise this model, is easy to recognize in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. “Creativity” is a notion that was iterative during the interview Katarina Carlsson. A belief in culture as a contributor to economic development, a growing importance of the market and increased international considerations, are factors included in the model and that we can recognise in the region’s cultural policy. The discussion of getting access to new financers that traditionally are part of the trade and industry sector (interview Katarina Carlsson) or the cultural program’s emphasising of “experiences” through culture, make the associations to the instrumentally motivated culture quite strong. The cultural mediators’ new role to access new financial opportunities, as indicated in the model, can be recognised in a discussion within the Cultural Office of creating a post for a “EU-coach” (specialized on the cultural programs conducted by the European Union, in order to facilitate the Swedish cultural institutions’ obtaining of financial support from the union). And “visibility”, one of the most frequently used notions in the cultural program, happens to be the distinguished goal of the cultural policy in the instrumental model.

In short, the resemblances of the characteristics of the instrumental cultural policy model with the cultural policy in Region Skåne are not to be neglected. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the cultural policy is constituted by elements from all three models and as indicated by Skote-Hansen, a policy never fits in solely into one single model. Worth mentioning, however, is that the elements fitting into the instrumental model are mostly tendencies in the cultural policy that have appeared after the initiation of the experimental activity. The instrumental elements do thus seem to be part of a relatively new tendency.

3.3 Policy Determinants

In the previous section some points indicating the presence of a development perspective within the cultural policy in Region Skåne were presented. This section is devoted to an examination of the reasons behind this tendency within this policy. By identifying characteristics and constellations of actors and structures as well as interests and power among these, an analysis of possible actors and structures that have influenced the obvious connection between culture and development in the cultural policy in Region Skåne, will be made.

3.3.1 The International Influences

The past few years increasing internationalisation has made our society and us more open to international influences. In this section these influences' impact on the cultural policy in Region Skåne will be studied.

3.3.1.1 The International Research Process

The idea of culture as important in a development perspective had already started to flourish in Europe by the end of the 1980th's (*Schottis på Dalhall: om staten och den lokala kulturen*, 2001: 8ff). The international reports (*Our Creative Diversity* and *In From the Margins*) did thus function as a confirmation of ideas that to a certain extent already existed among politicians and surely they contributed to start up some actions within cultural policies in different countries. According to Katarina Carlsson this was also the case in Region Skåne. The ideas in the reports were not really new, but they were made more concrete by the reports, which later on facilitated the implementation of some of them. The reports' emphasising of the need of intersectorial cooperation (Göransson, 1997: 9), helped to reduce the taboo that traditionally characterised the relations between the cultural and economic sector. However, it was not until the initiation of the experimental activity that these ideas really became a part of the cultural policy in Region Skåne. Then the cultural policy however really moved "in from the margins" and became a central sector in the region's political administration.

There are several factors that can be seen as explanations to the diffusion of these ideas. Both the Council of Europe and Unesco, who were the actors behind the research, are international institutions with relatively great authority and their support of certain policies may have considerably influences on actors' preferences. Their access to theoretical and practical expertise, that obviously was the case in the research process, was probably an advantage in the more or less establishing of rules, norms and procedures in the international discourse of cultural policy. However, it was hardly a question of an international regime imposing a policy on a country, but rather an invitation to the countries to participate and contribute to the discussion and the development of new policy patterns. The fact that the ideas already were known to some extent might have worked in advantage of the acceptance of this international regime's process. In the case of Sweden, there seemed to have been a quite advantageous situation for the international regime to influence the policy. Sweden even seems to have been a part of the international regime itself. In the preface to *Our Creative Diversity* (*Vår skapande mångfald*, 1996) Pérez de Cuéllar explains the creation of a World Commission for Culture and Development as mainly a Nordic idea. In addition, the follow up report, *In From the Margins*, was fundamentally a Swedish initiative. The Swedish government was also the host for the world conference of culture and development in Stockholm 30 March –2 April 1998. Sweden thus seems to have been in favour of exploring the impact culture may have on

development, a fact that probably contributed to the establishment of the ideas also in the regional cultural policy.

3.3.1.2 The European Union

The European Union (EU) constitutes another international organisation or regime of great importance for the formulations of policies in Sweden. The EU does not itself have a cultural policy¹¹, but rather a cultural strategy that was included in the texts for the first time in the Treaty of Maastricht 1992. There it was established that the cultural aspect should be included in all policies in the union (Article 128 EC)¹². This indicates a view of culture as much more than just the artefacts and indicates a favourable view of an integration of the cultural sector with other sectors (*Kultur som resurs*, 1996: 193f). Since the cultural “policy” or strategy within the EU is institutionalised at the domestic level according to the principle of subsidiarity, one of the few ways the union can influence cultural policies in the Member States is by financial means. The majority of the cultural financing, 80%, is not addressed directly to cultural activities, but is distributed through the union’s Structural Funds.

The general aim of the financial support from the structural funds is to eliminate the economical and social differences between the regions within the EU (*Stöd från EU:s strukturfonder till svenska projekt med kulturanknytning 1995-97*, p 4) and contribute to development. In this context, culture is one sector concerned. The criteria for a cultural project to take part in this financing, is an ability to promote the region’s economic situation and to contribute to the creation of employment opportunities. Within the EU, culture does thus seem to be considered as an important instrument in the strive to achieve economic growth (*Schottis på Dalhall: om staten och den lokala kulturen*, 2001: 87).

In Sweden, Region Skåne is one of the regions that have not directly taken part in this financial support within the cultural sector. The region has indirectly received support from the Interreg program – aiming at promoting crossborder interregional development – through the Öresund (*Stöd från EU:s strukturfonder till svenska projekt med kulturanknytning 1995-97*, p 20ff). The cultural support from the EU structural funds has thus been very limited in the financing of cultural activities in Region Skåne. Katarina Carlsson describes it as freedom to not have been a receiver of this financial support, but admits that the fact that money to finance culture is distributed by a fund, aiming to promote development, might have influenced the way of looking at culture as a contributor to development of the region.

¹¹ Policy as in meaning of the Swedish “politik”.

¹² Today this is to be found in the Article 151 EC.

This tendency within EU, to “instrumentalize” culture, is confirmed by Hans Sand, former Cultural affairs Counsellor at the Permanent Representation of Sweden to the EU (interview, 2005/04/22). According to him, culture often function as a tool to achieve other political goals, as for example strengthen an European identity, motivating formulations of other policies or, as in the case above, contribute to development of regions. Cultural policy therefore has a sort of “glue function”, in the sense of facilitating the integration and realisation of several political goals.

Probably one of the main influences of the EU on the cultural policy in Sweden, is a contribution of the regionalisation of Swedish cultural activities (*Schottis på Dalhall: om staten och den lokala kulturen*, 2001: 88). The emphasising of the role of regions in the context of cultural policy through the structural funds has according to Peter Duelund probably influenced the actors at the regional level. “*In structural terms, EU subsidies have stimulated a regionalisation of cultural policy*” (Duelund, 2003: 437). The Swedish adherence to the union in 1995 did thus result in an increased focus on the regions. According to Branimir Knezevic, the regional perspective has become more important since becoming member of the EU and also the influence from other regions and their cultural policy has increased¹³. According to all the interviewees, the influence of other regions in Europe was surely a great source of inspiration when the idea of the experimental activity was brought up at the agenda.

At the international level it is structures in the form of international regimes rather than specific actors that has influenced the cultural policy in Region Skåne. The main international regimes that one can distinguish in this context are Unesco and the Council of Europe, because of their research process, together with the European Union. Howlett et al claimed in their theory that government tend to rely on the expertise the international organisations offer and in Region Skåne this seems to be the case mainly within the bureaucracy. This is the instance that most consciously has integrated the ideas in the research in their daily work. The politicians on the other hand gave the impression of not having taken the ideas into account. However, they hold that they probably have been influenced indirectly by the ideas, since they certainly have resulted in new sorts of discussions among the people within the cultural policy sector. They also emphasize the indirect influence of the research through the bureaucracy. The influence of the EU in the cultural policy was in general considered as being marginal among the interviewees. However, the president of the Cultural Committee, Claes-Göran Jönsson, even referred himself to structural influences. He held that he himself not directly had been influenced by neither the research or the cultural strategy within the EU, but that he could not exclude the possibility that the level on which the policy trends are set, could had influenced his way of thinking. “*One tend to think that one has chosen oneself to act and think in a*

¹³ For example Catalonia often serves as a good example of a region with a strong cultural profile.

certain way, but in reality one does so within some kind of trend or structure that exists at the moment” (interview Claes-Göran Jönsson)¹⁴.

3.3.2 Domestic State Actors

In this section the actors with direct access to the policy formulation will be examined, in order to investigate their influence on the tendency of integrating a development perspective on the cultural policy.

3.3.2.1 The State

Normally the central government has four general categories of instruments at its disposal in influencing cultural activities at the municipal / local and regional level (Arnestad,1995: 22):

- the establishment of norms (legislation, declaration of principle etc)
- opinion forming (spread of knowledge and information, research etc)
- organisational solutions (division of responsibility)
- money (transfers from central government to local / regional level and to local and regional institutions / activities.)

By the introduction of the experimental activity, the state transferred the responsibility of the cultural policy to Region Skåne, and consequently formally lost the possibility to influence the organisational solutions in this region. Also the state's financial instrument was reduced by the introduction of the “cultural purse”. When establishing the cultural policy at the regional level, the comparison as well as influences from other regions increased (Branimir Knezevic). The state did in a way lose some of its power to influence the region with norms and opinion forming. The influence of the state on the cultural policy in Region Skåne has thus been strongly limited by the experimental activity. However, as indicated by all the interviewees, the state's influence is still very profound and it is important to emphasize that it is the national goals for cultural policy that constitute the base for the formulation of the cultural policy in Region Skåne.

The state's attitude to the ideas of integrating culture in development strategies is not solely positive. Despite the engagement of the Swedish state in the international research process, the actors within cultural policy at the national level in Sweden have kept a somewhat sceptical attitude towards this development within cultural policy. A fear of an “instrumentalization” of culture has been significant for the national level (Göransson,1997:) which implies certain

¹⁴ ”Man tror ju att man har valt själv att göra eller tänka på ett visst sätt, men i själva verket gör man ju det inom någon slags trend eller struktur som passar in just då”.

scepticism towards the idea of a too vast integration between cultural policy and the development issue. In the proposition *Kulturpolitik* (prop. 1996/97:3) it is emphasized that culture has a value in itself and should not primarily be regarded as "useful" (*Kultur för regional tillväxt*, 2). The state often uses the narrow definition of culture as a basis for the cultural policy while the broad and open one is more established at the local and regional level (*Tillsammans når vi längre*, 1999: 19).

3.3.2.2 The Politicians

There were many actors involved in the process of formulating a cultural policy in Region Skåne (see 3.3.3). However, *Växa med kultur* is a political program. It is the politicians that set up the actual policy and are the main actors in the cultural policy in Region Skåne (Katarina Carlsson). The fact that the agenda is set by politicians is confirmed by Branimir Knezevic, but he also emphasizes the extent to which they are influenced by other actors in society in general and the civil servants in particular. The politicians are the ones responsible and the ones that will execute the policy. But in the end it is the politicians and the civil servants that together formulate the cultural policy, according to Branimir Knezevic. Other political assignments or a general lack of time because of full time job on "the side"¹⁵, limits the possibilities for the politicians to keep themselves constantly updated, and the work often ends having to rely on the bureaucracy.

The internal unity within the Cultural Committee in Region Skåne seems to be very high. Despite representatives from almost all the political parties ("centerpartiet" is the only party not being represented), there are, according to Katarina Carlsson, no big differences between the politicians' preferences and there is an agreement on the common goals of the cultural policy. The ideological differences that exist are relatively few (Branimir Knezevic and Claes-Göran Jönsson) and the influence of the political parties thus seems limited. The Committee is as a result a very homogeneous group with few internal conflicts.

3.3.2.3 The Bureaucracy

The influence of the bureaucracy on the cultural policy is apparent in all of the interviews. There are several factors that might be able to explain this. First of all, the organisation of the Cultural Office in Skåne Region seems to have quite a number of the criteria that it takes to constitute a strong bureaucracy (see 2.2.3.3). With only 13 persons employed altogether¹⁶, the power within the bureaucracy is

¹⁵ The political assignment at the local level in Sweden often function on a voluntary basis. Consequently, the political engagement is not seldom devoted the spare time.

¹⁶ List of the employees available at <http://www.skane.se/templates/Page.aspx?id=17458>.

limited to only a few persons, which according to Howlett et al often implies a more efficient and unified group. This does also seem to be the case in the Cultural Office. According to Katarina Carlsson, the consensus is high and the conflicts very few. The civil servants also enjoy a clear mandate and a professional ethos. They are strongly supported by the politicians who, as indicated above by Branimir Knezevic, rely heavily on the work and knowledge of the bureaucracy without interfering in their daily work. A possible explanation to this might be that the cultural policy does not seem to have a very high political profile, which may imply a less strong control by the politicians. The autonomy of the bureaucracy thus seems quite high. In addition to this, the experimental activity has given it more freedom to act without the interference of the state.

The fact that the civil servants in Region Skåne, in contrast to some of the politicians, are employed to work full time – often on a long-term basis – with the cultural policy, explains some of the bureaucracy's influence. The expertise within the field of culture that they contribute with is of great importance of the formulation of the policy. The bureaucracy's knowledge and a high level of up to date within the research of cultural policy became evident during the interview with the civil servant (Katarina Carlsson). This expertise is also an explanation to the big influence of the bureaucracy on the cultural policy program. According to Claes-Göran Jönsson, all the politicians have agreed on it unanimously, but it is the civil servants that have formulated it.

3.3.3 The Impact of Society

In this final section, the impact of society on the policy formulation will be in focus of the study. What societal actors that take part of the policy subsystem and what societal structures that have been of importance, will here be examined.

3.3.3.1 Societal Actors

The cultural policy program of Region Skåne, *Växa med kultur*, was formulated through a process of several stages. As mentioned above, the base for the policy is constituted by the national goals. The regional development program, *Skånsk livskraft*, did however constitute the point of departure for the directions of the cultural policy that the Cultural Committee adopted in 1999 (*Växa med kultur*). According to Katarina Carlsson, it was mainly the bureaucracy that was involved in the outlining of these directions together with a reference group representing the cultural life. Sven Nilsson, doctor of philosophy and associate professor in literature by the University of Lund, was engaged to conduct a “perspective study” about culture and the regional development, which was presented for the Cultural Committee, followed by a process of anchorage in dialogues with politicians and the bureaucracy in the whole region. Finally the program has been on circulation for comments to a whole range of actors at national, regional and

local level, where cultural organisations as well as political institutions and organisations representing the trade and industry have been among the ones getting to have their say on the outlining of the program¹⁷.

It was mainly by taking part of a reference group getting to comment the document, that the societal actors were directly involved in the process of formulating the cultural policy – and thus directly participated in the policy subsystem. According to Katarina Carlsson people in the cultural sector were mostly in favour of this new tendency. Increasing interest in culture from the economic sector creates new job opportunities for people that otherwise often are exposed to unemployment. The process of circulation for comments seems to have been a good opportunity for the different actors, such as different interest groups, to influence the formulations of goals. In view of the vast selection of representatives for the societal actors the influence of the society should be considered large. However, because of the great number of organisations and institutions and because of their broad area of interests, Claes-Göran Jönsson claims that the individual influence has after all been rather limited.

The consulted expert, Sven Nilsson seems to have played an important role in the very formulation of the program, by being the one “holding the pen” (Katarina Carlsson). Apropos this, Claes-Göran Jönsson once again refers to structures in forms of trends or mainstreams in the society. He claims that the consulted expert probably was influenced by the trend existing by the time for the formulation of the cultural program, a trend in which the development aspect was very present. Culture was considered expanding beyond the traditional sector and was thus taken into account in other sectors, like trade and industry etc. If Sven Nilsson was as influenced by this as indicated by Claes-Göran Jönsson, this probably have affected the formulation of the policy.

The public’s influence on the formulation of the cultural policy in Region Skåne seems to have been very limited, just like the theory of Howlett et al indicated. All the interviewees emphasise the fact that the policy is made *for* the people, but none of them seem to think that the people has had any influence on the very formulation of it. As indicated in the theory, voting is one of the main ways for the people to influence the political agenda. In the case of Region Skåne, it does not seem very likely that the politicians have been elected because of their opinions in cultural policy. If the voters in general “*do not vote on the basis of proposed policies alone*” (Howlett et al, 2003: 75), the cultural policy – still being a quite marginalized policy area –has probably not been the main reason for the results in the elections in Region Skåne. The people’s membership in the policy subsystem does thus not seem to have been too strong. Neither should the role of the mass media in the formulation of the cultural policy in Region Skåne be

¹⁷ The complete list of actors taking part of the program are available at <http://www.skane.se/templates/Page.aspx?id=17435>.

exaggerated. To the extent the policy has been the object of attention in the media it has, according to the interviewees, never been something that has effected the directions of the policy. Howlett et al's emphasising of the role of media does in this case not seem to be correct.

4.3.3.2 Economic Structures

The influence of the economic structures does however seem to have been important in the formulation of the cultural policy in Region Skåne. The economic stagnation in the beginning of the 1990th's implied budget constrains at the local and regional level. This resulted in a need to find new ways of financing and put pressure on the cultural institutions to "sell" their activities (*Schottis på Dalhall: om staten och den lokala kulturen*. 2001: 9). This development seems to be a part of an overall economic development: "*The cultural sector of a country cannot isolate itself from the process of economic change that are occurring with apparently increasing momentum around the world at present*". (Boorsma; Hemel; Wielen, 1998: 56). Once the function of culture as an important factor in an economic development perspective had gained attention, the interest of it quickly grew stronger.

The economic importance attached to the arts and culture as a primary resource of economic growth, employment and exports recently has started to pull the arts and culture "in from the margins" and to raise cultural policy on a par with science and technology (Duelund 2003: 439).

When an issue moves higher on the political agenda, it is usually because new participants have become interested in the debate, and it is then that the changes tend to occur (Sabatier, 1999: 100). The increasing interest in culture from the economic sector when the possibilities in the culture gained attention, thus contributed to the growing importance of the cultural policy as well as the reformulation of the values and goals within it. Wherever there are economic interests, there will be interventions by different actors and in this case business actors started to pay more attention to culture. According to Katarina Carlsson, "Kultur Skåne" had to choose between distancing itself from this development and standing beside the process, or to be a part in it and by this have the possibility to influence the development to its own advantage. This was a development that would take place with or without the participation of the state actors. By participating, the interests of the cultural life could be guarded. The fact that the economic perspective to such a large extent is present in the cultural policy does in this sense seem to have been inevitable.

4 Conclusion

The situation of cultural policy is becoming more and more complex. The definition of culture is broadening and the field of cultural policy is opening up for new areas of influence. This development of cultural policy makes it a complicated issue to study. Nor in the case of Region Skåne the tendencies in the cultural policy are very clear. The tendency that I have studied in this thesis, to use culture as a tool to achieve regional development, is not a drastic policy change but rather a product of a slow evolution in the cultural policy. Like indicated in the definition of public policy, it is question of a process built up by “*a set of interrelated decisions*” (Howlett et al, 2003: 6). To find explanatory factors to this tendency is, as confirmed by Howlett et al, a complicated task. Out of the material I have accessed, I have tried to structure up a pattern and to find some tendencies. To a certain extent this has to imply generalisations and simplifications. By making these generalisations, I have tried to line up a few relatively clear tendencies.

By examining instrumental and symbolic goals I have found a clear tendency of integrating a regional development perspective in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. This tendency was less clear by analysing instrumental goals, in this case the budget, where there are few indications of giving priority to projects that are directly linked to regional development. A possible reason to this may be the, by the state, still rather controlled distribution of cultural support. It is when analysing the symbolic goals, the values, in the policy that the development strategy in Region Skåne becomes really evident. These indicate an integration between the cultural sector and other sectors in the society, as shown in the model of Sörlin (2.1.2), resulting in common goals and values within the different sectors’ policies. A more open definition of culture within “Kultur Skåne” opens up for a wider area of diffusion of the cultural policy. The belief in culture as a contributor to regional development is very obvious.

The instance where this tendency is the most clear is within the bureaucracy. To integrate a development perspective into the daily work with cultural policy, is an explicit goal within the bureaucracy, something that was less obvious in the case with the politicians. I thus see the bureaucracy as the main representatives for this tendency in the cultural policy.

The bureaucracy also seems to be one of the main explanatory factors behind this tendency in Region Skåne’s cultural policy. Because of the characteristic of the bureaucracy, the civil servants have a great influence on the policy formulation. With a high degree of autonomy, without interference from the state or the

politicians, in combination of a high degree of capacity, the bureaucracy constitutes a powerful actor with direct access to the formulation of the policy. The politicians are the ones with the official power over the policy, but since cultural policy is not a policy field with high political profile, a great part of the actual responsibility is let over to the bureaucracy. As I see it, the bureaucrats are the main actors in the formulation of the policy. And since they seem to consider culture as a contributor to regional development, this tendency is quite clear in the policy.

However, the bureaucracy is in their turn influenced by different factors in the policy universe of cultural policy. In the international system, two main international regimes can be distinguished in this context. The first one is the international research process on the relation between culture and development. This process has, as I can see it, in a way provoked a trend in cultural policy to broaden the policy field and go beyond the traditional limitation of the artefacts. The European Union constitutes the second international regime of importance. As I see it, there are two ways in which the EU has influenced the cultural policy in Region Skåne to pay attention to the usefulness of culture. The union's own way of looking at culture; to, to a great part, see it as a tool to achieve other political goals, has probably been object to a diffusion of ideas within all the union's member countries, including Sweden. In a more indirectly way, the EU seem to have influenced Region Skåne by provoking a regionalisation of the cultural policy in Sweden.

This latter way, in which EU has influenced the cultural policy, I see as a very important explanatory factor to the tendency studied in this thesis. The regionalisation (that was not uniquely a product of the influence of the EU, even though the union probably played an important role) is the reason to why the experimental activity with the regional self-governing have been realised. For me it has become clear during this study that the experimental activity was determining for the direction in the cultural policy in Region Skåne. Since the regional level to a larger extent than the national level seem to apply a development perspective to the cultural policy, an extended regional responsibility in this policy area seems to result in an increased focus on how culture can contribute to development. When the state loses some of its control over the policy, new actors are given access to it, both regionally and internationally. By the introduction of the experimental activity, the cultural policy has moved in from the margins and become a central policy area in the region's development policy. The policy has been reconsidered and used more "efficiently" by adapting it to regional conditions.

I have in this study examined the tendency to use culture as a tool to achieve regional development. I have explicitly tried to adapt a neutral attitude towards this tendency. However, I find it important to problemize this tendency and to examine the effects this development in cultural policy implies. As I have briefly mentioned in this study, there seem to exist a sort of conflict between the state's

view upon using culture as a tool to achieve regional development, and the view upon this at the regional level. I hold that a combined study of these two factors would be an interesting subject for future research to deal with.

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Appendix 1

Figure 2: Society Sectors in Integration

(Source: Sven Nilsson, *Kulturens nya vägar*, 2003: 318)

