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Cultural Integration in the European Union

-and the future of Sweden's past in Europe

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[ABSTRACT]

Cultural integration has been recognized as an inevitable feature in the making of a coherent European Union, and for further approval of systematic integration. The initial cultural policy of the Union was based on normative assumptions and essentialist views on a European civilization. But issues in legitimization made for a more relativistic stance, and since the 70:ies, a more pluralistic approach towards the European cultures has been introduced. The European Heritage Label is a representation of the recent interaction between unity and diversity in cultural integration. Today the cultural politics of the member-states are to become Europeanised, but the decentralized view of the European identity will simultaneously allow for the member-states to have larger influence in shaping that process. This leads to the second aspect of my essay, where Europeanisation remains in a tug-of-war between the national and supra-national level, as we can see in the example of Sweden's hesitation to join. One conclusion was that such a decision was the result of diverging self-images between the EU and Sweden, since identity will favor certain heritages over others. The Swedish discourse has favored internationalization over supra-nationalization, and the Nordic geopolitical affinity has yet proven stronger. Sweden has been generous in sharing its cultural heritage *to* the other member-states, but the question remains on whether Sweden can share it *with* the European Union.

Key words: Cultural integration, identity politics, EU, The European Heritage Label, the Swedish self-image, Europeanisation

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1 Introduction

There are many reasons as to why agents make an effort to reconnect with their past, the introduction of a European Heritage Label mirrors some of them. This essay is an investigation of the new Label and an inquisition as to why Sweden has chosen not to participate. The study of cultural heritage is an interdisciplinary practice that benefits from multiple approaches, in order to assemble complementary perspectives. But to make things clear, the study of heritage does not allude to the study of history. Heritage is rather the practice of remembering and forgetting past events, that serve a specific purpose in present day. Heritage is not the past, it is a particular representation of a selected past.

Cultural policy has long been subordinate in the process of European integration. When originating at the supra-national, it was being perceived as 'functional', where the understanding of a European culture was subjugated to normative views, making action in that field tense, especially between the different levels of governance. Maintaining the claim of a common history led to the assertion of a European civilization, embodied in the European citizenship. But since 1970, a better understanding of the cultural pluralism and the overlapping identities has resulted in new pursuits of member-states 'united in diversity', where regional politics has acquired a large responsibility in cultural policy. To some extent, it can be apprehended as an attempt to overcome the lack of political legitimacy, part of the wider issue of a democratic deficit in the Union.

Due to its central role in identity building, cultural policy has mainly been a national concern. But today there is a growing European consciousness beyond the borders of the national, which demands attention. For there also seem to be a growing awareness of a lack in solidarity amongst the Europeans, reawakened nationalism and a declining support for supra-national integration. The European Heritage Label (EHL) is introduced as a settlement to some of these, and launching new forums for commemoration is a hope that a European identity will arise from it. But it is difficult to embrace a reality if it does not first become an image. In this view, the EHL is a double faceted project. Either it can be seen as a new attempt to create a pan-European identity, trying to win both the hearts and minds of the European demos. Or, one will pertain to the more nuanced view, where the proceedings reflect a less deterministic stance, were we are able to see that it is largely up to the member-states to fill the content with their interpretation of the 'idea of Europe'.

Political legitimization and collective identity are complex as they constitute elements of both power and meaning. They complement each other just as much as they are in opposition to one another. Studying the Label soon became about tracing the threads of cultural integration, and the prospect of how this should spill over into the domains of political legitimization. The EHL *could* be the stepping stone in bridging European politics with the idea of Europe, and the political citizenship with a European identity.

The cultural heritage of the EU has been seen as both a motive for unity, and a reason for fragmentation. The sites embody far more than the material they're composed of, they are filled with dreams and are the projections of a particular self-image. In themselves they are silent, but actors can speak for them, and in that way they can be used for varying purposes in different times. Sweden has been hesitant to join the project, and present in this essay is a discussion on the case, drawing on multiple perspectives. Looking at Sweden's view of its own cultural heritage will reveal elements of such ideal self-images, and allow us to investigate if these converges or clashes with those of the EU. Secondly, looking back on the history of Sweden's accession process to the Union will expose attitudes that might be in force when considering joining the EHL. In an interview with Markus Dahlberg, head of the department of collective memories at Riksantikvarieämbetet, he maintained that the Swedish heritage is part of both the European and the international simultaneously. Hence, one of the sub-questions posed in this essay is, if there is any potential to move heritage beyond national considerations, emphasizing common European roots either prior to, or complementary to their national affinity.

The new project is an effort to overlap the instrumental top-down integration from Brussels, with the meaning-world of its demos. In that way, the Europeans are to become Europeanised. However sophisticated its formulations, cultural politics on an institutional level remains a delicate matter, due to its inherent sensitivity in being perceived as a political instrument. I investigate this dimension as a general aspect of the European cultural integration, but more in particular when looking at formulations in the EHL. This also contribute to my essay being applicable to other cases than the Swedish, which will certainly be necessary in these first coming years of the project. What we can ultimately see is that Europeanisation is still politicized between the national and supra-national level, and therefor we can't approach the EHL as solely a top-down process. The national actors are responding to the cultural politics in the EU in separate ways, cultural differences,

diverging self-images, interests and ideals all result in different views of the European identity.

I begin this essay with a brief transcript of the cultural politics of the EU, which naturally leads up to the introduction of the EHL. Thereafter begins a discussion on the EHL as a reflection of a particular European identity, drawing from the sources in my background information, and based on the first selected sites. With this it felt logical to subsume the chapter of the the Swedish hesitation, looking backwards for explanations, as well as gazing forward searching for a possible outcome. Because the government has final decision on whether Sweden should join or keep out, I have kept my analysis within that stratum. After this, in order to serve both aspects of my essay, I have carried out an extended discussion on the general views of cultural heritage and its connection to identity. To balance some critical perspectives, I added a section discussing the added value of European integration. In my final words I include some of my own comments and reflections which emerged when writing this essay. Some of them end in a question mark, but I still believe that this essay contains some necessary scrutinizing on the recent cultural integration of the EU.

1.1 Purpose

This essay will contribute to the discussion on cultural integration in the European Union, by analyzing the relatively new initiative – The European Heritage Label. It will explore if the project reveals current divergences in national versus supranational loyalties, embodied in the Swedish rejection to participate.

The main questions to be answered are:

What is The European Heritage Label and how has it come into existence?

In what way is it related to Europeanisation?

What could be some of the reasons behind Sweden's hesitation to join?

2 Theories

2.1 Social Constructivism

When attempting to make sense of our world, social constructivism views our knowledge as constructed rather than created. Essentially a relativist stance, where realism and relativism

represent polar views, proposing either one objective reality or multiple possible ones. Because there can be multiple realities in the social constructivist view, there can also be multiple interpretations, whilst at the same time not making any claims to one correct view.¹

Concepts are constructed rather than discovered, yet they correspond to something that is real in the world. Maintaining that our reality is socially defined, focus will be on examining how this world is being understood, and how individuals or groups attempt to define it.²

As outlined, social constructivism is unconcerned with ontological claims, confined to the social construction of knowledge, therefore it dedicates itself to make epistemological claims only, and since these will be continuously reaffirmed, the theory makes no deterministic assertions.³

2.1.1 Collective memory and cultural heritage

It is incorrect to view the collective memory as history, although it draws its material from the same source. Instead it should be regarded as a collective phenomenon that manifests itself in actions and statements of individuals. Even though it uses past events, the interests are always biased towards the present, and therefore the present is the area for analysis. The essence of history is accordingly not relevant to the study, but rather its effects on the societal life.⁴

Collective memories emerge from the shared communications about the meaning of the past. Large scale media transfer both knowledge and normative feelings about the past, using a combination of discursive, visual, and spatial elements. But collective memory is also a social construct for political, economical and social purposes.⁵

Studying heritage as both emerging in and retrieved from the collective memory then becomes about examining the selected and the ignored through discourse, in a present context. Because the entire past cannot be heritage, it is only within the selection process that one can depict the meaning of a certain choice. These meanings in turn help to create a social identity, as identity thrives on

1 Tom Andrews, "What is Social Constructivism?", *The Grounded Theory Review*, (2013): 131-132, 150

2 Tom Andrews, *What is Social Constructivism?*, 131, 134, 141

3 Tom Andrews, *What is Social Constructivism?*, 140-142

4 Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory*, (2002): 180

5 Wulf Kansteiner, *Finding meaning in memory*, 180, 185, 190

demarcation. The present values form a collective memory that treasures certain heritages over others, which hereby communicates these values, that will then become internalized in the social identity. It is a round-about transmission between object, maker, and consumer.⁶

Social identity is both self understanding, self imagination, as well as being perceived by others in a certain way. Identity is created in action, and **commemoration**⁷ is part of the symbolic act of projecting the self into material objects. Meanings of heritage are often arbitrary and symbolic, the interpretation will therefor be reverse. This suggests that the understanding of a symbol will reveal more about the interpreter than the object of interpretation.⁸

Identity production requires limitations. In in the act of limiting possibilities in a culture, one also provides structure. Structuring can be done by creating meaning, in offering guided interpretations which eliminates ambivalence. Structure in any society is mainly functional, providing both order and orientation.⁹

2.1.2 Europeanisation

Europeanisation has been a much debated word with definitions varying from political perspectives to a theory of cultural homogenization. For Delanty and Rumford, the focus is not on the essence, but rather: Europeanisation is what Europeanisation does. It is the domestic changes that occur from the supra-national mobilization by its actors, political as well as non-political.¹⁰

Because the course of Europeanisation fails to be explained by changes in statehood, it is not an altogether institutional process. Neither is Europeanisation integration, as much as it is the national consequences emerging from this process. The EU is not in harmony with the nation states and remains in opposition to the national agenda. But the Europeanisation is also larger than the EU, beyond the domains of Europe itself. Partly an effect of the globalization-process, Delanty and Rumford proposing it to be a response to growing Americanization. Europeanisation is hence both

6 Wulf Kansteiner, Finding meaning in memory, 185-186, 191

7 “Commemorate,” When individuals assemble to recall and give respect to something that has influenced their social life. <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/commemorate>

8 Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, Rethinking Europe: Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization, (London and New York: Routledge:2005): 51

9 Zygmunt Bauman. Culture as praxis. (London: Sage Publication Ltd, 1999): 41-42, 64

10 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization, 6-8

an action and a reaction.¹¹

They both take on a social constructivist approach to the Europeanisation concept in order to draw attention to values, norms and identities, which are naturally embedded in the political sphere.¹² But reflexivity also implies self implication, meaning that there is a possibility of multiple interpretations that are relational to cultural structures and social actors, which is why investigation will have to rely on the articulation of normative structures.¹³

3 Method

3.1 Qualitative content analysis

I have used the content analysis when examining material about the main subjects of this essay, where the qualitative orientation implies a method that does not concern itself with the measurable components of the text.¹⁴ The method does not suggest any systematic way of analyzing data, although the entire procedure is performed in three stages. 1) Preparation means the collection of data, where the sources should be reliable and up-to date. 2) Operationalization is the part where the researcher immerse himself in the data. The content will be categorized, conceptualized and abstracted in order to perform the analysis.¹⁵ The context is often important when analyzing, in order to grasp the full picture and so, retain an adequate understanding. I will contextualize when using background information as underlying causes, and when illustrating from several present perspectives in order to better comprehend my subject. Finally, 3) the reporting is equally important and requires that the researcher will carefully present the result of the analysis in a stringent manner.¹⁶

The deductive approach is used when the data is applied or is put against already existing theories. The essay writer will reset the subject in a new context, testing different theories or concepts. This makes the method suited for multi-faceted topics and social phenomena, two concerns which conform with my material.¹⁷

11 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 3, 6-7

12 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 7-12

13 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 15-16

14 Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus ed., *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*, (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2005): 50

15 Satu Elo and Helvi Kynga, "The qualitative content analysis process," *JAN Research Methodology* (2008): 109-110

16 Satu Elo and Helvi Kynga, *The qualitative content analysis process*, 109

17 Satu Elo and Helvi Kynga, *The qualitative content analysis process*, 109-110

The validity depends on the actual link between data and analysis, and reliability is high when the writer presents in a clear way from where the conclusions are drawn. This means that reliability in the qualitative content analysis to a large extent implies transparency.¹⁸

One critique of the qualitative content analysis is due to the fact that the proceeding does not run in a linear way, and because there is no right way of doing it, the work will rely to a greater extent on the subjectivity of the researcher. This can be avoided to some extent, when the connection between the source and conclusion is evident. With regards to this, I will keep aware of my inherent subjectivity, having both Swedish and European attributes, and how this may effect the results of my analysis. I have chosen to apply multiple approaches to my subject, hoping that this will contribute to a nuanced view. Also, using established theories to interpret my essay will increase the objectivity and inter-subjectivity of this essay.

3.2 Sources

Finally, as theory is adapted to subject, I thought I would make a short justification of these decisions. Overall, I have chosen to work from a Social constructivist approach, which will be the outset for all analysis and conclusions. Also, embracing the theory of Collective memory, which *”tries to conceptualize the relations between social structure and social action and thus link micro- and macro-sociological phenomena.”*, and the Europeanisation theory, both 'mid-range theories' where the focus is rather upon a specific social phenomena.¹⁹

The interview present in this essay was held in correspondence via email. The disadvantage of such workings is the lack of personal interaction, which risks leading to misunderstandings. I tried to resolve this by giving Maria Wikman a call to present to her my interpretations, and see if they were in harmony with her intentions.

Regarding my sources, I have tried to use only official documents when researching the EHL. The literature that has been of particular value to my discussion has been Delanty and Rumford's *Rethinking Europe: Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, using their notion on

¹⁸ Satu Elo and Helvi Kynga, The qualitative content analysis process, 112

¹⁹ Wodak and Meyer, Critical Discourse Analysis, 2-4

Europeanisation as both a concept and a theory. Also, Cris Shore, a social anthropologist who has spent many years in the corridors of Brussels, researching cultural politics. Although somewhat of a septic, his views still represent some legitimate reflections on the nature of culture and identity politics of the EU. Bauman, although seldom referred to, has still contributed to an overall understanding of culture as a concept, when approaching this very complex domain of research.

4 Background

4.1 European integration and the evolution of cultural policy

The European integration of today will have to be seen as both in contrast with, and as a complement to fragmentation. There is a new language of European integration that concerns the sub-national (regionalism), the national (the nation state) and the supra-national (the European Union), compressed in the vague term of '**multi-level-gouvernance**'. There is also a new way of thinking about integration, embodied in the '**network metaphor**', that pertains to both connectivity and mobility.²⁰ The paradox in recent European integration consists of, at the same time the '**monotopia**', the single market, the single currency; and on the other side the '**united in diversity**' model, the pluralistic cultural approach. Here it is possible to speak about two branches of integration which include the **system integration**: the economy, technology, know-how and legal work, where rational political will is the main driving force. And the **social integration**, where the institutional level concerns itself with the production of cultural policies and projects.^{21 22}

In 1950-1960, these institutions relied on academic efforts to define various ideals that resulted in an '**idea of Europe**'. This included the Hellenic rationality and aesthetics; Roman law and institutions; Judaeo-Christian ethics, and the spirit of the Enlightenment. Scholars were convinced that those cultural elements were part of a common European tradition, which involved the idea of a **European civilization**. No particular efforts were given to a cultural integration as a particular branch, which was still only a rationale for further systematic integration.²³

This changed in 1970, when the European Parliament aimed to elevate the status of culture in the

20 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 121

21 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 124

22 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 124, 10-11

23 Tagiuri Giacomo, "Forging Identity: The EU and European Culture," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, (2014): 179, 181

Union. With the advancement of integration, the disregard to culture had produced issues in legitimacy, partly connected to a **democratic deficit**.²⁴ The rationalization of the economy would no longer prove adequate in providing the necessary support for further integration. So, in 1983 the *Solemn Declaration on European Union*, was signed by the leaders of the ten member states, which opened up to a closer cooperation on cultural matters. This was pursued "in order to affirm the awareness of a common cultural heritage as an element in the European identity." Turning the stiff bureaucratic EEC into a '**Peoples Europe**' meant introducing a new set of symbols, which attempted to efface the sharp distinction between the national and the supra-national, by using national identity-building methods. At the same time, since it had become inevitable that the European culture was largely plural, more efforts were made to celebrate this demographic mosaic.²⁵

Culture thus became a polity concern because it proved itself both a public asset, and a vital part of the social Europe the founding fathers had once sought out to build. In this same period, responsibility of cultural policies was being translocated to the regional level, meaning that the conflict over culture as either essentialist or vague was beginning to unravel. On paper, the Union still aims at respecting the diversity of the European cultures, and the recent cultural reflect these accounts.²⁶

4.2 The history of a heritage label for the EU

Between 2010-2014, the Commission has followed a work plan for culture, where the focus has mainly been on promoting cultural diversity and multilingualism, as well as contributing to intercultural dialogue and inclusiveness. In the domain of cultural heritage, emphasis has been on promotion and mobility.²⁷ ²⁸ The current project is the result of a longstanding will to find a unified approach in working with cultural heritage. The new Label was superseded by an intergovernmental way of labeling heritage, which surfaced as early as 2005, and was launched the year after. Beyond the will to create joint methods, the Label was first presented as an initiative to make the people of the Union feel closer to the European political sphere. This should be done by emphasizing that the

²⁴ Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 124, 10-11

²⁵ Tagiuri Giacomo, *Forging Identity: The EU and European Culture*, 162-163

²⁶ Tagiuri Giacomo, *Forging Identity: The EU and European Culture*, 170-172

²⁷ "Supporting cultural heritage," European Commission (Last updated: 2014-04-20)

http://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/culture-policies/cultural-heritage_en.htm

²⁸ "What is the heritage label?" European Commission (Last updated: 2014-05-06)

http://ec.europa.eu/culture/tools/actions/heritage-label_en.htm

cultural heritage of each member-state not only had national affinity, but was also part of the larger European context.²⁹

Because the cultural heritage of the European Union was appraised for being such an important incentive for integration, efforts should be made to highlight this value. Especially since the renewed Lisbon strategy extended the meaning of the collaboration, more should be done to ensure that the work of the Union reflected an alignment to the cultural heritage, as stated by the European Parliament. They believed that the cultural richness of Europe adds great value to the collective identity, that is of such importance to EU, especially in a globalized world. Several MEP's pointed out the insufficiency of current cultural programs to fully reflect the meaning of Europe's common cultural heritage. This being vital, as the cultural sector contribute to cohesion, economic growth and sustainable development. Therefore, they called upon the Commission to propose specific programs to preserve Europe's cultural heritage, and a European Heritage Label to accent the role of cultural goods, memorial sites and places of remembrance.^{30 31 32}

In 2009, when evaluating the project, discussions on a rectification began to surface. It was the Commission who finally proposed to introduce a panel of cultural experts to replace the intergovernmental procedure, as they felt it would ensure a higher degree of objectivity in the selection process.³³ In the words of the EU commissioner of culture Androulla Vassiliou, the countries that have already received the Label are *"investing a lot of hope in the transitional period, which helps them to take part in this new system quickly, provided that they comply with the new criteria stipulated for quality"*.³⁴

But the House voted against an integration of the old Label with the new one, where 65 sites had already been awarded. Some of these include the Gdańsk shipyard (Poland), and the house of

29 "Decision No 1194/2011," Official Journal of the European Union (2011-11-22). <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:303:0001:0009:EN:PDF>. 303/1-9 (1)

30 "European Heritage Label initiative begins," NewEurope (2013-11-28) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/european-heritage-label-initiative-begins>

31 "Sharper focus seen needed on European cultural heritage," NewEurope (2008-03-03) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/sharper-focus-seen-needed-european-cultural-heritage>

32 "Parliament approves European heritage label," NewEurope (2011-11-16) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>

33 "Decision No 1194/2011," Official Journal of the European Union (2011-11-22). <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:303:0001:0009:EN:PDF>. 303/1-9 (1)

34 "Parliament approves European heritage label," NewEurope (2011-11-16) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>

Robert Schuman (France). When the new scheme had been drawn, the Parliament refused to support the original proposal of the Commission, as they didn't sympathize with the transnational measures that would redefine the status of the already selected sites. Instead they opted for a complete remake, where the old sites would have to reapply in order to be included. The argument being raised was, that due to these changes in conditions, it was more just having it relaunched, in order to preserve the integrity of the old label, and to better promote the prestige of the new one.³⁵

Negotiations continued under the Hungarian EU-Presidency, where the revised legislation was passed over, through Greek MEP Chrystoula Paliadeli (Socialists and Democrats), to the Council of ministers. No official position was given from the member-states on these new transnational arrangements, but 18 national Ministers of Culture had given their support to the intergovernmental Label. Some of the governments with a previously awarded site expressed their will to be included in the new project, and finally it was decided that they would be requested to make an application to the newly installed panel, whilst at the same time not losing their attribute to the old Label.^{36 37} The MEP's also decided that the label may be granted to previously awarded sites, even outside of the former intergovernmental project.^{38 39}

4.2.1 The present state of The European Heritage Label

In the text promoting the new European Heritage Label we read that: *“At the heart of our social fabric, culture shapes our identities, aspirations and relations to others and the world.”* The revised project is, in accordance to the objectives set up during the first draft, to raise awareness to sites that have in some way been significant to the history and cultural development of Europe. The objective of the EHL is to celebrate and symbolize European integration and to *“[...] bridge the gap between the EU and its citizens by improving knowledge of European history and the role and values of the EU.”* It may be historical as well as contemporary objects including monuments, archeological, natural, underwater, industrial- and urban sites. The Label focuses on promoting the sites to its main

35 “Parliament approves European heritage label,” NewEurope (2011-11-16) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>

36 “Parliament approves European heritage label,” NewEurope (2011-11-16) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>

37 “European Heritage Label: Frequently Asked Questions” Press releases database (2013-11-28) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>L: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-1068_en.htm

38 “Parliament approves European heritage label,” NewEurope (2011-11-16) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>

39 “Sharper focus seen needed on European cultural heritage,” NewEurope (2008-03-03) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/sharper-focus-seen-needed-european-cultural-heritage>

audience, namely the younger population.^{40 41} The maintenance of the cultural heritage is foremost a national responsibility, and will not be a matter of the Union.⁴²

Heritage is recognized as an important vector for cultural and creative sectors, promoting social and economic development. Cultural activity contribute to 3.3% of the total GDP, and employs little over 6.7 million people in the EU.⁴³ The heritage should therefor be fertilized by cross sectors for: *”Through cooperation, culture will continue being an essential vector of socio-economic development and of strengthening human rights, democracy, civil society and other key elements of good governance.”*⁴⁴

In article 7 in *Decisions* the criteria for assigning a site with the EHL will be, aside from what has already been stated: the promotion of multilingualism; partaking in activities for promoting the site; using technology to promote the site to all EU members; ensure preservation and high accessibility; and managing of the site as environmentally friendly as possible.⁴⁵ In *Guidelines for candidate sites*, the Commission states that, when addressing the awarding sites, they will ensure that the risk of duplication or an eventual overlap between the EHL and similar initiatives are avoided, mentioning the UNESCO World Heritage List as an example. Since the project focuses on the the symbolic value rather than the aesthetic, *”It might indeed be possible for some sites to be eligible both for the EHL and for another initiative at the same time, but for different reasons.”*⁴⁶

The sites will be nominated at a national level, but the selection process is to be executed by the panel of experts, in order to ensure objectivity and transparency. The member-states will be able to nominate up to two sites every two years, and are able to reapply, should their site not be selected in

40 “Decision No 1194/2011,” Official Journal of the European Union (2011-11-22) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:303:0001:0009:EN:PDF>, 3:1a

41 “European Heritage Label: Frequently Asked Questions” Press releases database (2013-11-28) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>L: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-1068_en.htm

42 “Decision No 1194/2011,” Official Journal of the European Union (2011-11-22) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:303:0001:0009:EN:PDF>, 3:1a

43 ”Promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU,” European Commission (26-09-2012), URL: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/documents/com537_en.pdf, 2

44 ”Promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU,” European Commission (26-09-2012), URL: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/documents/com537_en.pdf, 4, 11

45 “European Heritage Label: Frequently Asked Questions” Press releases database (2013-11-28) <http://www.neurope.eu/article/parliament-approves-european-heritage-label>L: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-1068_en.htm

46 “European Heritage Label Guidelines for candidate sites” (2011) http://en.www.mcu.es/patrimonio/docs/MC/PatrimonioEur/Guideline_for_candidate_sites_En.pdf

the present round.⁴⁷ The panel consists of 13 independent cultural experts which have been appointed by the European Commission, with a mandate of 3 years.⁴⁸ All administration of the Label is being held in accordance to the principle of subsidiarity. Chosen sites will be demanded to communicate a certain quantity of information, as well as further involvement in surrounding projects, but less requirements are given to the content of that information.⁴⁹

The winning sites of last year were: the Carnuntum Archaeological Park (Austria); the Great Guild Hall (Estonia); the Peace Palace (Netherlands); and Camp Westerbork, (Netherlands). After the first winners had been declared, the European Commissioner for culture Androulla Vassiliou stated that: *"[...] I believe that this initiative has the potential to be one of the most successful and popular schemes organised by the EU. It has a strong educational angle, especially for young people who will be able to better understand the European Union's history through its association with symbolic sites."*⁵⁰

5 Discussion

5.1 The awarded sites as representing a particular view of the European identity

Since the EHL is an expression of a particular idea of a European identity, what is interesting to this essay are the criteria for these first selections. It has been stated that, out of the nine nominated sites in this first round, it was of highest significance that the winning objects held European historical- and cultural value, and that the activities surrounding these would be successful at attracting public interest.⁵¹ They were also said to be symbols of European integration and ideals, all in accordance to the premisses set up by the European Commission.⁵²

To take a little closer look, the Carnuntum Archaeological Park in Austria is a remake of a Roman

47 "Decision No 1194/2011," Official Journal of the European Union (2011-11-22) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:303:0001:0009:EN:PDF>, 303/1-9

48 "Decision No 1194/2011," Official Journal of the European Union (2011-11-22) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:303:0001:0009:EN:PDF>

49 "Decision No 1194/2011," Official Journal of the European Union (2011-11-22) <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:303:0001:0009:EN:PDF>

50 "First sites to get European Heritage Label named," Press releases database (2013-11-28) http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-1177_en.htm

51 "First sites to get European Heritage Label named," Press releases database (2013-11-28) http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-1177_en.htm

52 "What is the heritage label?" European Commission (Last updated: 2014-05-06) http://ec.europa.eu/culture/tools/actions/heritage-label_en.htm

city quarter in its original historical context, including a citizen's house, a city mansion and public baths. In 308 AD, the Romans made an important decision at a conference which took place in Carnuntum, that would set the entire course of the future of Christianity and western culture. But even before that, Carnuntum was a vital center for European politics.⁵³

Secondly we find the Great Guild Hall, a medieval Gothic-style building which has played an important role in the Estonian city-life. Completed in 1410 near to the town hall, it was commissioned by the Great Guild in collaboration with Hanseatic merchants. When nominating the site, the panel highlighted the connection between the building and these merchants, which represent early European integration. Attention was being drawn to the clear vision of the Guild Hall and the ability to attract a wide audience. The permanent exhibition 'Spirit of survival' is an expression of the common values of Europe, as was formulated in the application. The site had already been awarded with the inter-governmental initiative, but now carries the new glass plaque, with the new logo.^{54 55}

Finally, from the Netherlands we have the Peace Palace The Hauge, which is the location of international judicial bodies such as the International Court of Justice and the World Court. As well as Camp Westerbork, which was established in 1936 by the Dutch government to incarcerate Jewish refugees who had entered the country illegally. It was preserved during the German invasion, and when shut down in 1945, 107,000 Jews had passed through its gates. Large parts of the camp were demolished in the 70s, but a museum and monuments of remembrance are still important symbols of a tragic past. The Dutch Arts and Culture-council recommended both locations for being a vital part of the European History. *"The Peace Palace emerged to prevent the sort of war which Westerbork was such a painful witness to"*, the council said in connection to the nominations.^{56 57 58}

53 "Archäologischer Park Carnuntum," <http://www.carnuntum.co.at/park-en>

54 "The Great Guild Hall," Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Last updated: 2011) <http://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/en/estonian-history-museum/great-guild-hall>

55 "The Great Guild Hall," Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Last updated: 2011) <http://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/en/estonian-history-museum/great-guild-hall>

56 "Westerbork," Holocaust Encyclopedia (2013-06-10), <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005217>

57 "WWII transit camp for Jews nominated for European heritage list," DutchNews.nl (2013-02-08) http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2013/02/wwii_transit_camp_for_jews_on.php#sthash.lmznVJq7.dpuf

58 "Peace Palace: European Heritage Label," Peace Palace Library (2013-03-08) <http://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/2013/03/peace-palace-european-heritage-label/>

From this we are able to observe that the Roman heritage seem to be prevailing, concerning the selection of the Carnuntum Archaeological Park, one of the cultural components which dates back to the prescriptive views during 1950-1960. Regarding the Great Guild Hall, the focus is still on the common values, but more about the validity of European integration, which is shared in a more practical way. The later represent the double sides of European history, the tragic past and how it has been overcome. European integration as a source for peace is a great legitimizing virtue, and in that way the joint selection communicates this message .

5.2 Why the Swedish hesitation to participate?

In *Guidelines for candidate sites* it reads that the years of 2013/14 will be transitional years and "[...] reserved for Member States which did not participate in the intergovernmental label (and which would like to participate in the "new" Label). Luxembourg, Ireland, Finland, Sweden and the UK may also be included, considering they did not participate in the intergovernmental label, provided that they confirm their wish to do so." Later on one can read that Sweden has not yet expressed any desire to be involved.⁵⁹ In my quest to answer the question as to why not, I have interviewed Markus Dahlberg, head of the department of collective memories at Riksantikvarieämbetet in collaboration with Maria Wikman, the Swedish contact person on the official web page of The European Heritage Label. The answers are not subjected to personal opinion, but represent those of the agency. (See full interview in Annex 1)

Riksantikvarieämbetet is a national authority responsible for questions regarding environment and cultural heritage. On their web page we read, that the visions of Riksantikvarieämbetet of today are to make so that the cultural heritage is preserved, used and developed. Focus is on building knowledge and communicating this both nationally and internationally.⁶⁰

From the interview I have been able to affirm the Swedish opt-out for the time being. Even though the agency has been aware of the EHL since 2005, no discussions has been held on a possible participation. When answering to the question on whether Sweden should participate, he makes sure to accentuate that the project is voluntary for the member-states, and since the agency is depended on authority instruction from the government, future involvement would foremost be a decision of

⁵⁹ "European Heritage Label Guidelines for candidate sites" (2011)

http://en.www.mcu.es/patrimonio/docs/MC/PatrimonioEur/Guideline_for_candidate_sites_En.pdf

⁶⁰ "Vår verksamhetsidé och vision," Riksantikvarieämbetet <http://www.raa.se/om-riksantikvarieambetet/vart-uppdrag/>

theirs. He then adds, that the national contact person Maria Wikman has so far observed a cautious approach regarding the nomination process, since such a contribution would demand a substantial amount of time and responsibility from the national level. In case of an eventual participation, it is possible that the nomination process would include different actors on multiple levels of governance.

No answers were given to the questions on what could possibly motivate or discourage to a future involvement, or whether there are any projects prepared for nomination in the next round. But one could only assume that there are none, given that there has currently not been a discussion on the case. Regarding the disadvantages, although subtle, one liability seems to be the part of the time consuming administrative work.

The official EU-platform for digital heritage is called Europeana, where Sweden has shown herself to be a surprisingly active partner, representing 11% of the total content, meaning that Sweden is the third most active member after France and Germany.⁶¹ When asked about the skewed participation on the two EU-projects for promoting cultural heritage Europeana and The European Heritage Label, he believes that such a comparison is difficult to make. He stated, that since Europeana only make available items already existing on databases via a common portal, the EHL signifies new ways of handling administrative commitments. This, another answer which points to the direction of the work burden as an explanation for the Swedish hesitation to join.

Finally, the answer to the question on the role of Sweden's cultural heritage in Europe, he presents a claim where the cultural heritage in Sweden is part of the European heritage, which is part of the World Cultural Heritage. This is an interesting syllogism, from which no exact conclusion can be drawn. However, Sweden today has 15 objects on the UNESCO World Heritage List,⁶² and since 1986, Riksantikvarieämbetet has been an extension of the governmental authority in the nomination process. But the negotiations have also been of transnational nature, when the Nordic officials decided to team up in 1980, when considering objects for the World Heritage List. The second phase was completed in 1996, when the network became the Nordic World Heritage Foundation.⁶³

61 "Europeana: All providers," <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/europeana-providers.html>

62 "Världsarv i Sverige," Riksantikvarieämbetet (Last updated: 2014-01-17) <http://www.raa.se/upplev-kulturarvet/varldsarv/>

63 "Unescos världsarvskonvention och de svenska världsarvsobjekten" Regeringskansliet (2001-03-19) <http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c4/26/18/54682e5b.pdf>

From this perspective we see that there is an interest in promoting cultural heritage abroad, but perhaps there is a higher prioritization towards the international or Nordic geopolitical context, prior to the European. This hypothesis will be further explored in the next chapter.

5.2.1 Sweden's position towards her cultural heritage

The approbation of cultural heritage in Sweden has swayed in different periods of time. It is influenced by the pace of societal development, the idea of societal life, and by contemporary science. The change from an agrarian to an urban society fueled a longing for the past, and increased the awareness of cultural heritage. An important shift took place in 1988, with a shift in vocational terminology, from “*cultural remembrance care*” to “*cultural environment preservation*”, not only proposed a new way of working with heritage, but was also a reflection of a change in attitude. The new term focused less on singular objects and took bigger contexts into account, as well as entire areas. Not only was the cultural heritage to be preserved, but it was likewise requested it be brought to life in present times.⁶⁴ This stance converges with the objectives in the EHL, in terms of the requirements of the heritage to be of meaning to the present. The difference lies in regard to context, where the Swedish heritage is meant to have meaning in relation to Sweden, and the EHL invokes a European attribute.

The mentioned methodological shift was the consequence of an ideological shift, and cultural heritage was given new merit on different terms. The heritage was to be viewed as the foundation for developing the social landscape, and with this, the time perspective was shortened, and only more recent heritage was being highlighted.⁶⁵ The EU and Sweden have similar goals with the use of their cultural heritage. They both wish that it provides structure today, as well as future orientation for the society, but again the disparity lies in the diverging spaces.

In the 20th century one began to speak of a Sweden lacking in history. Two centuries of peace had left the country with a bigger quantity of preserved material heritage in relation to some of the more torn parts of the European continent. In spite of this, there was also a great non-interest in Swedish tradition, that was further reinforced by the expansion of the Swedish welfare system. Society was looking forward, at the expense of searching for its roots. The dramatic times of war and conquest

64 Erik Wegraeus et al., “Från Fornminne till kulturmiljö” in *Sveriges Kulturarv* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1998): 76-79

65 Erik Wegraeus et al., *Från Fornminne till kulturmiljö*, 79-83

were already far behind, and seemed to be a forgotten memory.⁶⁶ This sense of rootlessness reemerged with new force in Sweden's contact with the 'other' during times of increased migration in the 90th decade. Sweden suddenly became self-conscious of its lack in Swedishness.⁶⁷ It has been said that migrants often fix identities in their homelands, and the cultural poverty meant that historical research was introduced to give social orientation for its people. Simultaneously, the constant progress optimism was beginning to decline in times of economical recession.⁶⁸ This deficit of commemoration in Sweden is reflected in present times when naming a new street or district. More often it will be called Northern road, Birch Street, or something of the kind.⁶⁹

The Swedish goals in cultural politics, set up in 2009, are: to encourage quality and innovation; to acknowledge the equal rights to cultural experiences and cultural education; to support a living cultural heritage, focusing on preservation, development, and to make it useful in present times; support international and intercultural exchange and collaboration; and especially consider the youth's right to culture.⁷⁰ Such goals would also be very much in alignment to the cultural goals of the EU. They both wish to support a living heritage, in fact, the formulations are nearly identical. Also, they equally wish to support international and intercultural change, the EHL having this as one of its main objectives. Thirdly, the special regards towards the youth is overlapping, and culture in the Swedish formulations does not necessary restrict the comprehension to a Swedish culture.

5.2.2 The Swedish accession process to the European Union

In 1961 Swedish Prime Minister Erlander voiced his concerns regarding possible integration with the EEC. His main implications were: 1) accession meant breaking the neutrality policy, which was at the heart of Sweden's foreign policy, and 2) the union was based upon the values of free trade, which contested the values of the Social Democratic government “*that had served the country so*

66 Kari Tarkainen, “Det svenska kulturarvet i arkiven” in Sveriges kulturarv (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1998): 26-28

67 Kari Tarkainen, “Det svenska kulturarvet i arkiven” in Sveriges kulturarv (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1998): 26-28 7-8, 28-29

68 Kari Tarkainen, “Det svenska kulturarvet i arkiven” in Sveriges kulturarv (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1998):

69 Jonas Frykman and Jonas Billy Ehn, ”Förord” in Minnesmärken, Att tolka det förflutna och besvärja framtiden, (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 2007): 16- 17, 24-25

70 “Unescos världsarvskonvention och de svenska världsarvsobjekten.” Regeringskansliet. (2001-03-19)
<http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c4/26/18/54682e5b.pdf>

well.” Both of these objections mirrored two features that were at the core of the Swedish self image. His speech would therefor become internalized, and revoked every time the question would again be put on the table.⁷¹ These concerns are some the first examples of the incompatible self-images between the EU and Sweden. But the times have changed, and for the last 8 years the Social Democratic government has been replaced by a more EU-friendly party.⁷² But in spite of this, Sweden are still accused of having a Janus-faced attitude towards the EU, been called an outsider on the inside, only halfheartedly dedicated towards further integration. Abroad Sweden carries the polity of low visibility, and on the inside she holds a low degree of Europeanisation.⁷³

The 1990-discourse voiced the accession to the European Union much more as an internationalization, than that of supra-nationalization. In certain areas, the Swedish relationship to the EU is still somewhat restrained, resulting in a languid enthusiasm for collaboration.⁷⁴ As the discourse on a 'Europe of the Regions' took off in the late 80th decade, the negative attitude was beginning to slip. The single market was in this context no longer perceived as an ideological threat, but rather an arena for facilitating the development of cross-border economic regions and the possibility of new influences in sub-regional policy. For Sweden, such demands were the result of industrial and societal changes, which were the result of increasing European integration. The financial crisis of 1990-1994 had led to some critical reforms of the state structure in Sweden, where globalization was considered the protagonist in driving national political and economic divisions into ambiguity. This produced a process of delegating responsibility to other levels of government, and a concentration of the private sector. All reforms contrasted greatly from the Swedish traditional political culture, and it was in this climate of reform that Sweden sought membership with the EU.⁷⁵

Some point to the fact that Sweden lacked a security doctrine, and so this political project was the result of a survival strategy in a partly hostile international environment. Others have suggested that the increased migration during the 90:ies led to new social challenges that were of international

71 Mats Bergquist, "Metalltalet -50 år efteråt" in I Europamissionens tjänst, (Alvstam, Claes G; Jännebring, Birgitta; Naurin, Daniel ed.) (Göteborg: Geson Hylte Tryck, 2011): 194-194

72 Lee Miles, "Looking Back on Sweden's 'Twin Faces': Reflections on Sweden and European Integration" in I Europamissionens tjänst (Göteborg: Geson Hylte Tryck, 2011): 265-266

73 Lee Miles, Looking Back on Sweden's 'Twin Faces', 265-266

74 Niklas Eklund "Sweden and Poland Entering the EU, Comparative Patterns of Adaptive Organization and Cognition. (Umeå: Print & Media, 2005): 58

75 Alex Warleigh-Lack and Malin Stegmann McCallion, "Usages of Europe' and Europeanisation: Evidence from the Regionalisation of Sweden" (London and New York: Routledge, 2012): 388-399

form, and thus called upon equivalent settlements.⁷⁶ Either way, it had become visible that the EU involvement mattered insofar as it served particular national interests.

If Sweden is still in favor of internationalization rather than of Europeanisation, then it is of no wonder that the project will fail to be valued as an access. Since Sweden already participates in UNESCO, perhaps the thematic labeling of the EHL will seem more invasive or targeting. Having a site labeled with the EHL simultaneously acknowledges its European affinity, whilst having an object on the World Heritage List will be more inclusive, and certainly international. The regional politics seem to be of high importance, but that doesn't directly prevent from participating in the project.

The neutrality politics and an ample welfare system has scaled down the urge for high symbolic cohesion. Accession was finally determined because it was considered the best thing for Sweden, not because of any aspiration to connect with the European continent. If this position has latched on and become praxis, then it is only logical that there is little interest in joining a project such as the EHL. If Sweden has but a vested interest in European integration, it is of no surprise that the level of Europeanisation would be so low, since this rational approach to integration did not demand any shaping of a European identity for legitimization.

Another possible explanation for some of the tensions is due to the fact that the Nordic countries all have had such a varying participation in the European conflicts during the 20th century. This leading to various sub-regional priorities in policy making, diverging identities, and a generally stronger affiliation to the Nordic geopolitical context. With European integration, this has made for competition instead of cooperation.⁷⁷ Regarding cultural heritage, the Nordic countries has long cooperated in meetings on the professional, organizational and technical challenges of heritage, which has resulted in similar laws and planning of projects. (Garreau, 2010: 92) The Nordic perspective seem to be invoked in several areas, but regarding the conflicting identities, we find ourselves beyond the domains of politics. Regarding Sweden, a physically large distance from "the starting point of Europe", namely the Greek civilization and the Roman Empire, makes for difficulties to relate in certain areas. Likewise, Sweden was late in converting to Christianity and is

76 Niklas Eklund, *Sweden and Poland Entering the EU*, 60

77 Carmen Gebhard "Soft Competition: Finland, Sweden and the Northern Dimension of the European Union," *Scandinavian Political Studies* (2013): 374-375

now one of the most secular nations among the 27, all of which are major sources for the European identity.⁷⁸ Further, nationalism as a response to the depression makes it difficult to legitimize further integration both from the side of the EU, as well as for Sweden.⁷⁹

The lacking interest from both rational-political grounds, coupled with the the notion on the differentiated identities in the physical- and cognitive distance from Europe, are interesting but not in themselves an answer to the question of why Sweden hesitate to participate, but it makes the underlying issues a more probable reason, than the administrative burden alone can explain. The collaboration requires negotiation, and Sweden has been reserved, but not outright reluctant.⁸⁰ Today the question is no longer about if Europe matters, but how Europe matters, and the Swedish government has been trying to work out how Europe will matter to Sweden. There seem to be a rather stable depiction of how Sweden has positioned herself in Brussels, but how Brussels will have influence in Sweden has yet been negotiated.

5.3 Cultural heritage as identity and political legitimacy

Inherited in all human beings is the sense of belonging to a social group. Over time, understandings of tradition and heritage are being transmitted from one generation to the next. Environment, material as well as non-material (such as memories and membership), are being passed on in a narrated form, so what is really being transferred are ideas and perceptions. The cultural heritage implies owning, and so tradition becomes both “own” and “owned.”⁸¹ The motivation for the EU to create a common European identity lies in its ability to legitimize political agency, making the democratic deficit less of an issue.⁸²

The Maastricht treaty states that: *“reinforcing the European identity will promote security, and progress in Europe and the world”* and Jean Monnet once made it clear that the cooperation was not about *“forming coalitions between states, but union among people.”*⁸³ Cris Shore has noted that

78 Claes Wilborg, ”The Euro@10; Celebration Followed by Crisis” in I Europamissionens tjänst (Alvstam, Claes G; Jännebring, Birgitta; Naurin, Daniel ed.) (Göteborg: Geson Hylte Tryck, 2011): 103

79 Birger Möller, *Vad är EU... och vad kan det bli?* 3d. ed. (Santénus Academic Press, 2013): 259

80 Niklas Eklund, Sweden and Poland Entering the EU, 5

81 Robert Mugerauer, ”Openings to Each Other in the Technological Age in Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism” (AlSayyad, Nezar ed.) (London and New York: Routledge, 2001): 68-71, 82

82 Johan Borneman and Nick Fowler “Europeanization, Annual Review of Anthropology” (1997): 489

83 “Treaty on European Union (Consolidated Version), Treaty of Maastricht,” Official Journal of the European Communities. <http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf>

expressions like these are well for creating a European subject, but what is currently missing is a European subjectivity.⁸⁴ According to him, the concept of a European ethos has been formulated into its existence, being for the moment nothing but an instrumental loyalty. It has been realized by elites in a technocratic integration, with too little reference back to the people in which name they justify their existence.⁸⁵ The truth value of the European identity is outside the scope of this essay, however, what is interesting to this essay bridges with Delanty and Rumfords view on Europeanisation, namely the effects of these imaginations. Identity is a sense of belonging generated by a common language, myths, memories, folklore and tradition: all which divide the Europeans.⁸⁶ The question is, can the EU as a relatively new tradition overcome these obstacles?

Cultural policy is often reinforced during times of crisis, and according to Shore, the democratic deficit of the EU is but a symptom of a lack in shared culture. The EU has been accused of having a demos in form, lacking in content.⁸⁷ Due to the fact that culture acts as political legitimacy, it is only natural that this needs to be enhanced in times of economic recession. The cultural heritage is a vital part of the identity, but this same assumption also has political implications.^{88 89} As the need for a European consciousness arose, information was considered key. Then came a deeper understanding of the processes of identity-formation, which led to the introduction of the EU-symbols: the flag, the hymn, Europe day, and so on.⁹⁰ Symbols are generally a mechanism for national identity, adopted on the supra-national stage and, in these, the European heritage has become somewhat objectified.⁹¹ Some of these claims are directly applicable on the Swedish case, since the economic crisis in the 90:ies, along with social issues, contributed to a higher regard of its cultural heritage. The same was true for the EU, since the cultural policies of the 80:ies were shaped by issues in political legitimization.

Culture is a supplement to the more abstract political citizenship, providing that the culture-communal solidarity has proved stronger than the more pragmatic political.⁹² The act of

84 Cris Shore, *Building Europe*, 15-16

85 Cris Shore, *Building Europe*, 16-18

86 Cris Shore, *Building Europe*, 225

87 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 87-88

88 Brian Graham and Peter Howard, "Introduction: Heritage and Identity" in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, (Graham, Brian; Howard, Peter ed.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008): 1

89 Andreas Gahleitner, "The European Heritage Label and the Symbolic Construction of the European Union," *Hamburg review of social sciences*, (2012): 26

90 Cris Shore, *Building Europe*, 45-46

91 Cris Shore, *Building Europe*, 50, 52

92 Zygmunt Bauman, *Culture as praxis*, xli

commemoration is about making a symbolic statement of belonging, and thus inseparable to citizenship. Cultural heritage as a bridge between the political and social sphere of the EU is compatible with the theory of collective memory present in this essay. The issue lies in the use of heritage as function, where the EHL can be seen as tool for spurring positive sentiments for further European integration, acting out of their own personal interests.

Territory provide a source for the national identity in being the homeland for culture, yet a premiss for territory are borders which delimit the 'other', that in turn generates feelings of 'us' and 'them'. Place will in this context become an abstraction in the nation-state symbol. However, the assumption that the identity is connected to place becomes more complex in a globalized world, and especially within the multi-governmental outline of the EU. Here we see that space has become largely a-spatial, in being the ground for consumption, mobility, belonging, nostalgia, embodiment, community, culture and citizenship. On one hand there are fixed borders, and on the other, the material and non-material goods which are overlapping. There is also a clash of social versus political space, in those domains where the EU clashes with the national agenda.^{93 94} The nation implies a fixation of place, whereas movement can be seen as detached. The intermingled layers of global, national and regional are given the cultural heritage new interpretations, whilst it will in this context act as to locate the lives of certain people in a narrative which connects past and present with future.⁹⁵ In this view the cultural heritage is the way in which we construct our national identity, but the question is, are the national versus European really a zero-sum game?

5.4 The added value of transnational collaboration

The previous chapter has brought attention to some of the areas where the introduction of a European Heritage Label might become an issue. To balance these claims, a discussion on the potentials of transnational cooperation, that is imbedded in the project, must be included.

The added value of transnational cooperation can occur when the result of such a collaboration is one of the following. Either, when tackling specific issues on a larger scale, the cooperation will bring about a better outcome than had it been done separately, where the exchange of information and ideas benefits from diversity. Or, when that cooperation spill over into other domains, leading

93 Gerard Delanty and Cris Rumford, *Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*, 122-123

94 Cris Shore, *Building Europe*, 1-7

95 Brian Graham and Peter Howard, *Introduction: Heritage and Identity*, 15-6

to increased toleration and understanding of other cultures i.e. it becomes a social learning process. Thus, transnational cooperation have the possibility of effecting both entire areas, as well as the agents involved.^{96 97}

Such added value has been noticed within the diffusion of policies and practices at the institutional level of the EU. Even though it is rooted in policy, it is likewise inherent in the Europeanisation process, since the added value effect all levels of governance. It is a question of re-conceptualizing the transnational cooperation as policy impact, to put the learning aspect of such efforts in focus. Emerging in this came the notion on Europeanisation as a horizontal process, which proves itself more sufficient when addressing the new cultural policies and projects. This because it better captures the hybrid power-constellation of the Union in this area, which challenges both the hierarchical supra-national level, as well as the nation-centric sphere of the domestic.⁹⁸

Since 1990, new, non-obligatory policies has been introduced, moving the understanding of the integration-process away from the singular to the selected. This not meaning that the EU will be released of its role as a mediator and a facilitator, but will continue to support and initiate platforms for communication. Diversity in transnational cooperation is a resource just as much as it has its implications.^{99 100} In *Desisions* we read that an object already participating in a similar project, may still be eligible for the EHL, since the later only concerns itself with the European symbolical aspect. This gives a better perspective to the Swedish case, where joining the EHL might not be about the question of having either European or Swedish belonging. The previous discussion has been about Sweden's reluctance towards further integration and diverging identities as impediments, but still she is no shy partner in promoting cultural heritage to the other member-states. From the Europeana web page, it is clear that whilst the content is said to be European, the reference back to the nation-state is dominant. It is presented as heritage in the name of the national culture, and the European imprint is only fractional. Europeana is about sharing the national heritage *to* other member states, but the question remains of how much Sweden is ready to share it *with* Europe?

96 Claire Colomb, "The Added Value of Transnational Cooperation: Towards a New Framework for Evaluating Learning and Policy Change," in *Planning, Practice & Research*, (2007): 347-348

97 Verena Hachmann and Philip Potter, "Transnational and Intercultural Skills for the Management of European Networks," *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, (2007): 1-4

98 Claire Colomb, *The Added Value of Transnational Cooperation*, 347-348, 364

99 Verena Hachmann and Philip Potter, *Transnational and Intercultural Skills*, 2

100 Claire Colomb, *The Added Value of Transnational Cooperation*, 350-351, 356

6 Final Words

Bauman has stated that the more self-conscious and determined order-making becomes, the more visible are the motives and the weaker appear the product. Because no thought is given to identity when it comes natural, it will be internalized only when it doesn't need to be claimed.¹⁰¹ These words are somewhat applicable to the study of The European Heritage Label, and one cannot get away from the fact that the instrumentalization of culture is always at risk when politicians interfere with cultural politics.

What makes the Label unique in comparison to similar awards is the way it favors symbolical principles over aesthetic aspects. It intends for young people to internalize the idea of a common European heritage, the construction of a shared present and a unified future, presupposing that in teaching about the history and culture of the EU, citizens will automatically feel closer to it. However, what has already been argued for in this essay, is that there is just as little fixity in history-making as there is in cultural heritage, and in this view the project will imply teaching from a dominating perspective. Looking at the history of cultural policies, the EHL undertakes both the educational perspective relying to a great extent on information, and the symbolic stance, being less deterministic.

The early cultural politics of the EU relied too much on the functions of the institutions, which made the cultural integration a top-down process. The more recent development, looking at some of the new projects in culture, the EU has adopted alternative ways of promoting Europeanness, strengthening aspects of the common identity rather than promoting one singular view. Cris Shore claims that cultural heritage in the EU has become objectified, but the EHL provides new ways of nuancing this perception, as it decentralizes the comprehension of those very same symbols. But even if the project is thematic in design, there are some elements of the normative assumptions on a pan-European identity, personified in the panel of experts. However, the EU is equally attempting to facilitate the discussion around the European identity, leaving it more to the nations to fill these concepts with their meaning. The criteria set up are not prescriptive, but represent ideas that are largely up to local interpretation. The understandings of those ideas will therefore diverge geographically, but will also change with the course of time. That is also why, it is impossible to make any precise predictions on what will happen with the Label in general, and with Swedish case

101 Zygmunt Bauman, *Culture as praxis*, introduction: xix

in particular. Looking from our different perspectives, the EHL has both the ability to become a competition in cultural prestige or to grant tolerance, where each object will not be defined by its disparity to others, but embody a combination of the overlapping cultures of the member states within the EU.

Participating in the project is an acknowledgment of belonging to the EU i.e. cultural integration, but in many ways, Sweden is more connected to the Nordic states given their shared culture, common linguistic traits, their joint history and political- as well as moral values. Identity is a sense of belonging which arise when these aspect converge, so, a valid question will be: can the European Union as a relatively new tradition overcome these shortcomings in all areas? Can new traditions become internalized without the power of time? But attribution is not a case of carrying one or the other, and having a European belonging does not exclude one from being Swedish, and being Swedish does not eliminate the the country's interconnectedness to a European context.

Investigating the European identity is has become clear to me that it isn't very productive to cling on too hard to these cultural conceptions of identity which only stresses homogeneity. An assessment like this will lead to the discouraging conclusion that such a project appear rather hopeless. Also, the new stance which has been repetitively mentioned, is the slogan of nations 'United in diversity', where diversity has become the identity. So, Cris Shore is a bit rash in his immediate reproach on the European demos being bound up in an instrumental loyalty. Because the political reality is such, that the people of the EU are very much interconnected. They abide by the same laws, share common products, are free to travel to any member-country they like, and their economies are dependent on each other, in both good and bad times. So, I instead propose that we see the opportunities of this political 'Us', where people are interconnected in a daily sphere, where they will come to share worldviews from common experiences. A joint life-world leading to a joint world-view. The transnational cooperation will increase communication, and the added value of policy transfer might intail common practices, resulting in cognitive converges.

Following this, one should also not exaggerate the top-down influence of the EHL as the Member States will still enjoy a large degree of autonomy in nominating their sites. The panel is unable to oblige a member-state to nominate certain objects, as Markus Dahlgren pointed out in the interview. Secondly, the implementation; configuration (in alignment to decrees); and administration are all regulated at a national level. Yes, the common aspect of the European culture are still in contrast

with the national, but as I have tried to discuss, the project might just have the ability to bridge these contrasting concerns. Plugging into the sphere of European affairs will at the same time enhance the European consciousness. Sharing the Label with other member-states will in any case unite them in a common situation, joined by the means of the EHL-symbol.

As was previously discussed, the growing global culture challenges the local, which at the same time encourages the production of national particularities as a counter-balance for diffusion. After increased migration, Sweden has become more self-conscious and made efforts to accentuate the cultural heritage, which in turn serves as fuel for nationalism. The emphasis on a pan-European culture for the EU-citizens may therefor actually lead to the opposite of its intentions, namely, enhance the need for national vindication. Regarding these competing interests, the institutional level will have to convince the member-states that the Europeanisation of cultural heritage will serve common interests and goals, with particular consideration to the Swedish case. I believe that this is possible, as the Label also intends to symbolize the larger European integration, which is adapted to the logic of the domestic. This complies with the Swedish rational position, discussed earlier in this essay, since the added value of participation is also a rationalistic approach to cooperation. Even if the functional aspect will prevail, stepping into the European area implies new possibilities of Europeanisation.

I will finish this paper according to the same approach as I begun. Perhaps it is a tad unsatisfactory, but I have to stay true to my theoretical outset. Because in the end, collective memory, cultural heritage and Europeanisation will be nothing more than what it manages to do, so I guess we will just have to wait and see what this might be.

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Annex 1

Svar från Markus Dahlberg, Samhällsavdelningen, Riksantikvarieämbetet. Riksantikvarieämbetet är en nationell myndighet med ansvar för frågor om kulturmiljö och kulturarv. Myndigheten lyder under Kulturdepartementet, med uppdrag fastställt av Regeringen. Mitt svar baseras på mitt ansvar för delar av verksamheten vid Riksantikvarieämbetet, inte det jag tycker personligen.

Hade nu tidigare hört talas om European Heritage Label?

Ja, frågan har varit aktuell sedan 2005.

Anser ni att Sverige borde delta i projektet?

Deltagandet i European Heritage Label är frivilligt för medlemsstaterna. Då det gäller huvuddelen av Riksantikvarieämbetets verksamhet så styrs det av utpekade ansvar enligt lagar och förordningar, myndighetens instruktion samt uppdrag från regeringen. Sverige har utsatt en nationell kontaktperson som följt arbetet, men i övrigt iakttagit en avvaktande då hållning då det gäller nomineringsarbetet. Med nomineringarna följer också ett visst ansvar som kräver tid och resurser på nationell nivå. Ett eventuellt deltagande från Sveriges sida, där Riksantikvarieämbetet ska axla delar av detta ansvar, kräver en dialog och eventuellt också ett uppdrag från regeringen.

Vem ska i så fall organisera nomineringen? Statliga myndigheter? NGO:s?

I princip (och i analogi med hanteringen av t. ex. Världsarvskonventionen och konventionen om det immateriella världsarvet) skulle man kunna tänka sig ett förfarande som innefattar olika aktörer, på olika nivåer. Administrativa insatser på nationell nivå skulle dock behövas. Riksantikvarieämbetet är central förvaltningsmyndighet gällande frågor om kulturmiljö och kulturarv och skulle sannolikt bära en del av det administrativa ansvaret.

Finns det några planer, diskussioner eller avsikter om Sveriges framtida deltagande?

Nej, inte i nuläget.

Om ja

Hur motiverar man ett sådant deltagande?

-

Vilka fördelar ser man med samarbetet?

-

Finns det några objekt färdiga för nominering inför nästa år?*

-

Om nej

Varför anser ni att Sverige inte bör delta för tillfället?

Se ovan beträffande Riksantikvarieämbetets uppdrag.

Vilka nackdelar ser ni med projektet?

Riksantikvarieämbetet har inte gjort någon sådan analys.

Sverige är väldigt aktiv på sidan Europeana, varför har man inte visat ett lika stort intresse för The European Heritage Label? (Och om man gjort det, på vilket sätt?)

Jämförelsen är svår att göra. Europeana tillgängliggör objekt från redan existerande databaser via en gemensam portal. European Heritage Label innebär på ett annat sätt nya administrativa åtaganden.

Vilken roll anser ni att Sveriges kulturarv har i Europa?

Kulturarven i Sverige är del av Europas kulturarv som är del av Världens kulturarv.

Har ni några dokument att skicka som visar på överläggningar, diskussioner eller annat som skulle kunna ha informationsvärde för min uppsats?

Nej.

Har ni något annat att tillägga? Det kan också röra sig om mer generella åsikter kring Europas kulturpolitik.

Nej.

* Rättelse: Nästa nominerings-process kommer att inträffa om 2 år.