

The Swedish system of Contract Archaeology

An analysis of current opinions

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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis over current opinions towards the Swedish system of contract archaeology. The opinions were gathered through an online poll from the three main actors of the system: Developers, the County Administrative Board and Contract Archaeologists. The thesis came to be as a response to the various and often negative comments and attitudes towards the system shown in mass media, journal articles or by word of mouth from people within the system.

The purpose of the thesis is to create an insight into current attitudes towards the system and the way it is organised, based on the opinions of people working within the system. The results provide indications on where the system needs to change and improve and where the system is currently working satisfactory. The results furthermore provide an insight into the system's main advantages and disadvantages, as defined by the research participants. The differences in opinions between the three system parties are also compared and analysed.

The results show that the research participants are rather displeased with the current system and that the perceived problems vary between the three participating groups. The conclusion is that the system suffers from a structural flaw that separates and creates opposition between two of the system parties: the developer and the contract archaeologist. For the system to fulfil its purpose and improve, the schism between said parties must be dealt with.

Table of content

1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. BACKGROUND	2
1.2. PURPOSE, AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	2
1.3. MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY	4
1.3.1. <i>The Poll</i>	4
1.3.2. <i>Source criticism</i>	5
1.4. DELIMITATIONS	6
1.5. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	7
1.5.1. <i>New Public Management</i>	7
1.5.2. <i>Cultural Values</i>	7
1.5.3. <i>Public value management</i>	8
1.5.4. <i>Perspectives</i>	8
2. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND DISCUSSIONS	10
2.1. CHANGES IN REGULATIONS AND CONTEMPORARY COMMENTS	10
2.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH	14
2.3. MASS MEDIA AND CONTRACT ARCHAEOLOGY	14
3. THE SWEDISH SYSTEM	16
3.1. A DEVELOPER STARTS A NEW PROJECT	16
3.2. THE CAB RECEIVES AN APPLICATION	17
3.2.1. <i>The archaeological survey</i>	18
3.2.2. <i>The archaeological pre-investigation</i>	18
3.2.3. <i>The archaeological investigation</i>	19
3.3. THE VALUE OF THE ANCIENT REMAIN VERSUS THE VALUE OF THE EXPLOITATION PROJECT ...	20
3.4. COST LIABILITIES	21
3.5. AFTER THE EXCAVATION	22
4. POLL RESULTS	23
5. DISCUSSION	46
5.1. CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE SWEDISH SYSTEM OF CONTRACT ARCHAEOLOGY	46
5.2. ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES WITH THE CURRENT SYSTEM	47
5.3. THE FUTURE OF SWEDISH CONTRACT ARCHAEOLOGY	48
5.4. A REQUEST FOR A MORE OFFENSIVE DEFENCE OF THE VALUE OF ARCHAEOLOGY	49
6. SUMMARY	51

1. Introduction

Contract archaeology is archaeological investigations and excavations conducted under commercial contract, in areas endangered by exploitation or construction. Contract archaeology is also known as rescue archaeology, salvage archaeology, development-lead archaeology or commercial archaeology. In contrast to research-led excavations, contract archaeologist need to conduct their work under very strict deadlines. The primary purpose of contract archaeology is to document ancient remains that will be destroyed or damaged due to exploitation. The purpose is also to collect and preserve archaeological findings, produce new archaeological knowledge and to mediate findings and new knowledge to the general public.

In Sweden, the cultural environment law, *Kulturmiljölagen* (SFS 1988:950), regulates the protection of cultural heritage. The law states that the protection of our cultural environment is a matter of national concern. Whoever is planning to conduct work affecting the cultural environment must make sure to delimit or avoid any damage to it (SFS 1988:950, ch.1, §1). To ensure that the law is correctly followed and implemented, a system of cooperation and communication has been created between three parties: the developer, the County Administrative Board (Sw. Länsstyrelsen) and the contract archaeologist. The Swedish National Heritage Board (Sw. Riksantikvarieämbetet) has a supervisory responsibility. This system can be defined as *The Swedish system of contract archaeology*.

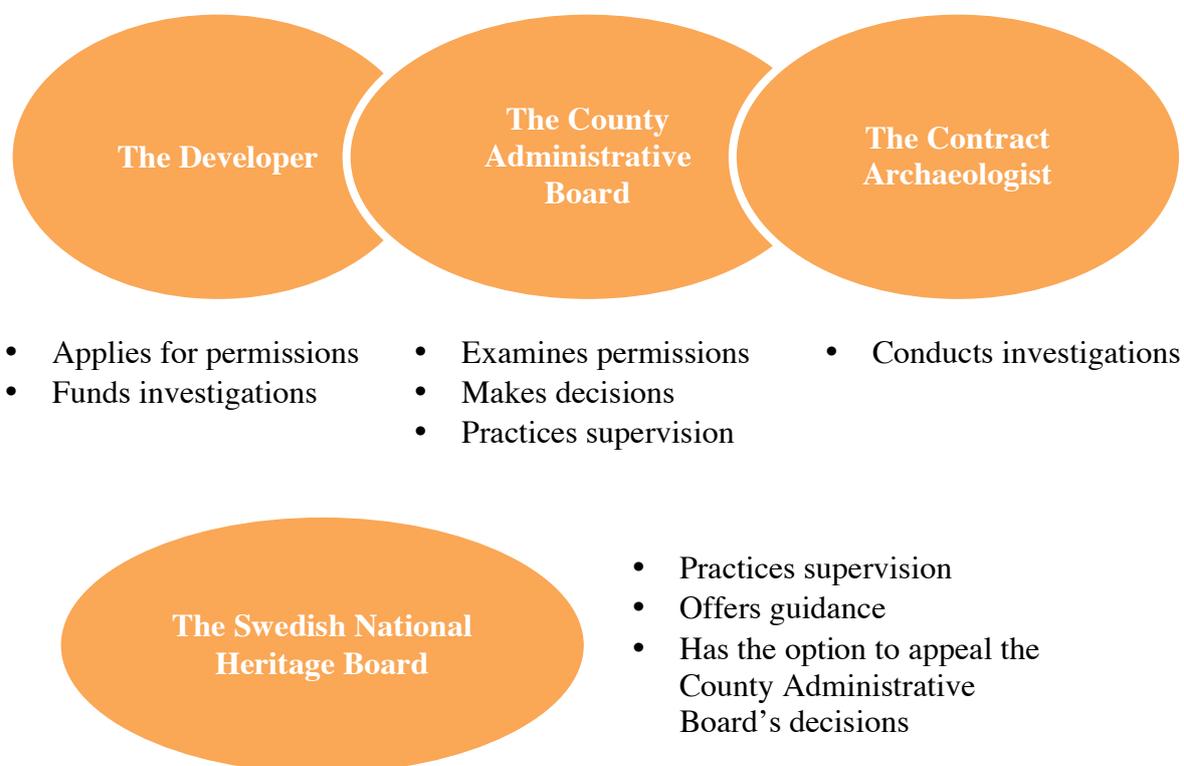


Figure 1: An overview over the Swedish system of contract archaeology. Shows the three main parties and their responsibilities. The Swedish National Heritage Board has a supervisory position from outside the main system. Visualisation influenced by publication from The Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.6).

1.1. Background

During the past two decades the Swedish system of contract archaeology has been subject for vast changes. Contract archaeological investigations are now being conducted by contract archaeological firms competing on a semi-deregulated market through a special form of public procurement. National directives are requesting a higher level of scientific work methods and the results have to be published and mediated in manners that suit a variety of target groups: other archaeologists, the general public and official agencies. At the same time the process of the special form of public procurement are forcing archaeologists to compete over who can conduct an investigation the fastest and cheapest; two abilities not usually related to high-quality science. On the other side of the system stands the developer with the cost liability, urging the County Administrative Board to keep costs and time consumption to a minimum.

We knew there were archaeological problems. But we did not know how much it would cost to have them removed. It is impossible to know in advance.
(Hem & Hyra 2017)

This thesis came to be as a response to the many various comments and attitudes towards the Swedish system of contract archaeology shown in mass media, journal articles or by word of mouth from people within the system. The quotation above is an expressive example over how Sweden's cultural heritage is described as "problems" by developers in today's mass media. As a student, almost ready to enter the working life of an archaeologist, it is of great concern that developers, contract archaeologists and representatives from the County Administrative Board are displaying an often negative attitude towards the current system and the way it is evolving. It is of course inevitable that the Swedish system of contract archaeology, as any system, has its advantages and disadvantages. But the question is how well or bad people with an insiders perspective, finds the system, when formally asked. Is there a general dissatisfaction, or is this a case where those opposing the system speaks louder and gets more attention than those who are appreciating it?

1.2. Purpose, aim and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to create an insight into current attitudes towards the Swedish system of contract archaeology and the way it is organised, based on the opinions of people from within the system. The results provide indications on where the system needs to change and improve, and where the system is currently working satisfactory. The results also provide an insight into the system's main advantages and disadvantages, as defined by the research participants. Lastly, the differences in opinions between the involved parties can be compared to give indications on whether a certain party finds the system more functional than others.

To fulfil the purpose of the thesis the aim is to gather and analyse the opinions of the three main parties involved in the Swedish system of contract archaeology. The parties are identified and defined in the cultural environment law (SFS 1988:950):

1. Swedish developers
2. The County Administrative Board (CAB)
3. Swedish contract archaeologists (CA)

After gathering the opinions from said parties, the aim is to discuss and analyse the results. The aim is also to discuss the different advantages and disadvantages that research participants define, and to compare the opinions of the different parties.

The thesis answers the following research questions:

- What are the current attitudes towards the Swedish system of contract archaeology, based on the opinions of people working within the system?
- What seems to be the main advantages and disadvantages with the system, as perceived by the research participants?

1.3. Material and methodology

The material is based on two types of sources: literature studies and an online poll compiled on account of this thesis. The method is a mix of quantitative and qualitative research where the statistical, quantitative, results from the poll are being analysed and discussed in a qualitative manner.

The literature studies emanate from the Swedish cultural environment law (SFS 1988:950) and include information from four main sources: the Swedish government, Swedish archaeological journals, previous research and Swedish newspaper articles. Governmentally produced reports, guidelines, injunctions and propositions concerning contract archaeology, heritage protection or changes to the cultural environment law were mainly found through government websites and through Google searches. A variety of search words were used but mainly the words “arkeologi” (archaeology), “kulturmiljölagen” (cultural environment law) and “uppdragsarkeologi” (contract archaeology). Relevant articles regarding the subject of contract archaeology or heritage protection, published in the Swedish archaeology journals *Current Swedish Archaeology* and *Fornvännen* have been analysed. The journals were selected based on their relevant content and their focus on Swedish archaeology. Earlier research regarding the Swedish system of contract archaeology was found in doctor’s theses and master’s theses. Mass medial articles mentioning contract archaeological investigations were found through Google searches and through *The Media archive*, containing articles from 700 Swedish newspapers and journals. Search words were “arkeologi” (archaeology) and “uppdragsarkeologi” (contract archaeology).

The aim of the literature study was to create an historical and modern account over the official discussion and attitude regarding the Swedish system of contract archaeology. The sources were also used to create an overview over the current system. The results of the literature study can be found in chapter 2 and 3. The poll was conducted to create an overview over the unofficial discussion and attitude towards the system. The results are presented in chapter 4 and discussed in chapter 5.

1.3.1. The Poll

The online poll was constructed using Google Forms, an online software that enables quick construction of well structured polls that can be shared through a single web link. The tool also makes it easy to conduct anonymous surveys, which gives participants the freedom of answering questions honestly without the fear of getting singled out during analysis. Answers were collected online and could be displayed separately or collectively through graphs. The answers could also be downloaded in an excel spreadsheet for further analysis.

The poll was distributed through email and sent out to roughly 1000 potential participants. Participants were found through company, municipality and government websites. Participants were selected with regards to the three subgroups within the contract archaeological system as stated above (developers, CAB and CA). All three have different tasks and responsibilities, and need to communicate and cooperate

throughout the system process. To be able to present a result based on opinions from all parts of the system, the goal was to reach as many archaeologists, developers and CAB employees as possible. The number of participants was also important to be able to present a statistically supportable research result.

To be able to reach qualified participants the email included a cover letter explaining the purpose and aim of the poll. Potential participants were asked to answer 17 questions concerning their views and opinions of the Swedish contract archaeological system. The questions presented possible attitudes towards the current system and the way it is organised. The first two were mandatory and defined what group the participant belonged to and in what part of Sweden they primarily work. Twelve of the questions were in the form of “on a scale from 1 to 5”. One question presented 14 statements about the contract archaeological system and asked the participants to answer how well the statements corresponded to their view of the system. Two questions gave participants the possibility to add their own examples of positive and negative experiences with the system. The poll was deliberately kept short to make it fast and easy to participate. The questions were formed with help from contacts at the CAB and a CA company. See appendix 1 for all questions and a visual overview over how the poll looked online.

Approximately 350 contract archaeologists and 40 CAB employees were contacted as potential representatives for the CA and CAB system subgroups. All of Sweden’s 290 municipalities and roughly 300 developers were contacted as representatives for the developer subgroup. The answering percentage is estimated to roughly 25% with 268 participants: 119 contract archaeologists, 32 County Administrative Board employees, 109 developers and 8 who could not relate to any of the four parties or gave insufficient answers.

1.3.2. Source criticism

Initially a majority of contact with possible poll participants was made through general information desks from which the email could be forwarded to relevant personnel. Since each municipality and company have their own division of work tasks it was impossible to know in advance what person to send the poll to. This means that it is also impossible to determine how many people that actually received the poll. The number 1000 is an estimation based on the number of emails that were sent out.

The poll does not include information about background, age or type of employment of any of the poll participants. These, among other personal properties, are aspects that may affect the way participants have chosen to answers. There may also be a bias in what type of people that have chosen to participate. There is a risk that a majority of possible participants that dislike or are uninterested in archaeology and the contract archaeological system chose not to waste time on a master’s student’s poll. Since the poll is totally anonymous there is also a risk that a single participant answered the poll several times or that some participants were not actually qualified to participate. Possible participants were allowed to determine for them selves wether they were qualified to answer, based on the information provided in the cover letter. The poll

answers have to be seen for what they are, a generalisation over current attitudes. If there is an interest for a more detailed definition of where problems within the system originates, a more detailed poll need to be conducted.

1.4. Delimitations

Firstly, this subject is large in relation to the restrictions of a master's thesis. With very limited time and resources, a nationwide study with thorough questioning in regards to all aspects of the system was impossible to conduct. Instead a short online poll, sent out to as many potential participants as possible, was deemed a sufficient alternative for the limitations of this project.

Secondly, the thesis is delimited to concern contract archaeology in Sweden only. It would of course be very interesting to compare the Swedish system to systems in other countries. Hopefully the results presented here can be of some guidance in a broader debate about what parts of our system that could be reorganised and improved with the help from others.

Thirdly, the poll questions are very limited in number and mainly concern the division of responsibilities within the system and whether participants believe that certain aspects of the system are beneficial or not. Much can be said about the selected questions. The bottom line is that the amount of questions had to be restricted to lower the risk of losing possible participants due to a too time-consuming task. The questions had to be very general to interest all three parties of the system. The questions had to be easy to quantify and analyse to not exceed the time limitations of the thesis project. There is, of course, a great amount of questions that could be added to create an even more detailed view over general attitudes. As mentioned earlier, the results of this thesis can be seen mainly as an indicator and guide to where the system needs to improve, and where it is working satisfactory.

Lastly, the subgroups asked to participate in the online poll can be mentioned. Initially, the poll participants were divided into four groups: developers, The County Administrative Board, contract archaeologists and The Swedish National Heritage Board. The group *The Swedish National Heritage Board* chose not to participate in the poll at all. At first they suggested that the poll should be sent to The National Historical Museums (Sw. Statens Historiska Museer), which are running the contract archaeological firm *Arkeologerna*. Later, they replied that they considered the questions as being directed towards the receiving end of the contract archaeological system, and not concerning the work of the National Heritage Board. Since the National Heritage Board only were expected to participate in very low frequency, their decision have not had a great effect on this study. It is only unfortunate that their opinions will not be part of the results. The group *developers* were initially divided into four subgroups: individuals, businesses, municipalities and the state. This was done with the intent to show possible differences in how well different types of developers were acquainted with, and had access to, information about the system. Unfortunately, several of the developer subgroups had a too low number of participants and were hence combined to one group.

1.5. Theoretical background

The subject of this thesis is based on the belief that *if* a majority of people from within the contract archaeological system are displeased and uncomfortable, their attitude towards cooperation, communication and progressive development will suffer. In the long run, the outputs from all three system-parties will be affected badly and the value of the system and its parties questioned. Since the value of archaeology often is rather abstract and hard to quantify, I believe that its value will be questioned before the value of new development.

Following chapter present the theoretical framework behind this thesis. Through ideas from *New Public Management theory*, *cultural values* and *Public Value Management theory*, I present how and why the value of contract archaeology is threatened by a non-functional contract archaeological system.

1.5.1. New Public Management

The structural changes leading to the current system of contract archaeology has in many ways been affected by the ideas of New Public Management theory (NPM). NPM is a management model that promotes a market-oriented approach to management and applies methods from the private sector on to the public sector (Stoker 2006, p.45f). It follows the market economical idea that competition over costumers will force suppliers to become more time and cost efficient and to provide a high-quality product. The market will itself determine what certain goods or services are worth based on demand. NPM emerged as a response to the inefficiencies connected with traditional public administration (Stoker 2006, p.42). NPM theory is the basis for the idea that open market contract archaeology will create a more efficient work process and result in a high-quality service.

The problem is that the contract archaeological system is imbued by two different values: economical *and* cultural (social, educational, identity based, etc.), and NPM only addresses the economical part. Economical values benefit from the current system where the competition requires contract archaeological companies to continuously develop their work methods and raise the standard of their services while keeping costs down. The cultural values on the other hand cannot be measured in same way and are rather being negatively affected by time and cost restrictions.

1.5.2. Cultural Values

The Swedish National Heritage Board defines the term “cultural value” as a summarizing term for things that in our physical environment can be described as valuable from a cultural historical, esthetical and social perspective (Boverket 2017). *Cultural historical* values are based on an ancient remains potential to create and mediate knowledge about ancient times and people. *Esthetical* values are defined by spatial and visual aspects of an ancient remain. *Social* values are based on the

relationship between an ancient remain and different groups of people; in what way a site is being used, conceptualized and valued by its visitors (Boverket 2017).

1.5.3. Public value management

In contrast to NPM, public value management (PVM) promotes a focus on creating public or collective values, instead of private and individual. The discipline emerged as a response to the utilitarian tendencies of NPM (Stoker 2006, p.42). PVM advocates that the public realm is different from the commercial sector and hence must be organised differently. The role of politics in system management, which by the NPM discipline should be confined and limited, is here viewed as a mechanism for social coordination; it enables people to cooperate, it is flexible and it can create processes formed to benefit social and collective purposes (Stoker 2006, p.47)

Regarding procurement of services, PVM promotes a relational approach. The client and the contractor should not be divided by individual interests, but joined in an ongoing agreement and partnership with a common goal: to benefit society and a sustainable development of society. This idea also requires a general sense of shared ethical values advocating a culture committed to provide good service and to contribute to a community well-being (Stoker 2006, p.48f).

1.5.4. Perspectives

Lars Strannegård, professor in business economics at *the Stockholm School of Economics* presented an article about the current trend regarding culture and economics on the website of the *Counsellor for Cultural Affairs* (Strannegård 2014). The article describes how the discussion regarding the profitability of culture has become of rising interest in Sweden. The idea of culture as being something economically beneficial and profitable has become more household than the idea of culture as something that beautifies and enriches the general quality of life. Strannegård wants to remind us of that economy is about managing resources to reach a goal. Economical growth is not the goal, it is only a tool created to help us reach the goal.

It [the goal] is about possibilities of living lives that can be generous, rich, comfortable, healthy, loving and meaningful. Economy and economical growth are nothing but means to make such life possible.
(Strannegård 2014)

The value of archaeology is a commonly debated subject. When I tell people I am studying to become an archaeologist I am usually met by the question: is archaeology really important? To me, as an archaeologist, it is obvious that I find archaeology and archaeological knowledge important and I discuss why further in chapter 5.4. My only opinion positioning in this chapter is my strong belief in the idea of sustainable development, where removing ancient remains without investigating them is equal to ignorance.

The Swedish cultural environment law states that the protection of our cultural environment is a matter of national concern. Whoever is planning to conduct work affecting the cultural environment must make sure to delimit or avoid any damage to it. The purpose of the law is to ensure contemporary and future generations access to a diversity of cultural environments (SFS 1988:950, ch.1, §1). The law itself is proof of that we, as a nation, value our cultural heritage and therefore have decided to protect it with official regulations. The cultural environment law also states that the CAB has the authority to give permission to move, remove, excavate or cover an ancient remain if it causes inconvenience that is not in proportion to its importance (value) (SFS 1988:950, ch.1, §12). The paragraph shows that new development may be valued higher than an ancient remain; which of course is valid in many cases.

In a market economy, the sometimes ambiguous value of ancient remains is continuously compared to the more comprehensible value of new infrastructure or housing. The value of new development is often quantifiable and can be explained in expected revenues or number of people who will receive a new home. The value of ancient remains is of a cultural, social and often very personal nature, quite impossible to quantify or present in comprehensible numbers. It enriches our lives in ways that cannot (and should not) be measured in means of money. If the Swedish system of contract archaeology does not run efficiently, it will affect both the development industry and the contract archaeological industry. Delayed construction of new housing will have a much larger impact on contemporary society than the loss of an ancient remain, it is hence the value of archaeology that will be questioned first. Unfortunately, the loss of archaeological knowledge may also have a large impact on society, in a less comprehensible long-term manner.

2. Recent developments and discussions

The Swedish system of contract archaeology has been a frequently debated subject since its initiation during the 1990's. The following chapter presents a selection of comments, debates and recent changes in regulations regarding the Swedish contract archaeological system. It also presents a summary over relevant archaeological theses. The aim is to depict an overview over earlier statements regarding the system and to further clarify the background to this thesis. The examples are congregated from four different sources:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Governmental | Regulations, guidelines and comments published by a variety of Swedish ministries. |
| 2. Archaeological Journals | Comments, debates and discussions published in the Swedish archaeological journals <i>Fornvännen</i> and <i>Current Swedish Archaeology</i> . |
| 4. Previous research | Relevant theses from Swedish universities. |
| 3. Mass medial articles | Newspaper articles published in a variety of Swedish newspapers. |

2.1. Changes in regulations and contemporary comments

During the 1950's there was a great increase in property development in Sweden. The many exploitation projects created a demand for archaeological investigations according to the regulations of the current cultural environment law. At the Swedish National Heritage Board a special *operation of archaeological investigation* (Sw. Undersökningsverksamhet) were initiated to reinforce the universities in their increasing workload concerning archaeological investigations and excavations. At the beginning of the 1990's the SNHB's special operation of investigation conducted about two thirds of the archaeological work in Sweden (Kulturdepartementet 1991).

In 1991 the ministry of culture called for an investigation to clarify the SNHB's current responsibilities. The ministry requested a higher level of mediation and scientific working methods. There was also a wish to restrict the continuously rising cost for archaeological work. The solution was suggested to be a larger contract archaeological market with a higher number of competing actors (Kulturdepartementet 1991). The investigation, called the *HUR-utredningen*, presented its results in 1992. It suggested the introduction of a system of bidding procedures over archaeological missions, led by the County Administrative Board on behalf of the developer. The suggested changes were strongly criticised and said to counteract the preservation purposes of the cultural environment law. There was also a fear that the collaboration and communication between the different contract archaeological actors would be damaged (HUR-Utredningen 1992, p.11; Kulturdepartementet 1997).

In the budget proposition 1994 the government followed the HUR-investigations suggestions and urged the CAB to use a bidding procedure to choose between

different contract archaeological actors. The goal was that the new system would create archaeological investigations of high quality while at the same time ensuring that the costs were no higher than what could be motivated. The government pointed out that the CAB should not apply the normal form of public procurement but rather use it as a “procurement-technique” (Finansdepartementet 1994).

In 1994 the Swedish government presented the bill *Utbildning och forskning: Kvalitet och konkurrenskraft* (Utbildningsdepartementet 1994). The bill predicted a rising number of large contract archaeological excavations due to upcoming infrastructural projects. In regards to the upcoming excavations, the bill called attention to the importance of conducting contract archaeology in a manner that could benefit archaeological research and adjacent disciplines. The bill stated that the purpose of CA not only concerned excavation and the collecting of artefacts, but also should add to the knowledge about cultural and social history. The bill also encouraged archaeological institutions across the country to collaborate (Utbildningsdepartementet 1994).

In 1997 changes were made to the cultural environment law to clarify the special form of public procurement initiated in 1994 and to better define the different responsibilities of the developer, the CAB and the CA. In the proposition preceding the law amendment, the government discussed the difficult and complex decision making process that the CAB had to implement during the procurement procedure: choose the best tender, choose an adequate level of ambition for the archaeological investigation and determine how much the investigation would cost (Kulturdepartementet 1997).

In 2001 Mats Burström published an article discussing the difficulties with finding an ideal way to combine protection and use of cultural heritage in *Current Swedish Archaeology* (Burström 2001). He problematized the fact that many heritage sites only receive attention when they end up being in the way of new land development and that this gives them the label of being a “problem” or a “danger-area”. The fact that the sites have potential to enrich people’s lives and enhance an areas attractiveness is seldom mentioned (Burström 2001, p.42). Burström called out for the urgent need of a more offensive approach to reinforce the value and vision of ancient remains as a resource with great potential. He also pointed out the democratic importance of this task (Burström 2001, p.43).

In 2004 the government called for a new investigation to analyse the contract archaeological operation and the implementation of current regulations. The investigation, called *Uppdragsarkeologiutredningen*, presented its results in 2005 in a report called *Uppdragsarkeologi i tiden*. The results called for a clearer definition of responsibility distribution, a more active supervisory position of the SNHB and greater authority for the CAB. It also requested a higher level of competition on the contract archaeological market and a higher level of mediation of archaeological results to the general public. The investigation suggested a deregulation of the national operation of archaeological investigation to provide better conditions for a competitive market (Uppdragsarkeologiutredningen 2005, p.16).

In 2009 Håkan Petersson and Niklas Ytterberg presented a debate article in *Fornvännen* where they argued the need for a centralisation of the scientific evaluation of contract archaeological tenders (Petersson 2009). Petersson and Ytterberg suggested the introduction of a national unit for quality control regarding the scientific level of contract archaeology. Instead of letting individual CAB employees with varying competence evaluate the contract archaeological bids, it should be done by a centralised unit with guaranteed competence and well-defined guidelines (Petersson 2009, p.203f).

As a response to Petersson's and Ytterberg's debate, Torbjörn Brorsson published a debate article in *Fornvännen* (Brorsson 2010). Brorsson stressed that the main problem with the current system was the CAB's tendency to choose the cheapest contract archaeological bid (also actively debated in Petersson 2009). He pointed out how the spiralling cost reductions were forcing archaeologists to conduct investigations that failed to reach expected levels of scientific quality. Brorsson agreed with Petersson's and Ytterberg's suggestion for a centralised quality control but said that the main focus should lie on preventing further cost reductions (Brorsson 2010, p.53f).

In 2010 Tore Artelius published a comment in *Current Swedish Archaeology*, on how recent trends in the basic conditions for contract archaeology had altered the possibilities to maintain a high scientific quality of research within the field (Artelius 2010). Artelius outlined the affect that changes in the application and regulation of the cultural environment law, mainly based on new formal guidelines from the SNHB, had had on contract archaeology. During the preceding 5 years, Artelius had noticed how ancient monuments were being viewed more and more as commercial commodities instead of as possible sources of new knowledge. He had experienced how the competitive market for developer-funded excavation projects had interfered with the collaboration and communication between different archaeological divisions; how time and resources spent on fieldwork and analysis of findings decreased. He also pointed out how employment as an archaeologist had become more uncertain and difficult to achieve. Artelius warned that the new regulations had a bad affect on the discipline at large and that "cheaper archaeology" in the long run would only benefit the developers (Artelius 2010, p.285f).

In 2011 the Swedish ministry of culture suggested that the developer should decide who should conduct the archaeological excavation. The proposal was severely criticised by a number of institutions and organisations claiming that such change would lead to an increasing focus on excavation costs instead of on a high level of research quality. The ministry withdrew the proposal later the same year (Magnusson Staaf 2011, p.236).

During 2011 and 2012 a special investigation called *Kulturmiljöutredningen* was conducted on behalf of the Swedish government. The aim was to investigate possibilities to simplify the cultural environment law and increase the understanding of the concept of ancient remains (Synnestvedt 2012, p.220). The results from the investigation were presented in 2012. Apart from rewriting the national goals for cultural work, the investigation suggested several changes to the cultural environment law. One was to give the CAB authority to demand that archaeological findings from contract archaeological investigations must be mediated to the general public. In 2014

the suggested changes were initiated by the government (Kulturmiljöutredningen 2012; Kulturdepartementet 2013a).

In a review in the journal *Current Swedish Archaeology*, Björn Magnusson Staaf, problematized the ministries tendency to mix up cultural values with commercial values (Magnusson Staaf 2011, p.237) – perhaps a mistake easily made when working with a system entangled in both worlds. Magnusson Staaf sent an important reminder that the laws of market mechanisms are developed for goods with a straightforward commercial value, very unlike archaeology and the services that contract archaeologists can provide (Magnusson Staaf 2011, p.237).

In a reflection published in *Current Swedish Archaeology* 2012, Anita Synnestvedt commented on *Kulturmiljöutredningens* statement that the purpose of a contract archaeological excavation is to “document and collect ancient remains” (Synnestvedt 2012, p.222). Synnestvedt pointed out that documentation and collection are only work methods. Since the late 1990’s contract archaeology has produced important new knowledge and continuously worked to mediate the results. As representative for the *Swedish Archaeological Society*, Synnestvedt strongly recommended the government to clarify the purpose and goals of contract archaeology in the cultural environment law (Synnestvedt 2012, p.222).

In 2013 the Ministry of Culture presented a memorandum suggesting that the SNHB’s double responsibility as both an actor on the contract archaeological market and a supervisor for said market was a structural problem. The flaw was initially pointed out during the *HUR-utredningen* in 1992 and had been discussed several times after that (Kulturdepartementet 2013b, p.3). Shortly after the memorandum, the governments decided to move the national operation of archaeological investigation from the SNHB to the National Historical Museums (Kulturdepartementet 2013c, p.1).

In 2014 Anna Arnberg and Göran Gruber presented an article analysing archaeological approaches to the general public (Arnberg & Gruber 2014). Through a case study of mediation methods used at an excavation site in Motala they came to the conclusion that Swedish CA were fulfilling the educational perspectives of their public responsibilities. They also concluded that CA could become far more innovative regarding their mediation approaches. Arnberg and Gruber’s main point was that there is a need for archaeology to be more inclusive during mediation and that the traditional one-way communication of archaeological knowledge does not fulfil the needs of the general public. Their suggested solution was to incorporate more varied and interactive mediating activities (Arnberg & Gruber 2014, p.175).

In 2016 the department of culture presented a proposition declaring that all acting parties of the contract archaeological system has a shared responsibility to make sure that contract archaeology produces new and relevant knowledge (Kulturdepartementet 2017, p.150).

In 2017 the theme for the journal *Current Swedish Archaeology* was “The changing roles of archaeology in museums”. In the introduction Anders Högberg and Fredrik Fahlander presented a summary over changes in the legislation and regulation concerning the role of archaeology in regional museums and what consequences these

changes have had over the past two decades (Högberg & Fahlander 2017). Högberg and Fahlander noted how the deregulation of contract archaeology had resulted in a shift of research competence from the regional museums to archaeological firms with no formal link to the museums. They pointed out how the previous strong link between regional museums and archaeological fieldwork also provided a certainty of collaboration between different parts of the archaeological discipline (e.g. survey, excavation, documentation and research versus archive maintenance, collection management, exhibitions and public archaeology) (Högberg & Fahlander 2017, p.16). The changes have in many cases created a shortage of archaeological competence among those employed to administer archaeological collections; at the same time, museums have been given extended mandate to discard archaeological artefacts when deemed necessary (Högberg & Fahlander 2017, p.16f). SNHB has lost much of its archaeological competence due to structural changes and deregulation; at the same time they have been given a supervisory responsibility for museum and contract archaeological issues (Högberg & Fahlander 2017, p.17).

2.2. Previous research

In 2014 Nina Trulsson presented her master's thesis on the subject of how archaeological mediation has been affected by recent changes in the contract archaeological system (Trulsson 2014). Her results showed an increased distance between museums, research and mediation and that the main contact between contract archaeologists and museums are based on individuals rather than on structured communication. Trulsson requested higher levels of competence in all stages of the bidding procedure to meet the legislated demands for mediation of archaeological knowledge. She also pointed out how the discussion regarding cultural politics all too often ends up concerning economical aspects instead of cultural (Trulsson 2014, p.82f).

In 2017 Lisa Börjesson published her dissertation on the subject of contract archaeology and report writing (Börjesson 2017). The thesis discusses the problem that results from contract archaeological investigations often receives little to no attention at all. The fact that knowledge produced outside of the academia receives less attention than academic research is common in many countries and disciplines. In Sweden the problem seems to be based on the access to and quality of the reports. The problem also seems to origin from the fact that contract archaeologically produced research seldom is used in academic research. Börjesson derives the problem from the organisation of research in the archaeology discipline and how documentation is administered on the archaeological market (Börjesson 2017, p. 90f).

2.3. Mass media and contract archaeology

Mass medial articles discussing contract archaeology and the contract archaeological system can roughly be divided into two types: critical or positive. Critical articles often describe a developer (municipality, business or private) who is unhappy with the unexpected costs of archaeological investigations and excavations. One example is

the article “old findings are stopping new housing” (Swe. Gamla fynd stoppar nya bostäder) published 25th of January 2017 on the website Hem & Hyra (Hem & Hyra 2017). During an interview the developer says he understands the importance of archaeological investigations and excavations, but is very sceptical over how the seemingly uninteresting archaeological findings can contribute to any new archaeological knowledge. The developer is also very upset over the cost of the archaeological excavation and how it will affect the prices of the new apartments he is building (Hem & Hyra 2017). There are several articles describing similar situations where archaeological investigations and excavations are hindering or delaying new development due to a time-consuming system process and expensive work costs (ATL Lantbrukets Affärstidning 2017; Landskrona Direkt 2017; SVT Nyheter 2014).

Another form of critical article is regarding destruction or negligence of ancient remains. One example can be found in Svenska Dagbladet 9th of August 2017 (Svenska Dagbladet 2017). In contrast to the earlier form of critique, this article criticizes the lack of resources that are being put into the contract archaeological system and how strict budgets (as a result of procurement) are forcing archaeologists to discard archaeological artefacts (Svenska Dagbladet 2017). A similar form of critique towards the system can be found in Jönköpings-Posten 15th of December 2016 (Jönköpings-Posten 2016). The county museum has had to give notice to several of their archaeologists due to the increasing competition over the contract archaeological work. The head of the museum is worried about the loss of competence and is unhappy with the contract archaeological system. The bidding procedures demands weeks of administrative preparations for jobs that in the end may be given to someone else (Jönköpings-Posten 2016).

Nevertheless, many of the articles mentioning contract archaeology are doing so in a positive manner. There is a general sense of excitement regarding the possible new discoveries that are taking place behind the enclosed trenches. People are both interested and emotionally invested in what happens to their cultural heritage. Archaeological investigations are often visited by local or regional newspapers describing the site, its history and the archaeologists’ new findings (e.g. Byggindustrin 2013; Mariestads-Tidningen 2018; Södermanlands Nyheter 2014; Östra Uppland 2016). There seem to be a pattern in the general attitude towards archaeology. In theory it is interesting, important and exciting. In reality, if you end up finding an ancient settlement right where you were planning to initiate a new exploitation project, it may rather be described as a problem.

3. The Swedish system

The Swedish system of contract archaeology depends on communication and collaboration between three different parties that are defined in the cultural environment law (SFS 1988:950): the developer, the CAB (County Administrative Board) and the CA (contract archaeologist). The SNHB (Swedish National Heritage Board) has a supervisory position. Each party has its own responsibilities and tasks that need to be fulfilled for the system to run efficiently.

The current system is based on a special form of public procurement where the CAB decides which CA that is given the job to conduct an archaeological survey, pre-investigation or investigation. The choice is made based on which contract archaeological company that offers the highest level of scientific quality to a price that is no higher than “what is motivated in regards to the circumstances” (SFS 1988:950, §11). It is the developer’s responsibility to finance any form of archaeological work initiated due to new exploitation. The cost liability is based on the idea that whoever damages common values (in this case ancient remains) should pay for the work that needs to be initiated to protect said values (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p.4).

The overall purpose of contract archaeology is to document ancient remains that will be destroyed or damaged due to exploitation. It is also to collect and preserve archaeological findings, produce new archaeological knowledge and to mediate findings and new knowledge to the general public (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.24). Following sections depicts a general and simplified description of how a case process might proceed.

3.1. A developer starts a new project

Each project concerning development of new buildings or infrastructure begins with a thorough process of planning and a developer needs to attain several types of permissions before attempting to initiate the project. If a chosen building site contains ancient remains, one of such permissions must be granted by the CAB according to the cultural environment law (CEL) chapter 2 § 12: *Whoever wishes to move, remove, excavate, cover or through development, plantation or in other ways harm an ancient remain shall seek permission with the County Administrative Board.*

If a chosen building site contains known ancient remains, the developer need to contact the CAB for consultation in good time prior to the exploitation project (SFS 1988:950, ch. 2, §10). The CAB has authority to decide whether the project plan must be altered to protect said ancient remains and if a contract archaeologist must be hired to conduct an investigation or excavation. The CAB’s and the developer’s goal must, according to the CEL, be to operate to minimise the affects that an exploitation project may have on the cultural landscape (SFS 1988:950, ch.1, §1).

The easiest way for a developer to find indications in regards to whether an area contains ancient remains or not, is through the digital *ancient remains information*

system (Sw. Fornminnesinformationssystemet - FMIS). FMIS contains information about more than 280 000 known ancient remains and the expansion of their surrounding protection areas (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2017). If a planned construction site is located in close approximation to known ancient remains, the CAB should be contacted straight away (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.5).

The CAB has consultational responsibility during the developer's entire planning process. Early contact and consultation will benefit both the developer and the state and may help to avoid advanced forms of archaeological investigations by simply relocating an exploitation project. In some cases the initial communication between the CAB and a developer leads to a change of plan where an exploitation project is adjusted to better fit the current landscape and avoid ancient remains (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.15). In early stages of the developers planning process an environmental impact assessment (EIA) can help determine whether any ancient remains will be affected by the project. The purpose of an EIA is to include environmental aspects when planning an exploitation project, to help maintain sustainable development. The EIA needs to contain a complete evaluation of how an exploitation project will affect human health, the environment and recourse management (SFS 1998:808, ch.6).

In areas without formally known ancient remains, the developer does not have any legal responsibility to consult the CAB before planning an exploitation project. There is therefore a risk of finding new, unknown sites during the building process which may result in delays and unforeseen expenses. If an ancient remain is found unexpectedly, the work must be stopped and the find reported to the CAB immediately (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.6; SFS 1988:950, ch.2, § 10).

In some cases, our national concern for cultural heritage protection collides with the also collective need for new accommodation or infrastructure. Where relocation is impossible or unwanted, the developer must launch an application for permission to remove or interfere with an ancient remain according to the cultural environment law, chapter 2, §12. It is then the County Administrative Board that needs to decide whether a site is worth preserving or excavating.

3.2. The CAB receives an application

The CAB can only make a decision in accordance to the CEL when an exploitation project is confirmed (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.15). The process is then divided into three major steps: an archaeological survey (Sw. arkeologisk utredning), an archaeological pre-investigation (Sw. arkeologisk förundersökning) and an archaeological investigation (Sw. arkeologisk undersökning). An application for permission to remove or interfere with ancient remains must include detailed information about the planned exploitation project and in what way it will affect the ancient remains and its surrounding area (KRFS 2017:1, §6; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.8). The CAB has authority to demand any further information deemed necessary. It is of great importance that the developer submits the application in good time prior to planned exploitation project. The CAB need time to handle and assess the matter and the CA need time to establish an investigation plan. The developer

should also put aside time for the archaeological work itself. If there is need for an excavation, the work may take several months to complete, preferentially during the summer months (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.8).

Another aspect that can delay the process is if the developer has not been given approval to interfere with an ancient remain by the landowner. Before making any decisions, the CAB need to contact the landowner to make sure that he or she is in consent with the developers plan. According to the cultural environment law, an application for permission to interfere with or remove an ancient remain must be rejected unless the landowner agrees to the process (SFS 1988:950, ch.2, §12). Only in cases where a development project has a valid public value, such as perhaps the construction of a freeway, can the regulation be overruled (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.9).

3.2.1. The archaeological survey

The first step in the CAB's decision-making process is to commission a contract archaeological firm to conduct an archaeological survey (SFS 1988:950, ch.2, §11). The purpose of an archaeological survey is to provide the CAB with updated or new information relevant for their decision-making basis (KRFS 2017:1, §7). In some cases the survey can also help to delimit the extension of an ancient remain's protection area. Initially it can be difficult to determine whether an ancient remain will be affected by an exploitation project, or to what extent said site will be affected. To be able to conduct a just decision, the CAB administrator must possess essential and up to date knowledge regarding the current ancient remain and its extension (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.12).

An archaeological survey can include archive studies (maps, FMIS, archaeological reports), visits at the site and trial trenches. No actual excavation can be conducted (KRFS 2017:1, §7; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.12). The results will be used as a basis for the CAB's upcoming decision to grant or reject the developers plan of interfering with the ancient remain. It gives the developer a chance to rearrange the exploitation project to better fit the landscape and the ancient remain. It also provides the CA with an information basis during possible pre-investigations or investigations (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.12). In theory the survey can be conducted by anyone, as long as the ambition level and standard of the result is adequate. An archaeological survey must be thorough enough to determine whether an ancient remain will be affected by the exploitation project or not. If the survey is not done properly there is a risk that new ancient remains will be found later on during the exploitation project and hence cause delays and unforeseen costs (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.17f).

3.2.2. The archaeological pre-investigation

When the CAB has determined that an ancient remain will be affected by an exploitation project, the next step is an archaeological pre-investigation. The purpose of the pre-investigation is to give intensified knowledge about the site and determine

the ancient remains character, age, extension and complexity. The purpose is also to collect possible artefacts. The results of the pre-investigation can help to evaluate the ancient remains value and potential to provide new knowledge and set the ambition level and direction of an archaeological investigation (KRFS 2017:1, §2; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.19). As with the survey it is the CAB that commissions a contract archaeological firm to conduct the pre-investigation. It is important that the pre-investigation is of high quality. The results need to provide information on which a plan for future archaeological investigation and cost estimation can be based (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.22).

In some cases the pre-investigation shows that the ancient remain's extension and complexity would demand a thorough archaeological investigation. The developer can either choose to move or alter the planned exploitation project or pay for the investigation. In other cases the pre-investigation shows that the value and potential of the ancient remain is too low to motivate further investigations (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.19)

3.2.3. The archaeological investigation

Archaeological investigations are conducted when it is decided that an ancient remain must be removed in favour of a new exploitation project. Just as with the survey and pre-investigation, the CAB commissions a contract archaeological firm to conduct the investigation. After an archaeological survey and pre-investigation, the CAB should have enough information to be able to determine the ancient remain's potential, complexity and how much it will cost to excavate it. The implementation of an archaeological investigation is a condition for the CAB to give a developer permission to move or interfere with an ancient remain (SFS 1988:950 ch.2, §12).

The purpose of an archaeological investigation is to document the ancient remain, collect artefacts and to report and mediate the results. Findings and new information must be collected, documented and mediated in a way that can create new relevant knowledge for the authority, researchers and the general public. The new knowledge should also be incorporated into a cultural-historical context (KRFS 2017:1, §8; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.24).

There are different levels of ambition when it comes to conducting an archaeological investigation. It is the CAB that must determine an adequate ambition-level based on the ancient remain's potential to contribute to new archaeological knowledge. Most investigations are conducted through a thorough archaeological excavation, the goal is to replace the physical remain with well-documented information. Where the potential of an ancient remain is deemed very low, a restricted excavation or a more basic form of investigation may be conducted. For example through mapping or photography (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2015, p.25).

3.3. The value of the ancient remain versus the value of the exploitation project

To be able to reach a decision whether a developer should be given permission to interfere with an ancient remain or not, the CAB needs to evaluate the importance and values of the ancient remain in proportion to the magnitude of the planned interference. Only if the value of the ancient remain is deemed insufficient in comparison to the value of the exploitation project can permission to interfere with said ancient remain be granted (Rikstantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.8f).

The values of an ancient remain should be considered in as many ways as possible and need to be decided based on a number of different aspects, for example: its scientific value, pedagogic value, experience value, international importance and local importance (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.9). There is also a value in the possibility to create a meaningful way to preserve the ancient remain if parts of it is still left behind after the exploitation project, or if the site can be incorporated into the new development. The value of the exploitation project is based on the interest of both the developer and the general public. The public value is primarily in focus and is based on local and governmental community planning and the long-term plans of the National Road Administration (Sw. Vägverket) and the National Rail Administration (Sw. Banverket) (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.9, 11).

Another aspect that weighs heavily into the CAB's decision is the magnitude and type of the interference. In some cases an exploitation project only affects minor parts of an ancient remain or of its surrounding protection area. It is then possible that the CAB gives permission to conduct the interference under supervision of an archaeologist; one example could be the installations of new cables through an ancient remain protection area (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.10). In other cases an exploitation project may have a small areal expansion, but a large environmental impact. A standing structure may for example alter or damage the possibility to experience an ancient remain and hence be prevented (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.10).

If an ancient remains potential and value is deemed very low, the CAB may decide that only a very basic level of archaeological investigation must be conducted before the exploitation project. In some cases documentation of other kind, such as photography or mapping, may be regarded sufficient (Rikstantikvarieämbetet 2012, p.11). In cases where the potential and value of an ancient remain is deemed higher than the value of the exploitation project, the CAB may reject an application for permission to move or interfere with the site. In cases where the exploitation project is deemed more valuable than the ancient site, the CAB may grant an application for permission to remove or interfere with said site, on the condition that an archaeological investigation is conducted in accordance with the CEL chapter 2 § 12.

3.4. Cost liabilities

Depending on the size of the exploitation project, the cost liability may differ. Larger projects, covering large land areas, should be paid for by the developer. The developer must pay for the archaeological survey even if its results means that the CAB rejects an application to remove the ancient remain or if it shows that no ancient remain will be affected by the exploitation project. Archaeological surveys conducted before exploitation projects affecting a small land area should be paid for by the state (SFS 1988:950, ch.2, §11; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p.4).

The archaeological pre-investigation and investigation should also be paid for by the developer. The cost liability includes the archaeological work itself and the documentation, reporting and mediation. The developer is also liable to pay for the handling and conservation of possible artefacts (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p.4f).

The cultural environment law states four exceptions from the developers cost liability, SFS 1988:950, chapter 2, § 14:

1. If the ancient remain was not known on beforehand
2. If the cost significantly exceeds what was predicted by the CAB
3. If a pre-investigations leads to a rejection of an application to remove an ancient remain
4. If, after a pre-investigation or investigation, no ancient remain ends up being affected by the exploitation project

As stated earlier, the developer is responsible to contact the CAB in early stages of the planning process to determine whether an ancient remain will be affected by the exploitation project. If the CAB has determined that no ancient remain will be affected, but the developer encounter an unknown ancient remain after initiating the exploitation project, the developer does not have to finance the archaeological investigation. The cost liability is then redirected to the state (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p.9).

The cost of the pre-investigation and investigation should be determined on beforehand by the CAB, based on their knowledge of the ancient sites extension, complexity and importance, and also based on the set ambition-level. The cost prognosis is not always easy to make. In some cases the ancient remain proofs to be larger or more complex than first expected. As long as the cost of the archaeological work does not significantly exceed the predicted cost (with more than 15%), the cost liability stays with the developer. If the cost is even higher the developer can apply for a relief from cost liability. If the archaeological work proofs to be cheaper than predicted, the developer only has to pay for the actual cost of the work (SFS 1988:950, ch.2, §13; Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p.5f, 10).

If a pre-investigation leads to the rejection of an application to remove an ancient remain, the developer does not have to pay for the pre-investigation. If the developer choses not to proceed with an exploitation project after receiving a cost estimation based on a pre-investigation, the cost liability for said pre-investigation still lies with the developer (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p.11).

Sometimes natural formations that have been registered as ancient remains turn out to be something else during the course of an archaeological pre-investigation or investigation (e.g. a mound that is believed to be an ancient grave turns out to be an overgrown rubbish pile). In such cases the cost liability is redirected towards the state (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2016, p.11).

3.5. After the excavation

Part of the CA's responsibility, as the conductor of an archaeological investigation, is the artefact handling, the mediation and the archaeological report writing. The archaeologists must decide what artefacts to preserve and thereafter conserve, sort, describe and digitally register the artefacts before sending them to a museum. The newly gained knowledge must be mediated in manner of popular science, to better suit the target audience (e.g. the general public, other archaeologists or governmental agencies). There should be a report following each type of investigation. It must be written in Swedish and adapted after the ancient remains complexity and the target audience (KRFS 2017:1, §27-29).

Reports from archaeological surveys and pre-investigations should be written to provide the CAB with a proper decision basis and give the developer a planning basis. Reports from investigations should be written to be useful for the authority and for research. All documentation should be collected, preserved and made available. The CAB is responsible to make sure that the archaeological investigations have been made in accordance to the requested ambition level, that the work has been conducted in a scientific manner and to the agreed expense (KRFS 2017:1, §30-37).

4. Poll results

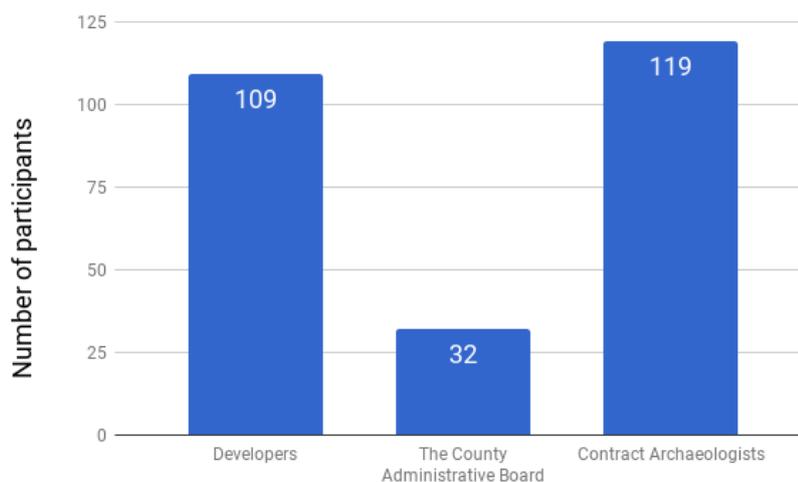
The following chapter depicts the poll results in graphs combined with a written explanation and summary. The different subgroups are identified by a common colour throughout the chapter. Developers are identified as red, the County Administrative Board as yellow and the contract archaeologists as green. A spreadsheet including all poll answers can be found in appendix 3.

The first two questions show the answering frequency of each subgroup and county. The results of question 3-13 and 17 are displayed through three individual graphs, one for each subgroup. Question 14 consists of 14 statements that the participants had to deem not at all correct, partially incorrect, partially correct or totally correct. The answers are displayed in 14 graphs (one for each statement) and each subgroup's results can be identified through the same colour scheme as in remaining graphs.

Question 15 and 16 were open questions where the participants could list the greatest advantages and disadvantages with the current system. The answers have been analysed and their main points identified. To be able to quantify the results, the answers have been allocated different values. For example, answers that pointed out time and cost as negative aspects have been allocated the values T and E (time factor and economical factor). The results are presented in a graph showing which values that the different subgroups deemed as the systems main advantages and disadvantages. The results also display a summarised translation of the most common opinions. All answers can be displayed in appendix 2, they are written in Swedish.

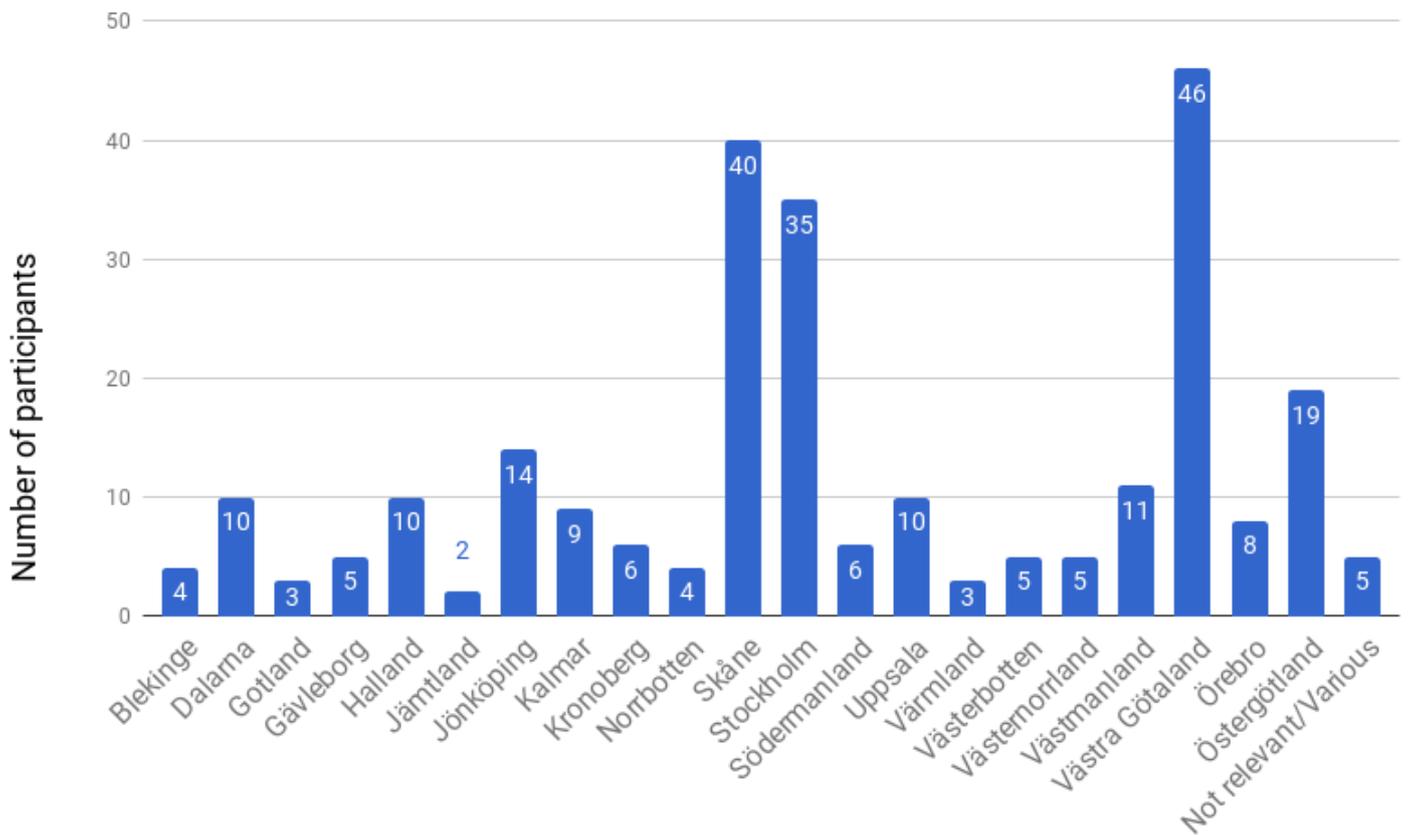
Q 1. Which subgroup do you represent in the following poll?

The answering frequency is very different between the different groups, but not unexpected. The two subgroups developers and contract archaeologists are larger than the remaining group since there are more people working in these two system parties. The answering frequency from the County Administrative Board is higher than expected with at least one representative from each county.



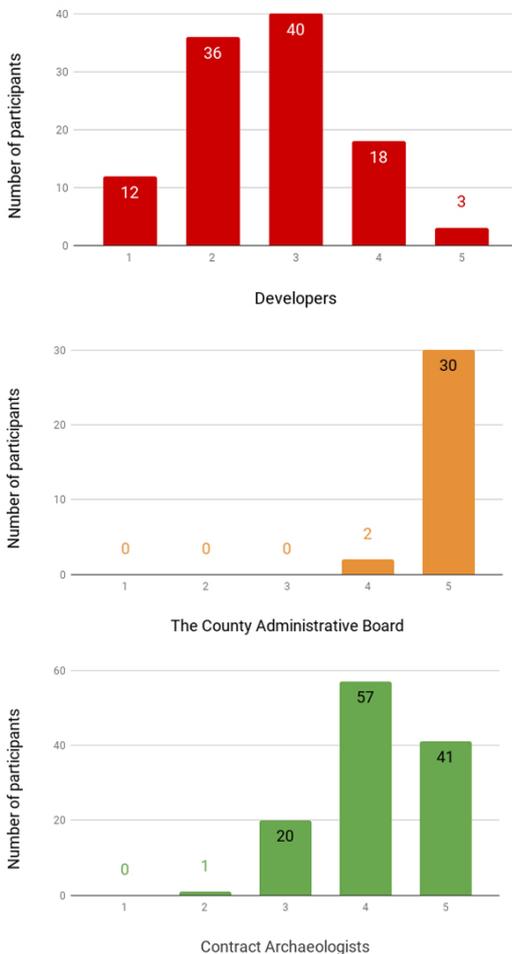
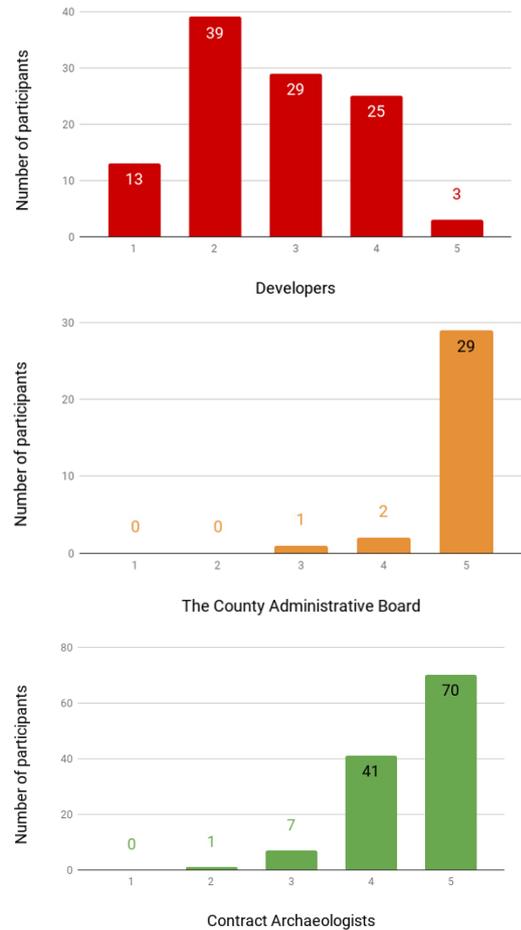
Q 2. Which Swedish county do you work in mainly?

The poll participants are distributed throughout all Sweden's 21 counties but their answers are displayed in combined graphs. Unfortunately, there are not representatives from each subgroup in all counties. The developers are represented in all counties except Gotland. The contract archaeologists are represented in all counties except Blekinge, Jämtland, Norrbotten, Värmland and Västerbotten. The County Administrative Board is represented in all counties. The work with the contract archaeological system varies throughout Sweden. Certain areas of the country are more prone to contain cultural remains or to be of interest for new exploitation projects. The three most populated cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, are all located in the three counties with highest number of poll participants: Stockholm, Västra Götaland and Skåne.



Q 3. On a scale from 1 to 5, how well do you know the Swedish system of contract archaeology? (1 is not at all and 5 is very well)

A high level of knowledge about and a good insight into the system is important for it to run efficiently. Knowledge also helps to prevent miscommunication and false preconceptions about the system process. The results show that representatives from the CAB and the CA are feeling relatively confident in regards to their knowledge about the contract archaeological system. The developer's answers present a more insecure relation to their knowledge about the system.



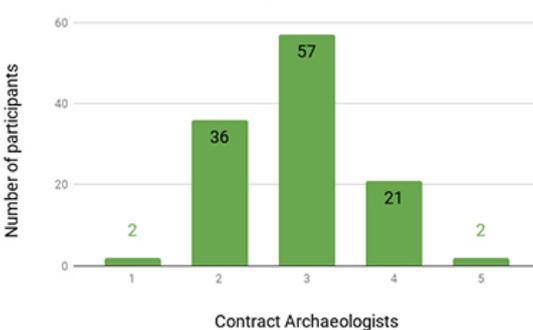
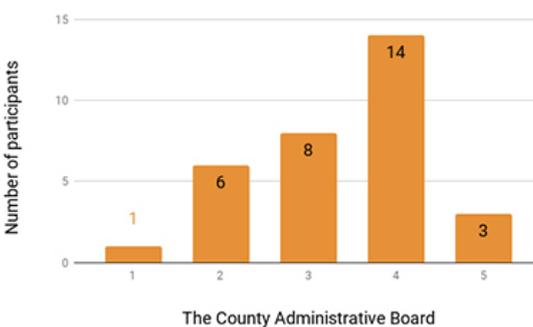
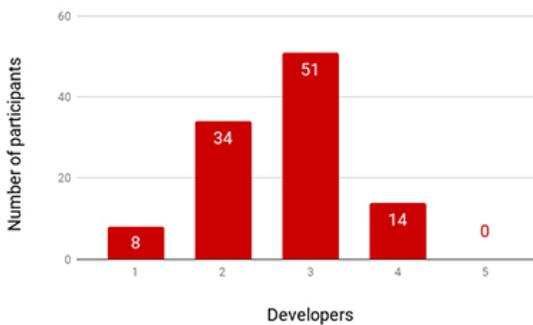
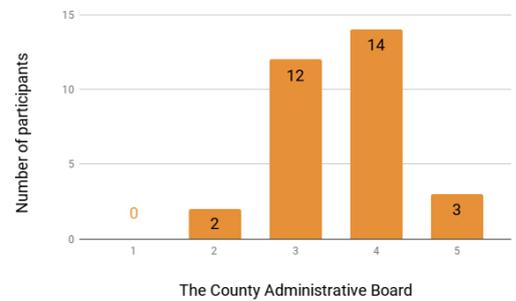
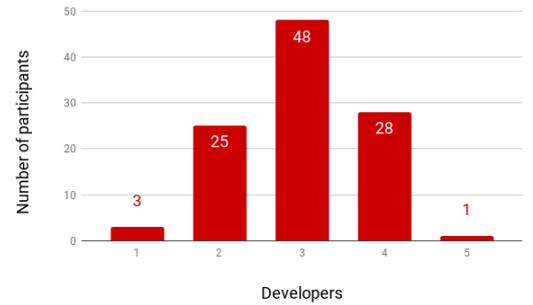
Q 4. How well do you know the Swedish cultural environment law (SFS 1988:950)? (1 is not at all and 5 is very well)

The cultural environment law is the basis for the regulation of the contract archaeological system. It consolidates Sweden's wish to protect and preserve the cultural environment and ancient remains. To better understand the purpose and goal of the contract archaeological system, it is important to know and understand the law. The results are similar to those in question 3, but the developers are

slightly more informed about the CEL than about the over all system and the CA are less informed about the CEL than about the system at large.

Q 5. How well do you think the system of contract archaeology works in Sweden? (1 is not at all and 5 is very well)

An inefficient and non-functioning system causes problem and discomfort for all parties involved. The general view of the system can also, as stated in the theoretical discussion, affect the perceived value of archaeology and archaeological work at large. None of the subgroups seem overly impressed by the current system. The CAB is the most positive and the CA the least while the developers are relatively neutral.

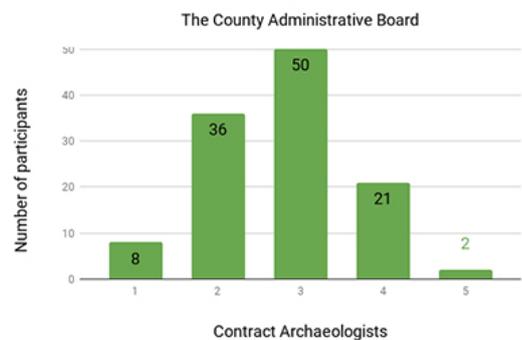
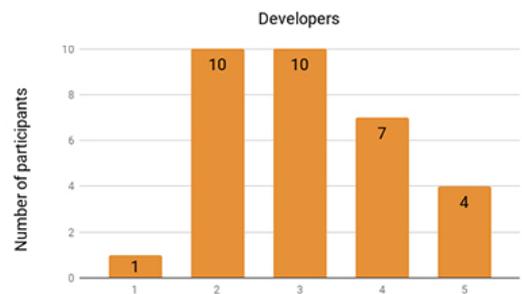
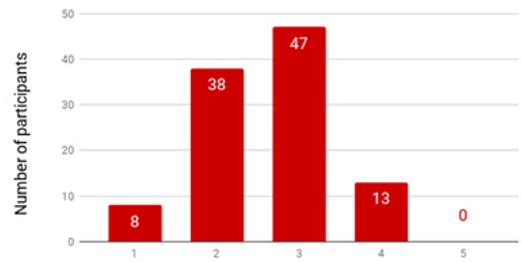
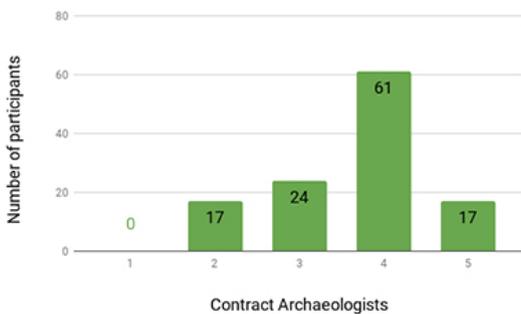
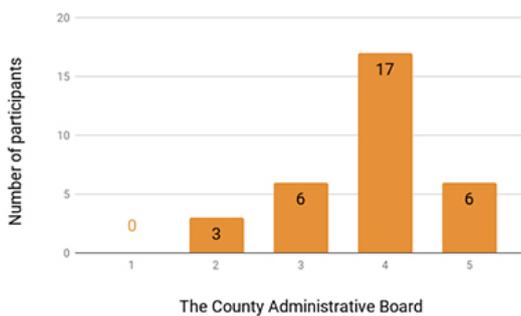
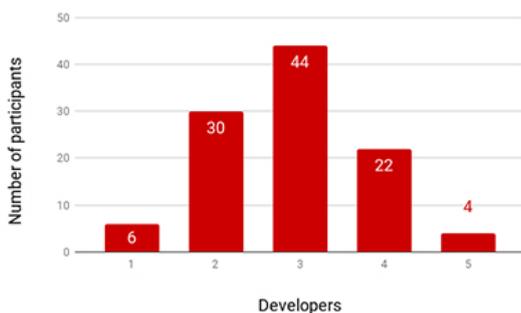


Q 6. How accessible do you consider the information about the system's structure and function? (1 is not at all and 5 is very accessible)

To be able to understand the system process and to easily follow and understand changes in regulations or laws, there must be an efficient and easily accessible flow of information from the government to concerned parties. When in need of information, it should be easily accessible for all parties of the system. The results to question 6 show that none of the parties are very satisfied with the current accessibility of information. The CAB are the most positive.

Q 7. Do you consider the information about the system’s structure and function easy to understand? (1 is not at all and 5 is very easy to understand)

The available information about the system needs to be comprehensible for all concerned parties. It also needs to be structured and gathered in a pedagogic way. A majority of poll participants are defining the information not so easy to understand.

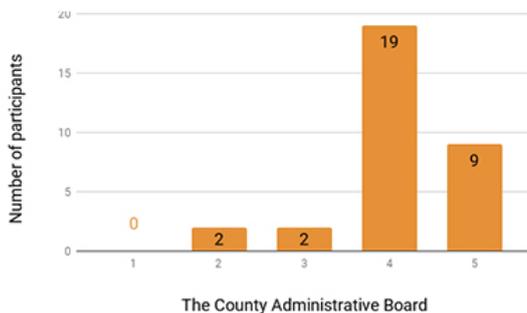
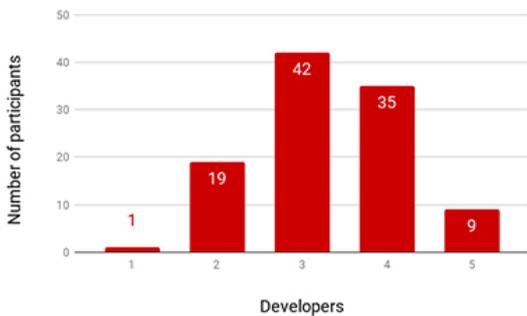
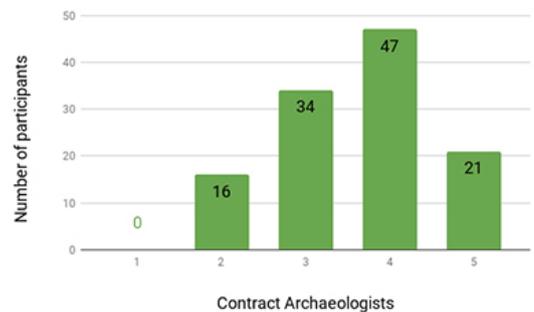
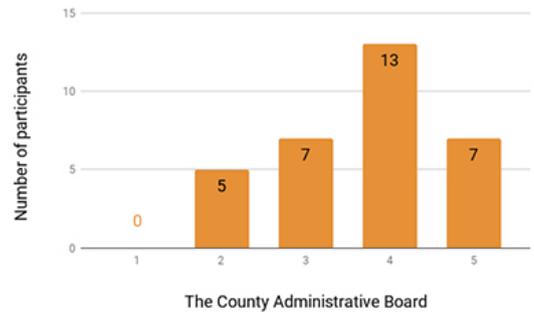
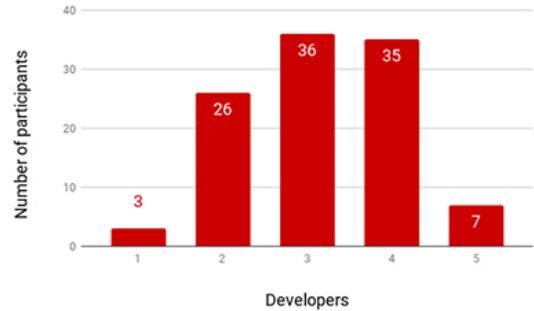


Q 8. How easy do you think it is to define and understand the contract archaeologist’s role and responsibility in the system? (1 is not at all and 5 is very easy)

For the system to run efficiently it is important that each party has a clear idea over who is responsible for what during the system process. The results show a mix of opinions where the CA and the CAB are the most confident. The developers are finding it more difficult to define the role and responsibility of the CA.

Q 9. How easy do you think it is to define and understand the developer's role and responsibility in the system? (1 is not at all and 5 is very easy)

The CAB and the CA are answering relatively similar as in the previous question. The developers are more informed about their own role and responsibilities.

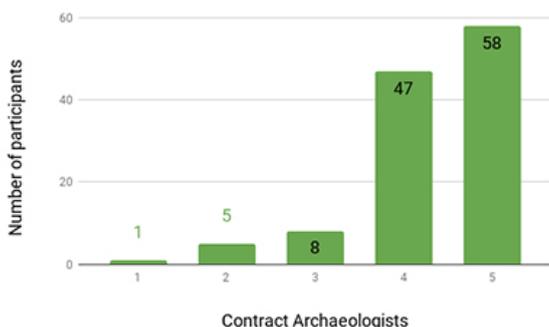
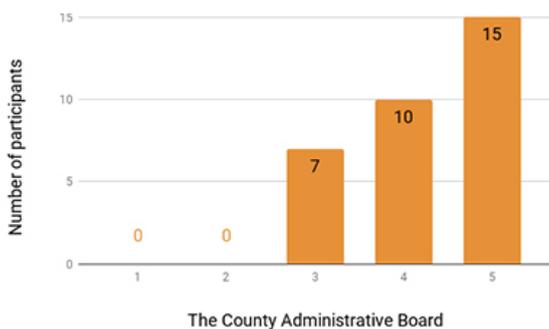
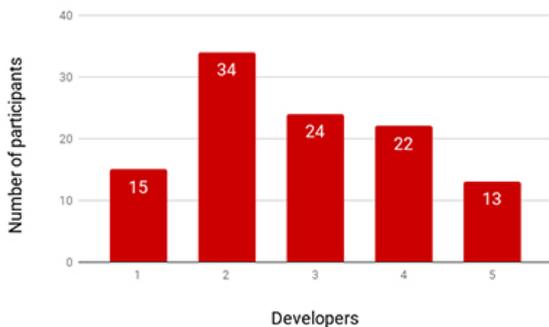
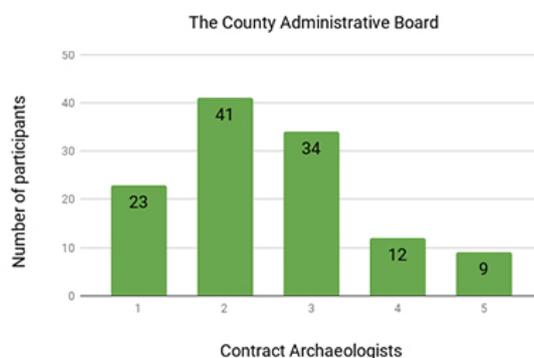
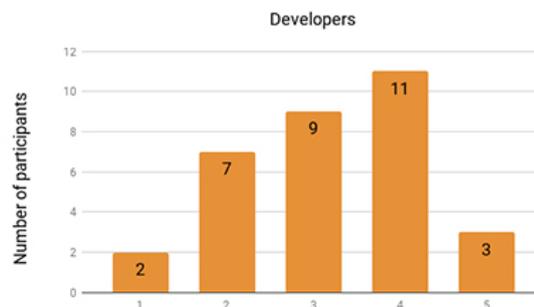
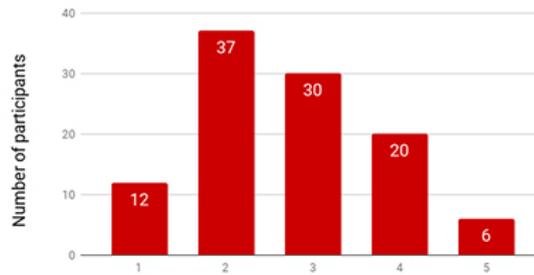


Q 10. How easy do you think it is to define and understand the County Administrative Board's role and responsibility in the system? (1 is not at all and 5 is very easy)

The answers are similar to previous question. The CAB and the CA finds it easier than the developers to define and understand the role and responsibilities of the CAB.

Q 11. How easy do you think it is to define and understand the National Heritage Board's role and responsibility in the system? (1 is not at all and 5 is very easy)

All three groups are more sceptical towards the definition of the SNHB's role and responsibility in the system. It is only the CAB that are relatively confident, but not in comparison to their attitude towards the definition of remaining groups responsibility definitions.

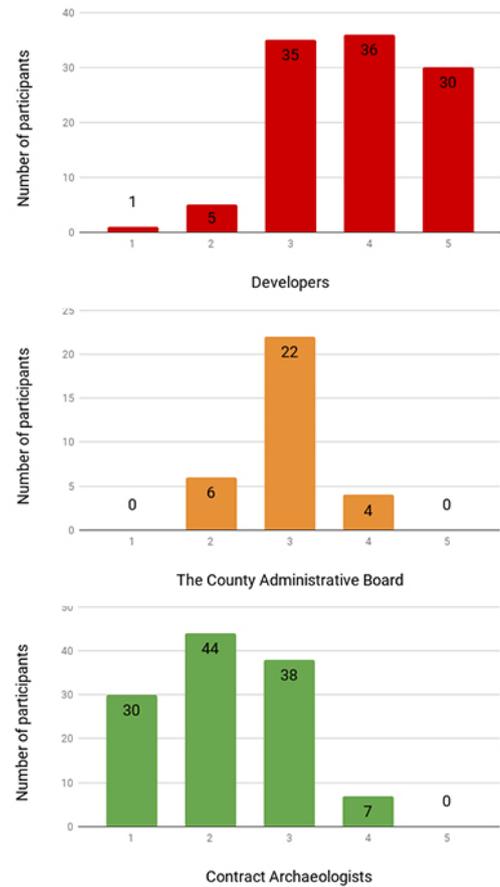


Q 12. Do you consider the developer's responsibility to pay for archaeological surveys, archaeological pre-investigations and archaeological investigations reasonable? (1 is not at all and 5 is very reasonable)

If there is a great discontent with the current division of responsibilities regarding financing it may need to be better justified or discussed. The CAB and the CA both agree that the developer's current responsibility to pay for the archaeological work is reasonable. The developers are rather divided in their opinion, but a majority are sceptical towards the current responsibility distribution.

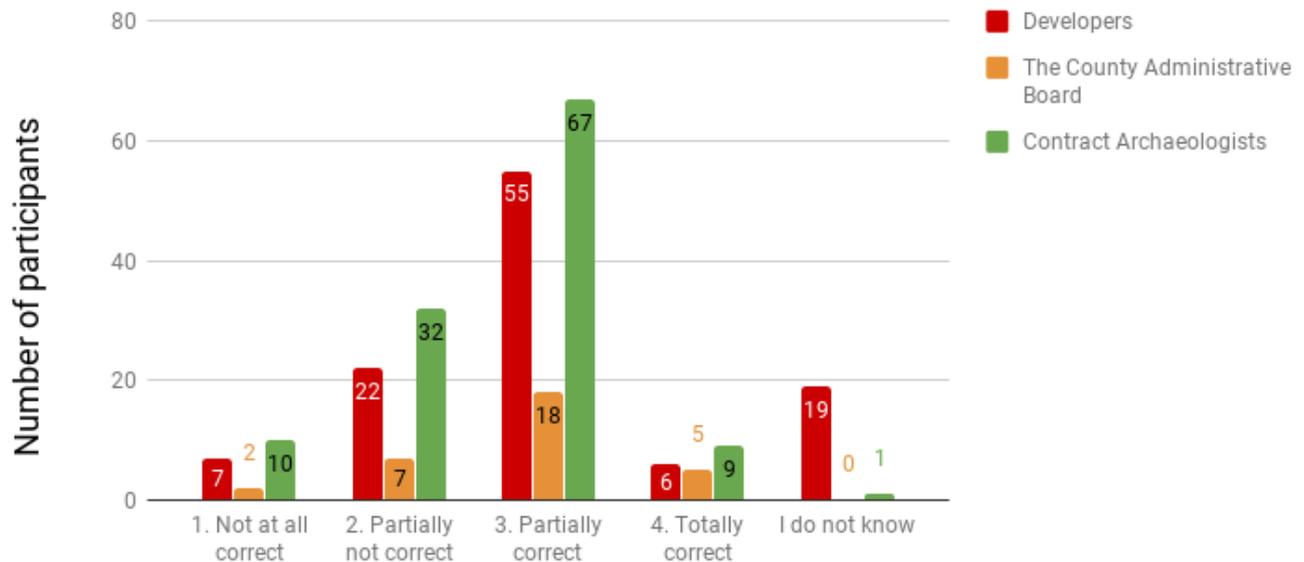
Q 13. What do you think of the costs of contract archaeological work? (1 is too low and 5 is too high)

The three parties are divided in their opinion. A majority of the developers believe that the cost of archaeological work is too high. The CAB seems to consider it reasonable, neither too high or too low, and the CA mainly considers the cost too low.



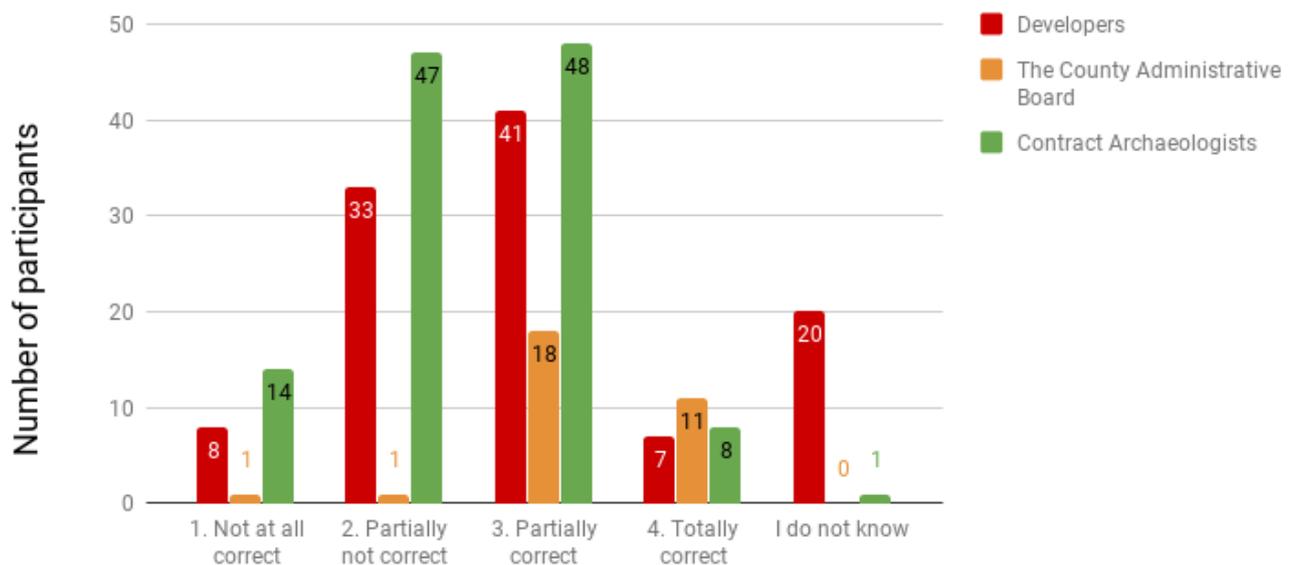
Q 14. Which of the following statements apply to the contract archaeological system in Sweden, according to you? (1 is not at all and 4 is totally correct)

1. The system structure is clear and easy to understand



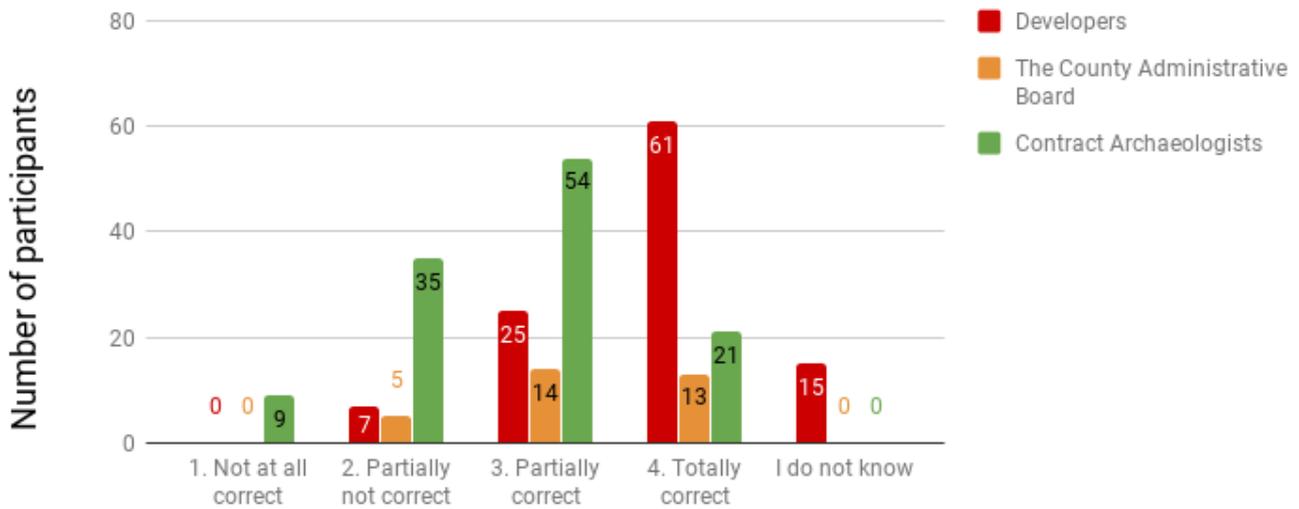
A majority of all three parties believe that it is partially correct that the system structure is clear and easy to understand.

2. Overall, the system is efficient



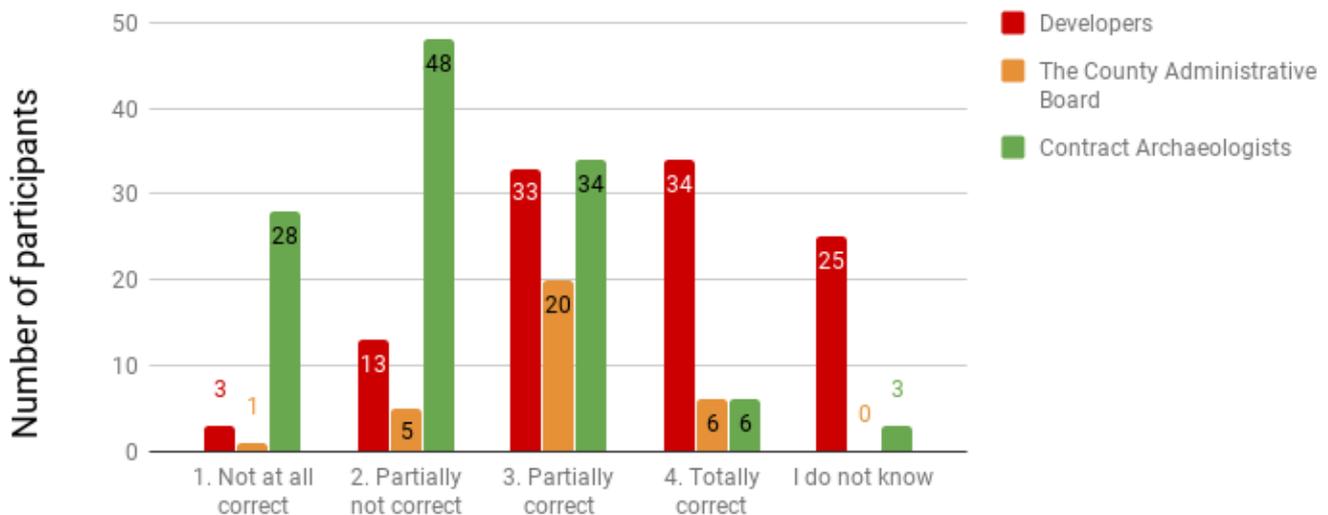
The CAB are most willing to agree with the statement that the system is efficient, while the other two parties find it only partially correct or incorrect.

3. The system values Sweden's cultural heritage highly



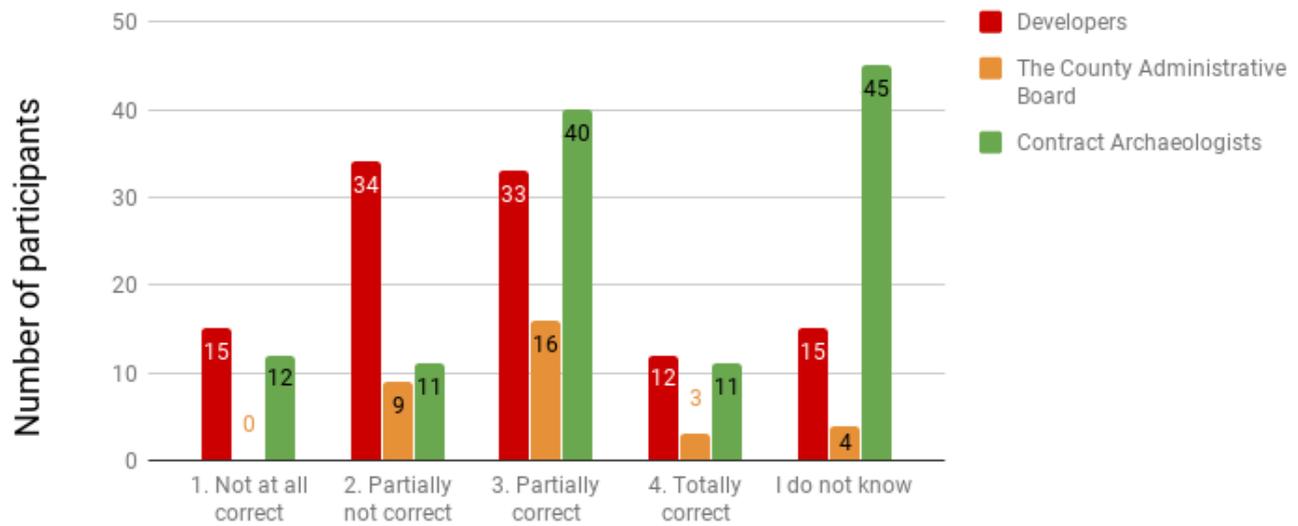
A majority of the developers agree with the statement that the system values Sweden's cultural heritage highly. The CAB and the CA are divided in their opinion.

4. The system benefits sustainable development in contract archaeology



The CA are the most reluctant to agree with the statement that the system benefits sustainable development in contract archaeology while a majority of the developers believe it is partially or totally correct. Many of the developers also found the statement hard to validate at all and answered that they do not know.

5. The system benefits sustainable development in the construction industry



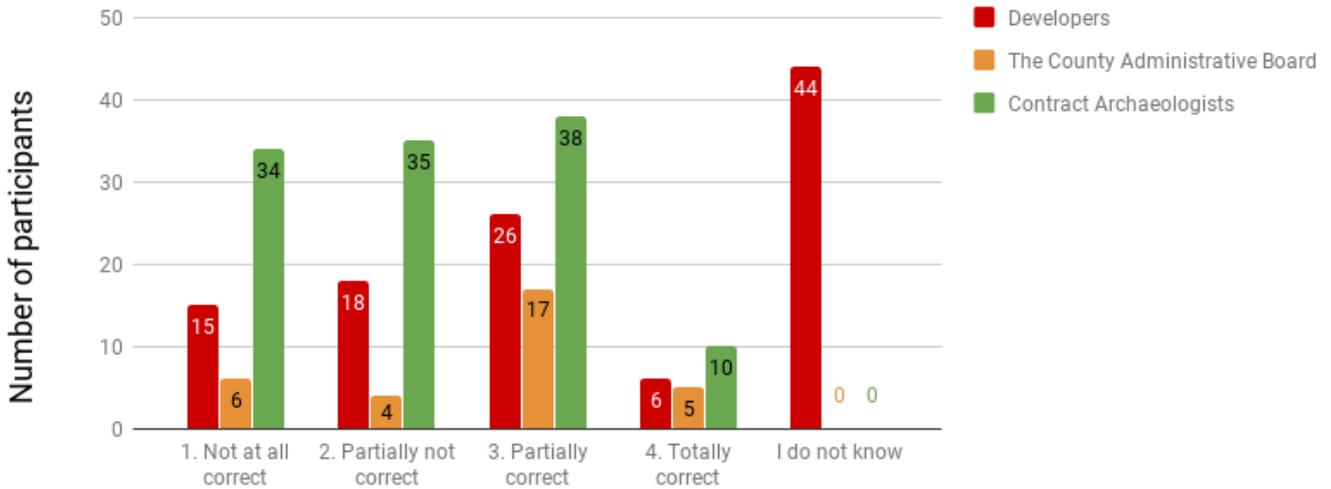
The CA found it difficult to validate the statement or thought it partially correct. The developers were more sceptical and a majority found it only partially correct or partially not correct, the CAB agreed.

6. The costs of archaeological investigations are kept down thanks to the competitiveness



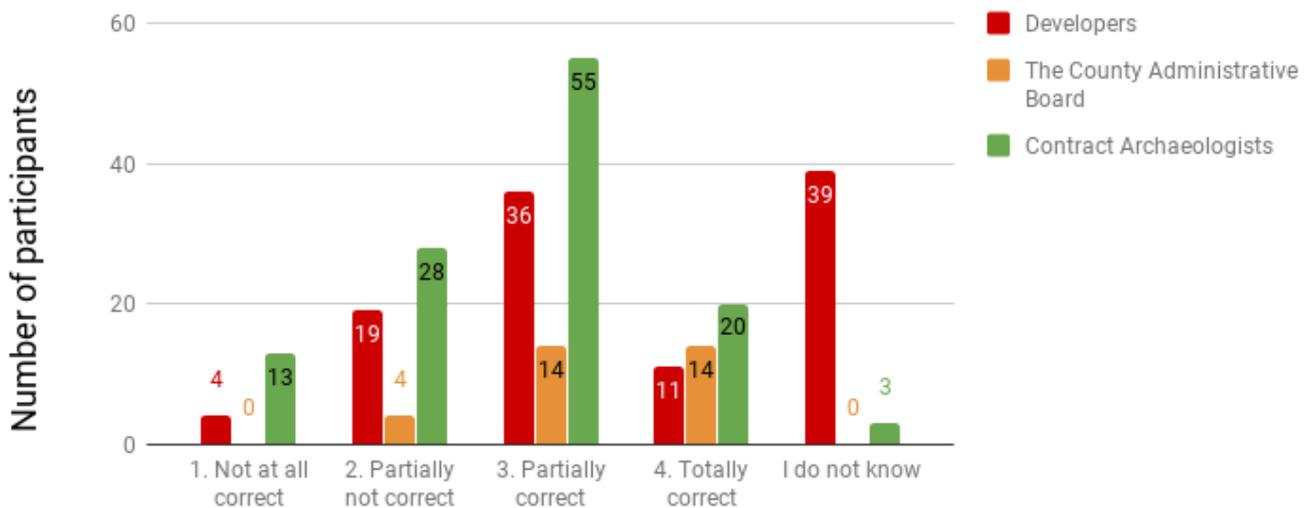
A majority of the CA found the statement to be partially or totally correct, but many disagreed and found it not at all or partially not correct. The developers were divided between finding the statement to be not at all correct, partially not correct or being unable to validate the statement at all.

7. The archaeological field work has been streamlined thanks to its competitiveness



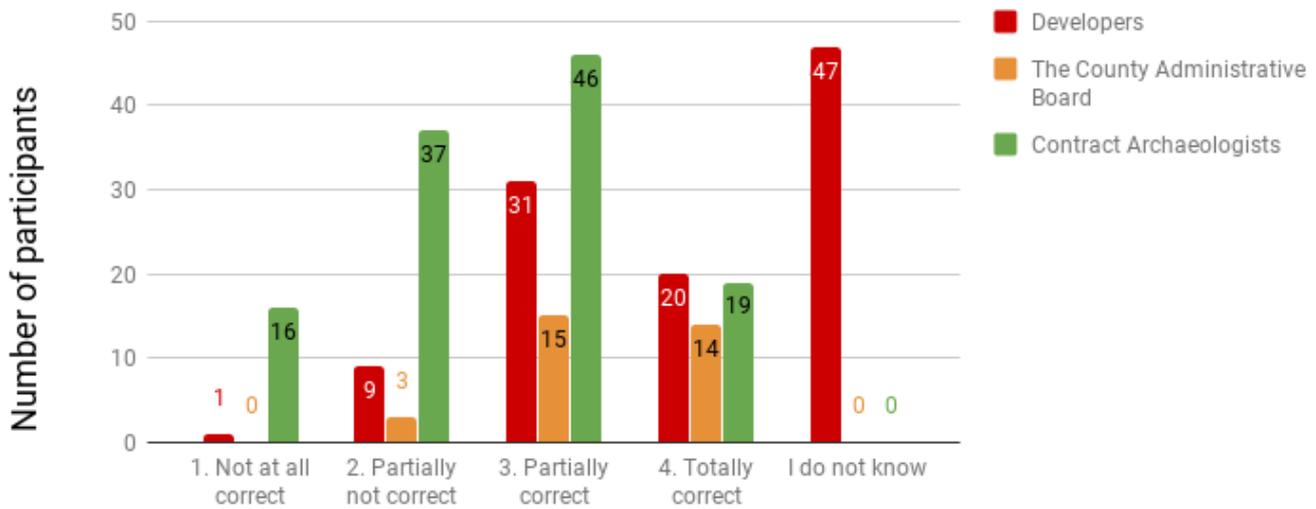
A diverse result with a majority of the developers finding the statement hard to validate. Very few participants found the statement totally correct.

8. The conditions for the mediation of field work results are improving



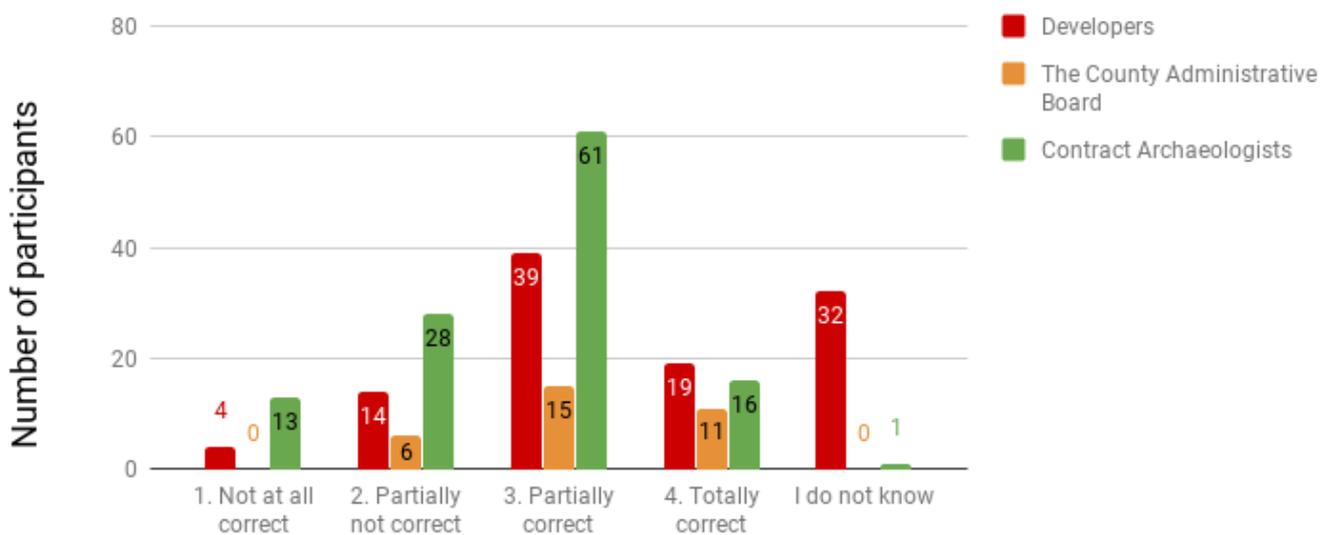
A majority of both the CA and the CAB found the statement partially correct. The developers found it partially correct or did not know whether the statement were correct or not.

9. The system values the importance of scientific working methods highly



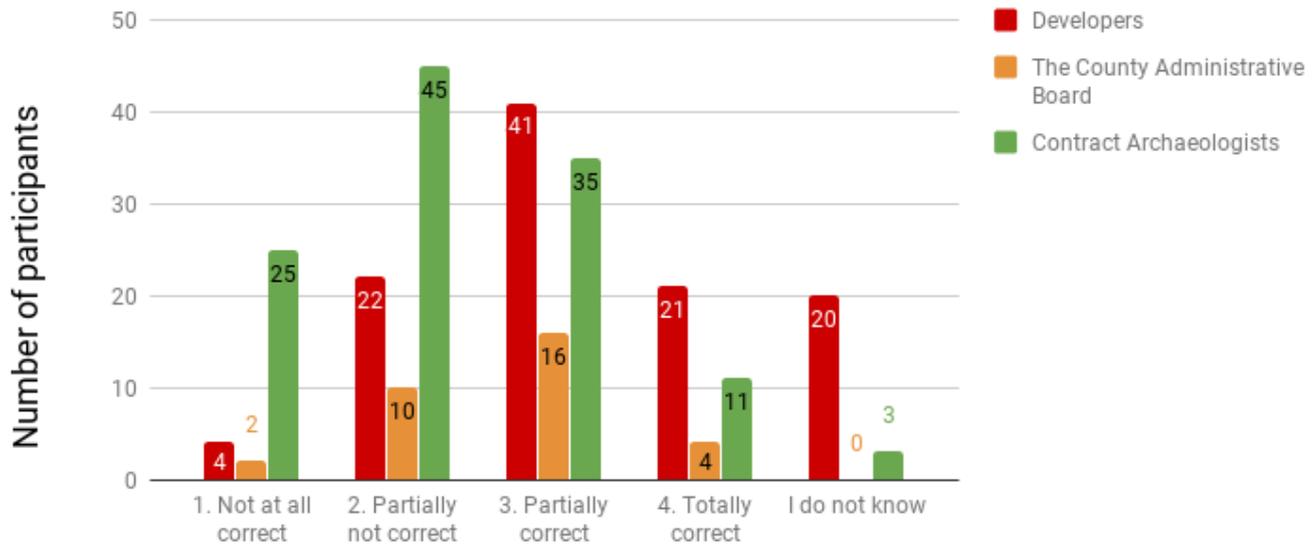
The CA are divided in their opinion, but a majority found the statement partially correct or partially not correct. The CAB are split between partially correct or totally correct. Many of the developers found the statement hard to validate.

10. The system values good mediation of archaeological knowledge highly



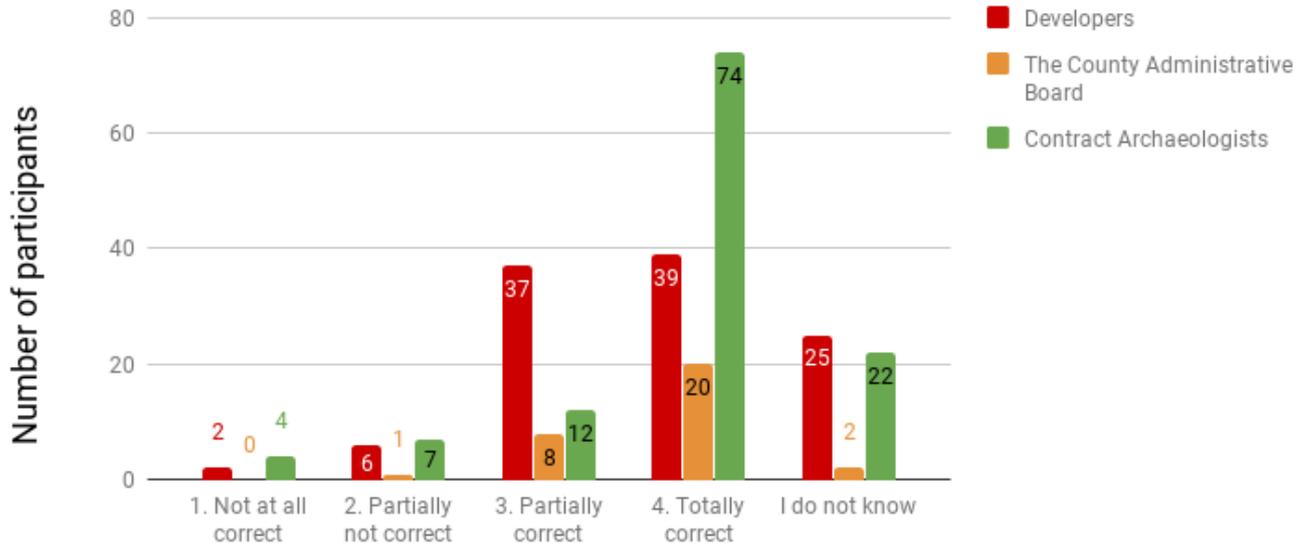
A majority of the CA finds the statement partially correct. The developers are divided between finding it partially correct or not knowing. The CAB thinks that the statement is partially or totally correct.

11. The system benefits the general view of archeology and its value for society



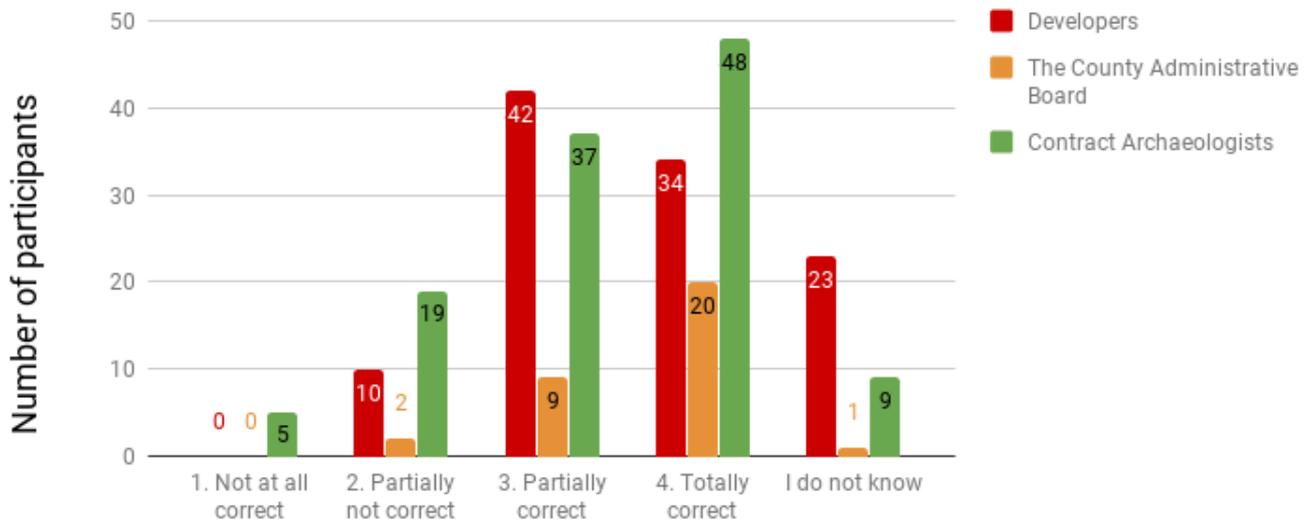
The CA are the most sceptical towards the statement. The developers and the CAB are divided in their opinion.

12. Contract archeology is an important part of archaeological research



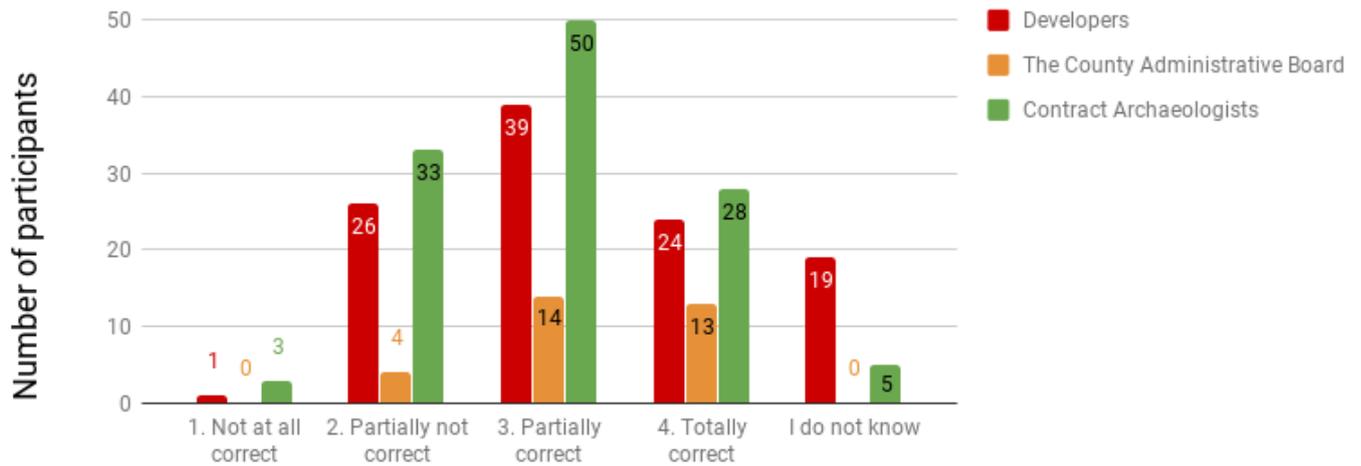
The most unified answer so far; a majority of all subgroups finds the statement partially or totally correct. Several of the participants from the CA and the developers cannot validate the statement.

13. The system contributes to new knowledge of scientific importance



A majority of each subgroup finds the statement partially or totally correct. A large part of the developers cannot validate the statement.

14. The system contributes to new knowledge that is mediated to the general public



A diverse result where a small majority of the CA and the developers find the statement partially correct. The CAB are divided between finding the statement partially or totally correct.

Q 15. What are the main advantages with the current system?

The question was an open question, permitting the participants to give their answer through a longer text. 170 out of the 260 participants answered. 14 different advantages were identified and defined based on the answers. The defined advantages depict a generalised view of the participant's opinions. The aim is to provide an overview over what aspects of the contract archaeological system that was most often used in a positive sense. Each advantage has been given a value and a definition (see the table below). All answers are summarised in the graph below. To get a more detailed insight into the poll participant's opinions, please see appendix 2 where all answers can be read separately (in Swedish).

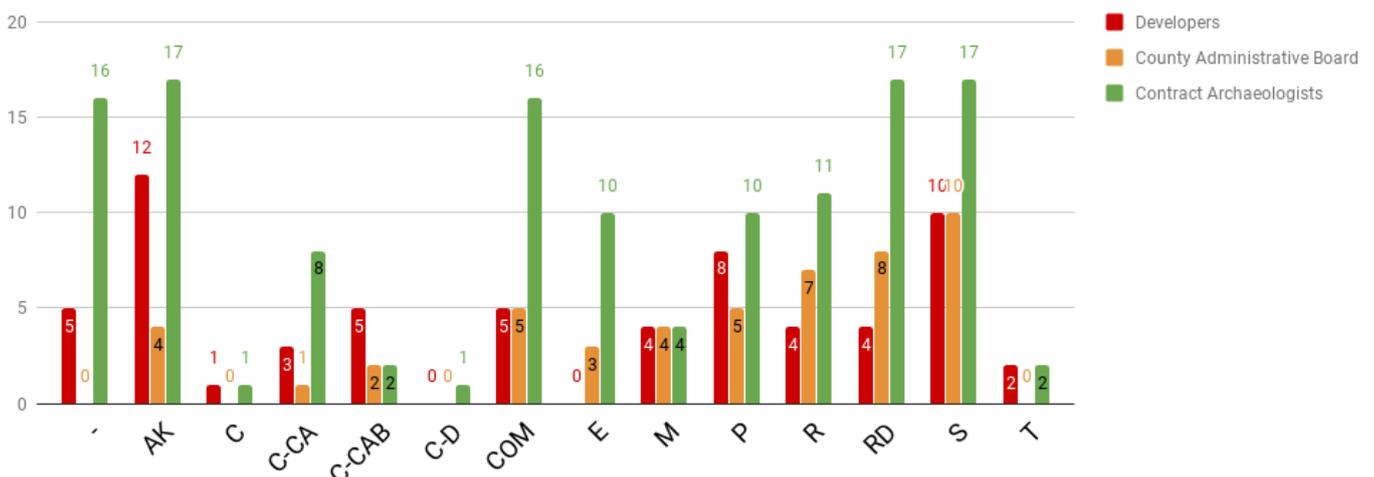
Here follows a summary over the defined advantages and a graph displaying the frequency in which each advantage was mentioned. Furthermore follows a description over the three advantages most commonly mentioned by the participants (all three groups combined). There is a bias in regards to the differing size of the subgroups that has affected which advantages that are described more in detail. The individual subgroup's advantage-frequency can be displayed in the graph below.

Advantages – a summary

Overall, the contract archaeologists were the most detailed in their answers and mentioned the competition, the distribution of responsibilities, the over all system structure and the production of new archaeological knowledge, as the main system advantages. At the same time, many contract archaeologists found it hard to define any advantage at all. The developers mentioned the production of new archaeological knowledge, the protection of ancient remains and the over all system structure as the main advantages. The County Administrative Board mentioned the regulations, the division of responsibilities and the over all system structure as the main advantages.

Many are satisfied with the cultural environment law and the protection it offers ancient remains, there seem to be a consensus between the three groups that preservation and mediation of archaeological knowledge is important.

Advantages



Value	Advantage	Definition
AK	Archaeological knowledge	The system benefits the production of new archaeological knowledge
C	Communication	The system enables good communication between the system parties
C-CA	Competence of the CA	Participants are satisfied with the competence of the Contract Archaeologists
C-CAB	Competence of the CAB	Participants are satisfied with the competence of the County Administrative Board
C-D	Competence of the developers	Participants are satisfied with the competence of the developers
COM	Competition	Participants are satisfied with the level of competition between the contract archaeological firms and consider it beneficial
E	Economical reasons	The system is beneficial for economical reasons
M	Mediation	The system benefits the mediation of results from the archaeological investigations and excavations
P	Preservation	The system benefits the protection and preservation of ancient remains and value them highly
R	Regulations	Participants are satisfied with the regulations and guidelines that reinforce the system.
RD	Responsibility distribution	Participants are satisfied with the current distribution of responsibilities
S	Structure	Participants are satisfied with the overall structure of the system
T	Time	The system process is deemed time efficient
-	No advantages	The participants can not define any advantages

Advantages - The structure

The system structure is mentioned as one of the main advantages of the contract archaeological system. The structure is defined as systematic, relatively clear, efficient, useful and well developed. It is described as providing good tools and guidelines for conducting archaeological work and a clear view over what is expected from the different parties. Here follows three examples of answers mentioning the advantage of the system structure:

The main advantage is that there is a system of rules and guidance to follow.
Developer

It has had an impelling effect on the level of professionalism within the contract archaeological trade and it has made the contract archaeological work more transparent.
County Administrative Board

The archaeological investigations and excavations are now driven by better defined research questions and the project and reports are always completed.
Contract Archaeologist

Advantages - Archaeological knowledge

The second most mentioned advantage with the current contract archaeological system is the diversity of new archaeological knowledge that it produces. Apart from the obvious reason, that many of the poll participants finds it important to preserve and mediate archaeological knowledge to future generations, archaeological research at exploitation sites is described as providing a greater diversity of findings and

ancient remains. Here follows three examples of answers mentioning how the system benefits the development of new archaeological knowledge:

Through the system there are a number of actors who conduct research without being affiliated to a university. It creates a diversity of perspectives that benefits the development of new ideas.

Developer

The system both contributes to new knowledge about the past and makes sure that the documentation is preserved and mediated.

County Administrative Board

There is a better width of archaeological excavations in different environments, different archaeological periods and of different sizes.

Contract Archaeologist

Advantages - The distribution of responsibilities

The third most mentioned advantage with the current contract archaeological system is the distribution of responsibilities. Participants mention the improved clarity over what is expected from each system party. Many mention that the County Administrative Board's authority and position as a competent system "hub" is very beneficial for efficiency and clarity. There are also many participants who point out the reasonableness in letting the developer finance archaeological work when conducting exploitation projects that will destroy ancient remains. Here follows three examples of answers mentioning the distribution of responsibilities as an advantage:

Since the County Administrative Board conducts the procurement for the archaeological work, the developer can rely on their competence instead of having to employ their own experts. The County Administrative Board is impartial and has a high level of competence. The process becomes more efficient despite office turnaround time.

Developer

There is clarity in the distribution of responsibility between the system parties.

County Administrative Board

The fact that the developers pay for the archaeological investigations and excavations has a decelerating effect that helps to preserve ancient remains. The effect would disappear if the payment liability were elsewhere.

Contract Archaeologist

Q 16. What are the main disadvantages with the current system?

The question was an open question, permitting the participants to give their answer through a longer text. 196 out of the 260 participants answered. 18 different disadvantages were identified and defined based on the answers. The defined disadvantages depict a generalised view of the participant's opinions. The aim is to provide an overview over what aspects of the contract archaeological system that was most often used in a negative sense. Each disadvantage has been given a value and a definition (see the table below). All answers are summarised in the graph below. To get a more detailed insight into the poll participant's opinions, please see appendix 2 where all answers can be read separately (in Swedish).

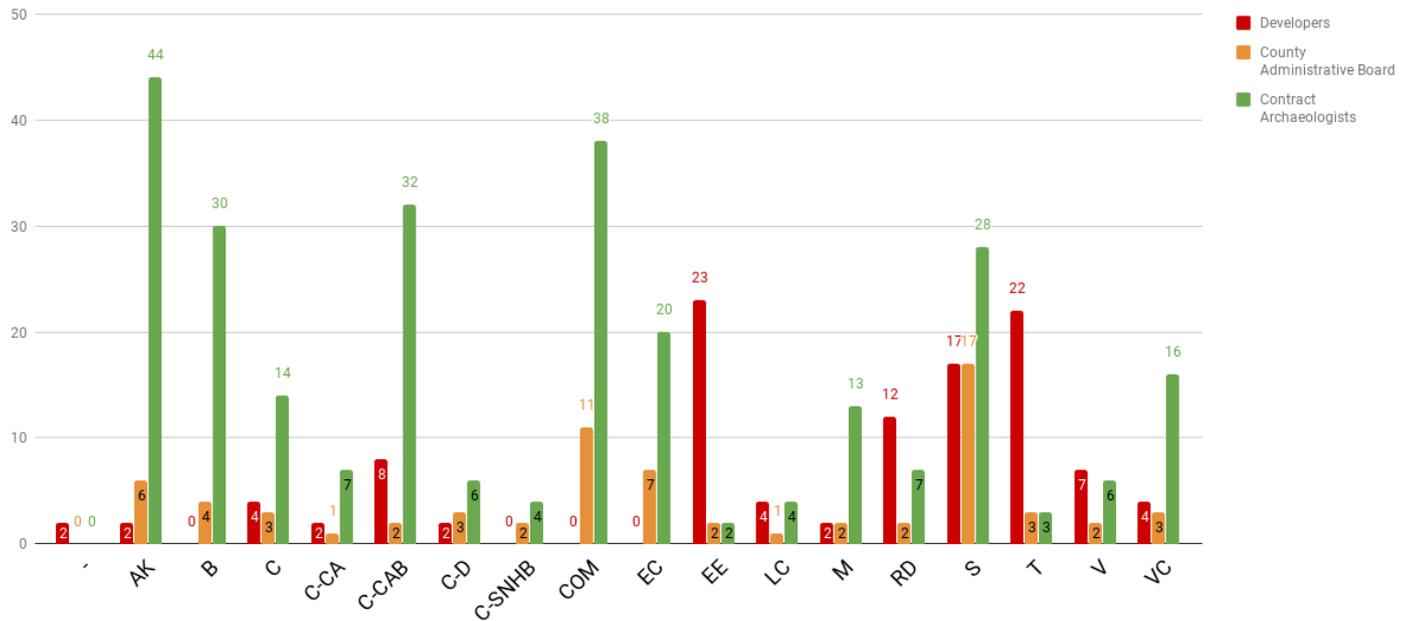
Here follows a summary over the defined disadvantages and a graph displaying the frequency in which each disadvantage was mentioned. Furthermore follows a description over the three disadvantages most commonly mentioned by the participants (all three groups combined). There is a bias in regards to the differing size of the subgroups that has affected which disadvantages that are described more in detail. The individual subgroup's disadvantage-frequency can be displayed in the graph below.

Disadvantages – a summary

As for the previous question, it was the contract archaeologists who had the most to say about the disadvantages of the contract archaeological system. The most frequently mentioned disadvantages from their subgroup is the low scientific level of new archaeological knowledge, the bidding procedure, the varying competence of the County Administrative Board, the competition between contract archaeological firms and the over all system structure. The developers mention the cost of archaeological investigations and excavations, the over all structure and the time-consuming handling of individual cases. The County Administrative Board mentions the competition between the contract archaeological firms and the over all system structure.

All three parties agree on that the system could become less complicated and more uniformly applied across the country. Many mention that there are too large differences in practice between the different County Administrative Board's offices. But the answers also clearly define a schism between two opposing perspectives. The developers consider the system too time-consuming and find the cost of archaeological work expensive. The County Administrative Board and the contract archaeologists on the other hand mention a fear over how the competition between contract archaeologists are leading to too low costs for investigations and excavations and too little time spent in field or on finishing reports.

Disadvantages



Value	Disadvantage	Definition
AK	Archaeological knowledge	The production of new archaeological knowledge is damaged by the current system
B	Bidding procedures	The bidding procedure is disadvantageous for archaeological work and knowledge development
C	Communication reasons	Participants are unsatisfied with the communication between the system parties
C-CA	Competence reasons	Participants doubt the competence of the Contract Archaeologists
C-CAB	Competence reasons	Participants doubt the competence of the County Administrative Board
C-D	Competence reasons	Participants doubt the competence of the developers
C-SNHB	Competence reasons	Participants doubt the competence of the SNHB
COM	Competition	The competition between the contract archaeological firms are damaging archaeological work and collaboration
EE	Economically too expensive	The cost of archaeological work is considered too expensive
EC	Economically too cheap	The cost of archaeological work is considered too cheap
M	Mediation reasons	Participants are unsatisfied with the mediation of results from the archaeological investigations and excavations
LCOM	Lack of competition	Participants are unsatisfied with the level of competition between the contract archaeological firms
RD	Responsibility distribution	Participants are unsatisfied with the current distribution of responsibilities
S	The structure of the system	Participants are unsatisfied with the overall structure of the system
T	Time reasons	The system process is considered too time-consuming
V	Value reasons	The value of an ancient site or gained knowledge does not correspond to the time and money spent on the system process
VC	Varying conditions	The system is not beneficial for the varying conditions of competence, competition or social or environmental challenges
-	No disadvantages	The participants can not define any disadvantages

Disadvantages - The structure

In conflict with the answers in previous question, the system structure is also mentioned as one of the main disadvantages with the current contract archaeological system. The structure is described as too conventional, complex and unpredictable. It is considered difficult to combine with other legal processes preceding an exploitation project. An increasing amount of time is spent on administrative work and preparation of quotations and less is spent on excavations and research. The transparency of the system process is considered very limited and many poll participants question the County Administrative Boards capability of being objective in their choice of contract archaeological firms. There is a strong belief that low costs are prioritised above work that is implemented with high scientific standard. Many mention that a simplified and more flexible system could prevent time consuming case handling and better be adjusted to serve both the protection of ancient remains and the developers plans.

The cultural environment law postulate that the developer can provide a finished exploitation plan early in the process, which often is not the case.

Developer

It is difficult to mediate the procedure to the developer. The process has a rather complex set of rules that can be hard to understand, also for archaeologists who have not been involved in all aspects of the work. We often have to explain or refer to the regulations repeatedly.

County Administrative Board

In a procurement situation with two or three archaeological actors it is usually the price tag and not the quality that determines who gets the job. The costs for investigations may seem to decline due to the competition, but they have actually just been redistributed to cover the work preparing the quotations.

Contract Archaeologist

Disadvantages - Archaeological knowledge

Once again the answer mirrors those in the previous question, the second most mentioned disadvantage with the current contract archaeological system is the lack of focus on Archaeological knowledge and the damage that the current system causes the production of new archaeological knowledge. There is a worry that too little focus and time is spent on research and report writing, that results are not used in broader archaeological research and that new knowledge is not mediated to the local and general public. Too much focus is put on the economical aspect of the system.

The research is not mediated properly to the general public.

Developer

The short-sightedness and fragmentation of the system with too much focus on doing the archaeological work “cheap and fast” is discouraging long term aggradation of knowledge, experience and new methods.

County Administrative Board

Important new knowledge is often removed from the county it was found, following the archaeological firm who excavated it. Hence it loses its local meaning and connection.

Contract Archaeologist

Disadvantages - Competition

The third most mentioned disadvantage with the current system of contract archaeology is the competition. Initially introduced to create both economical and methodical potentiation it is now highly feared to cause more damage than good. The competition is only mentioned as a disadvantage by the contract archaeologists and the County Administrative Board. Both fear that it causes increasing schism between contract archaeological firms who no longer have the same incentive to collaborate and share their knowledge. The competition draws attention from the cultural and knowledge creating aspects of the system and too much focus is put on economical aspects.

The competition disfavours collaboration and pushes down the prices of archaeological work in a way that damages the scientific level of the results.

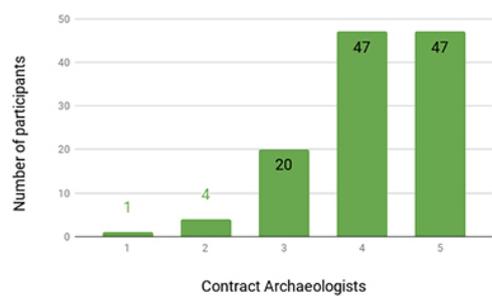
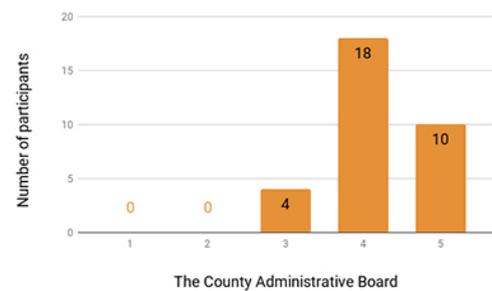
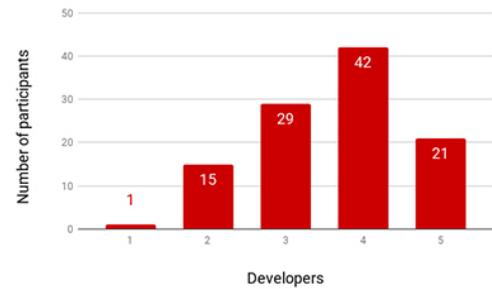
County Administrative Board

The excavations become underfinanced and the prioritizing that has to be made to win the procurement damages the results. It has also created a decreasing collaboration between Swedish contract archaeologists.

Contract Archaeologist

Q 17. Do you think archaeological work and archaeological knowledge contribute to society at large? (1 is not at all and 5 is very much)

The laws protecting Sweden’s cultural remains are based on the belief that archaeology and archaeological knowledge is important and valuable to our society at that we hence should spend time and money on protecting and preserving it. If the people working within the contract archaeological system do not agree, there is a contradiction between the official opinions and the opinions of those who conduct the work following the cultural environment law. According to the answers a majority of the poll participants consider archaeology and archaeological work beneficial for society.



5. Discussion

5.1. Current attitudes towards the Swedish system of contract archaeology

There is a general discontent with the Swedish system of contract archaeology. None of the participating subgroups are overwhelmingly satisfied with the current structure and process. There is an obvious distinction between the system parties' level of insight and knowledge about the system. The developers are not as familiar with the system structure and the cultural environment law as the contract archaeologists and the County Administrative Board. The contract archaeologists on the other hand do not have insight into how the system affects the developers. The differences in the two parties goals and purposes is creating a discontent with the overall system. In the middle resides the County Administrative Board trying to follow regulations and protect ancient remains while at the same time not hindering new development without proper cause.

The information about the system, its structure and function is considered too unattainable and difficult to understand, especially by the developers. There is also a wish for a more clearly defined responsibility distribution. The participants finds the role of the SNHB particularly difficult to understand. While many are satisfied with their current responsibilities, the developers are very divided in regards to their cost liability and considers the cost of contract archaeology too high.

One of the main problems regarding the system's structure and the distribution of responsibilities seems to be of economical nature. There is dissatisfaction in the developer's party about the uncertainty of costs for the archaeological investigations and excavations. Several developers describe the financial responsibilities as unjust since the new archaeological knowledge that the contract archaeological work produces belongs to the public, but is being payed for by the developers. There is also a discontent from the contract archaeologists who finds the competition and the declining prices for archaeological work unsustainable. On one hand they are under the rising pressure to conduct archaeological excavations cheaper and faster, and on the other is the demand for increasingly scientific levels of research and mediation.

Both parties are worried about the varying levels of economical, and environmental conditions across the country. Smaller archaeological companies or smaller municipalities have limited resistance during recession and archaeological knowledge or the possibility of new development may suffer. There is also a worry regarding the shifting level of competence and practice at the County Administrative Board. Participants would prefer a system that could be more flexible when it comes to the varying conditions for the individual exploitation projects or ancient sites, but also a system that is more uniform in its praxis across the country.

There is a sense of despair among the contract archaeologists when it comes to the value of their work and of ancient remains. Many are considering the requirements and goals of the developer to be valued and prioritised way above archaeology or the

possible loss of archaeological knowledge. On the other hand does several of the developers have a hard time to understand how certain types of ancient remains can cause delays and rising costs for much needed infrastructure or housing. All three system parties are in consensus regarding the importance of contract archaeology when it comes to producing new archaeological knowledge and urge on new research. The current system is also deemed beneficial for mediation of archaeological knowledge, but the developers request a broader spectra of mediation.

5.2. Advantages and disadvantages with the current system

The perception of advantages and disadvantages with the Swedish system of contract archaeology turned out to be in regards to similar parts of the system, but from different perspectives. After initiating this thesis project based on rather negative presumptions regarding the attitudes towards the contract archaeological system, it was very pleasing to see the variety of advantages that the research participants managed to compile. There is definitely a sense that a system of competition has the potential to benefit contract archaeology, if used with consideration to both economical and cultural values. It is also clear that all parties appreciate the relatively well-structured system but that it could improve with a bit more flexibility and transparency.

Among the main disadvantages the developers mention a too time-consuming system, excavations that are too costly or costs that are unpredictable to calculate in advance. The contract archaeologists oppose their positioning by requesting more time in field and more money to produce better mediation and research. This opposition is in my opinion the greatest system flaw. I believe that the key to a better system lies in improving the communication and cooperation between the developers and the contract archaeologist. I discuss how that could be done in chapter 5.3.

One of the most distressing effects of the opposing positions of the developer and the contract archaeologist is the fact that the quality of the archaeological research is being affected. There needs to be a better understanding for the limits of conducting archaeological high quality research and that crossing the limits makes conducting said research less meaningful. Developers cannot be held responsible for not knowing why certain levels of research are important or necessary, just as contract archaeologists cannot be expected to know everything about the development industry. But in a more cohesive system, the two opposing parties could be given a better opportunity to share their competence and maximise the profits; both economical and cultural.

Most mentioned advantages and disadvantages were:



The overall structure	creating a relatively clear, well-defined and efficient workflow.
Archaeological knowledge	both due to the diversity of sites that are being excavated and to the focus on the production and mediation of new knowledge defined by the law and regulations.
The responsibility distribution	a relative clarity over what is expected by each party and a distribution that emphasises the competence of each party.



The overall structure	a lack of transparency and flexibility and too much bureaucracy.
Archaeological knowledge	too little time spent on excavation and report writing making it difficult to produce high-quality research and fulfil the official goals.
The competition	too much focus on economical aspects and too little on cultural values and creating new knowledge.

5.3. The future of Swedish contract archaeology

The Swedish system of contract archaeology combines two very different fields of interest: the developers and the contract archaeologists. Both parties share similar goals and purposes. They both want to provide services that can contribute to society and they are both dependent on financial gains. Unfortunately, the way in which said parties can reach their goals and fulfil their purpose is *very* different.

The developers demand time and cost efficiency to be able to provide their service at the best possible price. As long as their constructions are properly built, they have

fulfilled their purpose and if they have managed to do so in a timely manner to a low cost, that will only give them credit.

The contract archaeologist on the other hand requires as much time and money as possible to be able to fulfil their goal and purpose to a high standard. It is of course important to maintain time and cost efficiency, but too tight restrictions will severely affect the quality of the archaeologist's results. Conducting the work with a short timeline and low budget will only benefit the developer, who has the responsibility to pay for the archaeological work. If the archaeologist fails to fulfil their goals and purpose it will in the long run be difficult to consolidate the need of archaeological investigations at all.

I believe that the future for the system is to create a better sense of union between the involved parties and to put more focus on their common goal – to improve and enrich our society. The current division of interest is not sustainable and makes it impossible to operate together in a functional way. An ideal situation would be where developers, contract archaeologists and the County Administrative Board work together in a more symbiotic manner with the common goal to produce new community values. Both new development and heritage protection creates values that enrich the life of the citizen. While development helps to create a functional contemporary society, archaeology fills that society with knowledge and ideas that contribute to coherence and a deeper level of understanding for one another.

I suggest a more including, flexible and transparent work process (as requested by the research participants) to create a better understanding for the different perspectives, goals and purposes of the system parties. I believe in a collective planning process where gathered knowledge from all three parties could help to create new, more functional and aesthetical solutions for both development and mediation of archaeological knowledge. Instead of letting ancient remains become “problems” or “danger areas” they should be seen for their potential to add attractiveness to new development sites.

5.4. A request for a more offensive defence of the value of archaeology

Archaeology is amazing! Yes I am bias, but I am not ignorant or naïve. I understand that archaeology and archaeological work requires time and money. I believe that we both can and should set a side the time and money necessary to conduct archaeological investigations. It is an investment in our past, contemporary and future society that we are more than rich enough to provide. I also believe that it is up to the archaeological community to defend and continuously establish the value and purpose of archaeology.

Archaeology is not a necessity, it is not part of our basic needs to survive; it is a luxury for wealthy, well-developed, stable societies. Instead of extinguishing the last traces of the humans that were here before us, we have decided to spend a little bit of time and money on documenting the remaining information about their way of life.

The new knowledge we gain enriches our society in many ways. We gain a perspective of and an understanding for *why* today's society is the way it is. We gain an understanding for *how* we ended up where we are. Through mediation of archaeological, and historical, knowledge we are given the power of knowing our own past and hence being able to understand when it is being used against us; archaeology and history can, as we know, be powerful tools in political propaganda.

Today we talk a lot about sustainability, to think in long-term. We could most definitely stop excavating and save a few individuals time and money, but that would be the opposite of finding long-term solutions. I am not talking about saving every little piece of bone, or excavating every single posthole. I am just saying that when an ancient remain is destroyed, a unique set of information from the past is destroyed with it. We are given *one* opportunity to collect this information, and we should definitely take it.

For someone studying or working with archaeology, the statements above may seem obvious. But the poll results presented in this thesis shows a lack of understanding and knowledge about why certain aspects of archaeological work is important. Changes to laws and regulations can be influenced by people with varying kinds and levels of competence and are seldom based on the wishes of archaeologists. If we feel that the current system is dividing us, impairing our incentive to cooperate and damaging the purpose of our work, it is up to us to make sure that the system evolves in a more favourable manner in the future.

6. Summary

The purpose of this thesis was to create an insight into current attitudes towards the Swedish system of contract archaeology and the way it is organised, based on the opinions of people from within the system. The thesis answers the following research questions:

- What are the current attitudes towards the Swedish system of contract archaeology, based on the opinions of people working within the system?
- What seems to be the main advantages and disadvantages with the system, as perceived by the research participants?

The results from the literature study presents a system that has undergone vast changes over the past two decades. The changes were initially implemented to streamline the contract archaeological work process and reduce costs. Comments from archaeological journals depict a system that damages the value of cultural heritage protection and obstructs the archaeological work. Contemporary comments from developers present an alternative perspective where a complex bureaucracy and costly contract archaeological excavations limits their opportunities to develop new infrastructure or housing.

Through an online poll, participants from the three system parties: developers, the County Administrative Board and the contract archaeologist, were asked to answer questions regarding the current contract archaeological system. The results show a general discontent with the system and a division in opinion between the developers and the contract archaeologists. The County Administrative Board has a clear position in the middle of the system with the responsibility to facilitate both the developers' and the contract archaeologists' needs.

The developers worry about long-drawn procurement processes, delaying their projects. They also worry about the relatively unpredictable cost for archaeological work. The contract archaeologists worry about the gradually less amount of time they get to spend on excavations or on research. They are also dissatisfied with the increasing focus on economical values causing a lack of focus on cultural values.

The discussion lifts the two research questions and also handles the subject of the future of contract archaeology. A suggested improvement regarding the system process is presented; put more focus on creating a collective, flexible and transparent work process to create a better understanding for the different perspectives, goals and purposes of the system parties.

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