

## With power in their hands

- A study of the creation of the Rural Development Program at the regional level in Sweden

### Med makten i sina händer

- En studie om utformningen av landsbygdsprogrammet på regional nivå i Sverige

*Emma Wallin*



# **With power in their hands – A study of the creation of the Rural Development Program at the regional level in Sweden**

Med makten i sina händer – En studie om utformningen av landsbygdsprogrammet på regional nivå i Sverige

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## Sammanfattning

Den EU gemensamma jordbrukspolitiken (CAP) påverkar styrningen och förvaltningen av landsbygder, genom policyprocesser på olika byråkratiska nivåer, från EU till regional. I Sverige är jordbruksverket ansvarig myndighet för framtagandet av det nationella landsbygdsprogrammet (LBP) och länsstyrelserna ansvarar för de regionala handlingsplanerna. Uppsatsens syfte är att studera beredningsprocessen av de regionala LBP utifrån en fallstudie och textanalys. Intervjuer med sex tjänstepersoner vid två länsstyrelser har varit utgångspunkten i fallstudien. Syfte har varit att utifrån tjänstepersonernas berättelser studera arbetsprocessen på regional nivå, där tjänstepersonerna tolkar och omvandlar EU:s politik för landsbygdsutveckling till svenska regionala handlingsplaner. "Governmentality", byråkratiska fältet och ideologi utgör centrala koncept, dessa används för att analysera det empiriska materialet i denna studie. Makt, olika former av kapital och rationaliteter, samt resurser och teknik är viktiga aspekter som sammanvävs med huvudkoncepten. Fallstudien presenterar hur maktrelationerna mellan olika aktörer i arbetsprocessen med de regionala LBP skiljer sig åt. Språket i de regionala LBP formar perspektiv på landsbygdsutvecklingen, språket formar så kallade diskursiva praktiker. Textanalys av de regionala LBP har gjorts med inspiration från kritisk diskursanalys, i syfte att urskilja bland annat de olikheter och likheter, vilka lyfts fram av författarna i de två regionala handlingsplanerna. Textanalysen belyser tekniker och metoder som används av tjänstepersonerna på länsstyrelserna för att argumentera för perspektiv och föreställningar av verkligheten i länen. Denna uppsats presenterar maktrelationer mellan olika parter i beredningsprocessen av LBP, och kritiserar det upprätthållande av "esoterisk kunskap" gällande exempelvis tekniker, språk och strukturer i policyprocesser. Esoterisk kunskap bidrar till att särskilja människor istället för att skapa ett demokratiskt samhälle.

*Nyckelord: Landsbygdsprogrammet, EU, Byråkratiska Fältet, Ideologi, Governmentality, Kritisk Diskurs Analys, Makt, Stockholms län, Gävleborgs län.*

## Abstract

Within the European Union, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) affects the governance of rural areas. The CAP operates through various policy processes at multiple levels, from EU to regional level. In Sweden, the Swedish Board of Agriculture (SBA) is responsible for the national rural development program (RDP), and the county administrative boards (CAB) are responsible for regional RDPs. The purpose of this thesis is to study the construction of the regional programs, through one case study and one text analysis. The case study is based on six interviews with officials from two CABs. The focus is on the officials' stories of their work interpreting and transforming the EU's RDP to the Swedish regional action plans for rural development. Governmentality, the bureaucratic field and ideology are the main concepts used to analyse the empirical material in this study. Power, various forms of capital and rationalities, as well as resources and technologies are important aspects that interweave the main concepts. The case study presents how the power relationships between the various actors in the preparation process of the regional RDPs differ. An important premise is that language shapes reality. This means that the language used in the regional RDPs affects ideas on how rural development should be formed, and, in effect, the reality of the programs. Through language so-called discursive practices are created. The text analyses of the regional RDPs are inspired by critical discourse analysis, in order to distinguish the similarities and differences highlighted by the authors. Text analysis highlights the techniques and methods used by officials arguing for perspectives of reality in their counties. This thesis presents the power relations between different actors in the work of regional RDPs, and criticizes the maintenance of "esoteric knowledge" regarding, for example, techniques and languages of policy processes. Esoteric knowledge contributes to a movement that distinguishes people instead of creating a democratic society.

*Keywords: Rural Development Program, EU, Swedish Board of Agriculture, Critical Discourse Analysis, Power, The Bureaucratic Field, Ideology, Governmentality, Stockholm County, Gävleborg County.*

## Preface - förord

Med denna uppsats avslutas ett kapitel i livet, studietiden, och ett annat tar sin början, och med det skulle jag vilja uppmärksamma några personer som under denna resa har givit mig nya perspektiv, fina minnen och inspiration.

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Haparanda, 2015

Emma



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## Abbreviations

CAB	County Administrative Board [Länstyrelsen]
CAP	Common Agriculture Policy [Gemensamma jordbrukspolitiken]
EU	European Union [Europeiska Unionen]
LRF	The Federation of Swedish Farmers [Lantbrukarnas riksförbund]
RDP	Rural Development Programmes [Landbygdsprogrammet]
SBA	Swedish Board of Agriculture [Jordbruksverket]



# 1 Introduction

Every day political policies are formulated, decided on and used at different levels of society. Officials working at levels such as the EU, or national and county level, produce policy document within a regulatory framework. The officials are not merely producing documents, they are also within this framework shaping discursive practices, which articulate norms, perspectives, power relations and so on that both create and describe reality and therefore affect everyday life of people across the EU.

In the EU as well as in Sweden, policies are based on regulations, which are a set of laws that provide policy programs with legal rights. Policy programs nowadays have got an increasing influence “in all areas of life” as Shore and Wright (1997) argue. Regulations as policy texts are meant to influence and to rectify problems. Policy programs order goals and priorities, claiming specific knowledge addressing to a field or/and to certain problems (Rose & Miller, 1992:182). The trend in modern society is an increasing and on-going regulation-process, which creates a larger distance between decision makers and the ones that are affected by the outcome. The result of this process is that fewer actors have control over and/or insight into the policy process, and thereby can influence the decisions (Shore & Wright, 1997:4).

The European Union is an institution based on a democratic system and has regulations and rules for different sectors. One of the biggest sectors in the EU in relation to its’ budget is the area of agriculture, which is regulated through the Common Agriculture Policy [CAP]. The CAP includes areas such as food produc-

tion, forestry, fishery, rural development and environment. The policy program concerning rural development [RDP] within the CAP is ordered according to a hierarchical structure, where EU policy is translated and implemented by officials at national level by the Swedish Board of Agriculture [SBA] and at county level by the County Administrative Boards [CAB] into operative programs. This policy program runs over a seven-year period and includes goals and priorities (Sjv.se, 2014).

Much of the power of policies lies in the formulation and in the interpretation of the rules, recommendations, directives and regulations, since it is from this process that action is taken. Action which in the end forms/affects the way in which people for instance talk about, view and act in relation to agriculture or rural areas. The framework and structure of the policy program, the RDP, creates certain conditions for how development within the EU can progress, the discursive practice (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012).

The words and content of the RDP shapes the prospects for how rural areas will be developed, at EU, national, as well as county level in Sweden. The purpose of this study is not to examine which effects the action taken in the RDP will have in the rural areas, but rather, to explore what the preparation process of the regional RDP [county level] might look like, which in the long run affects the society at large, agriculture, and the environment in the rural areas. In the following section the purpose and research questions of this thesis will be presented.

## 2 Research purpose and questions

The regional RDPs are adapted to EU's overarching policy concerning RDP. The purpose of this thesis is to examine how the regional RDPs [2007-13] are constructed in a Swedish context and how the EU policy is interpreted and broken down into specific objectives and plans on regional level. Furthermore I intend to explore how the respective responsible authorities in Sweden, the County Administrative Boards (CAB) in Gävleborg and Stockholm interpret and transform the EU rural development into regional policy documents.

### **Research questions**

- How is the process constructed where the local responsible officials at the CAB-level interpret and transform the EU's rural development policy into Swedish regional rural development action (policy) plans?
- How large is the CAB regional room for manoeuvre so as to interpret and transform the EU rural development policy into locally desired goals of rural development of the region?
- What regional similarities and disparities can be found between the rural development action plans in Gävleborg and Stockholm?

### 3 Theoretical frameworks

Governmentality, the bureaucratic field and ideology will be the main concepts used to analyse the empirical material in this study. Power, various forms of capital and rationalities, as well as resources and technologies are important aspects that interweave the main concepts, and they will be explained more thoroughly under the headings below and in the analysis [Ch. 6 & 7]. This chapter should be seen as a brief background to the theoretical framework of this study, which later through the case study and text analysis will be further developed.

#### Governmentality

The Regional RDPs are policies that underline development actions towards the rural areas of Sweden. Policy construction is one of the strategies used by the state to control and guide society and its development, therefore, I will in this paper use the concept of “governmentality”. Governmentality is a term that Foucault developed in the 1970s, and the concept includes “the art of government”, referring to how the state’s way of governing affects the governed. This includes the ideas, notions, values and ideologies that are behind the governing, which are based on the techniques and strategies, as well as the rationality that determines the practical action (Rose, et al, 2009). Rose and Miller are influenced by Foucault, and have also developed theories about governmentality. In this study I will draw upon Rose and Millers (1992) ideas about rationalities and techniques to understand manifestations of governmentality within the regional RDPs.

Techniques, as the term is used in this paper, are the methods used to govern (such as policy), but techniques may also be the working methods used to produce a policy. When working on the regional RDPs, different methods and approaches are used, including using SWOT analysis, which is also a technique of governing that will be analysed in this study. Through these techniques specific forms of political rationality are expressed (cf. Rose, et al, 2009; Rose & Miller, 1992). Political rationalities includes a moral form, i.e. drawing upon ideals and principals which affects the direction of the government's actions, for example economic efficiency, productivity, justice and so on, and political rationalities are therefore limited to a certain knowledge which frames a specific way of thinking and creating meaning from reality. Rationalities also state its concepts in relation to the object governed, for example in this case the CABs in relation to the rural areas (Rose & Miller, *ibid*).

These two terms, political rationalities and techniques, will be used to analyse styles expressed in the regional RDPs, as well as taking the preparation work of the regional RDPs in to account, and the different perspectives of officials internally at the CAB.

## The bureaucratic field

It is not merely techniques and rationalities that shape policy, place and time where the policy was produced is of importance to understand the policy. In this case, the concept of field developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1994) is helpful. The term field includes a defined sphere where certain cultures, practices, norms, ideologies, etc. are represented and enacted. Techniques and strategies used by the policy makers who produce the regional RDPs are based on what is accepted within the field they operate. The individuals within the so-called bureaucratic field where the regional RDPs are produced, will shape policy according to cultures, practices, etc. that are currently accepted within the field. The field is also defined by what is included and what is not; the bureaucratic field referred to in this thesis encompasses several entities such as the EU, the Swedish state, and thereby the executive

authorities, such as Swedish Board of Agriculture [SBA] and the County Administrative Boards [CAB].

Actors which are included in the works with the regional RDPs, at all levels, following specific work patterns that are determined by the logic, culture and ideology of the field. The patterns are determined by among other things positions individual holds, such as County Governor, heads of units, officials, etc. at the County Administrative Boards. Positions and pattern are partly based on the order of magnitude and distribution of various types of resources or capital. There are various types of resources, such as economic, which include financial assets of various types, and cultural, which are defined as various forms of knowledge, skills, and other types of educational qualifications. Actors are using these various resources to e.g. reaching their own objectives.

## Ideology

Theories about ideology have long been a well-discussed area. From the 1700s, when the concept was formulated, it has developed in different directions. That is why the concept today encompasses many different dimensions and therefore is no universally accepted definition. Thompson in his book “Ideology and modern culture” (1990) made an attempt to reformulate the concept of ideology. His focus lies on inter-relationships between meaning and power, which he believes are surrounded by clusters of problems. The interrelationships consist of ideas that meaning is based on a systematic asymmetrical order, which establishes and maintains power relations, as Thompson (1990:7) calls the “relations of domination”. In general terms ideology is defined by “meaning in the service of power” (Thompson, *ibid*).

I will use Thompson’s ideas about ideology to explain how the bureaucratic field, among other things are permeated and governed by ideologies. Thompson refers to the concept of ideology as “a cluster of problems concerning the interrelations of meaning and power”, which means that there are different actors within the bureaucratic field, possessing different positions which have different access to distinct resources, hence also different power relations. Power relations are sys-



tematically asymmetric within the bureaucratic field, because there are a predetermined order, partly determined by the regulations and norms that specify who has access to resources, such as the right to make decisions e.g. This unequal power relationship will be highlighted in the examples which are part of the case study. Power will be referred to in this study as one or several actors steering, managing or acting in a way which makes other actors behave in a desired direction of interest.

Thompson uses the concept as “symbolic forms” and “social context”, which I will not refer to, instead, I use the concept of bureaucratic field. This is because the concept of the bureaucratic field embraces both the symbolic forms and the social context, as well as ideology and culture. However, I will use Thompson’s general argument which is based on the theory of Bourdieu’s concept of “field”, to argue that the officials who produce the regional RDPs are working within a field where the asymmetrical power relations are embedded in the methods, strategies and techniques used. This therefore affects the rationalities, which tell us a story about reality (cf. Rose, et al, 2009; Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Rose & Miller, 1992; Thompson, 1990)

## 4 Methodology

To understand one of the cornerstones of how our society is governed today, policy documents, the regional RDPs, have been examined. I have conducted a case-study so as to explore how the practices that create the policy process of the regional RDPs are constructed and organized. This case study consists of two counties, Gävleborg County and Stockholm County. The selection of counties started with a brief overlook over the 21 counties' regional RDPs [2007-13], to get an overview of the regional RDPs in Sweden. Gävleborg and Stockholm were selected among other things of practical reasons, such as the interviewees' time schedule and the closeness concerning traveling for the interviews. The snowball method were used when selected the informants (Teorell & Svensson, 2007:86f; Bernard, 2006:192pp).

The practices of policy making were explored through interviews with officials at the CABs, and in so doing I attempted to grasp the officials' perspectives on the bureaucratic field they were active within. This part of the study covers the first and second research questions; "How is the process conducted where the local responsible officials at the CAB-level interpret and transform the EU rural development policy into Swedish regional rural development action (policy) plans?" and "How large is the CAB regional room for manoeuvre so as to interpret and transform the EU rural development policy into the desired goals of rural development of the region?"

To understand the outcome of the policy-process, the text of the regional RDPs of Gävleborg CAB and Stockholm CAB have been analysed. The analysis of the text covers the last research question; "What regional similarities and disparities can be found between the rural development action plans in Gävleborg and Stockholm?" This part of the study highlight the perspective taken by the authors of the regional RDPs, and the method used is discourse analysis. This is because discourse analysis provides tools for studying the authors' norms, ideologies and perspectives. Discourse analysis also shows the power relations of actors; for example by examining how different actors are described and which actors that are not even mentioned.

It is important to emphasize, however, that these two methods, the interviews and the discourse analysis, together provide a broader understanding of the production of the regional RDPs, but the case study and the text analysis only provide a small sample and cross-section of the construction process of RDP, and that the results cannot be generalized.

## Interview

The interviews are used in this study to answer the question about how the production practices of the policy document are made at the CAB level. Interviews constitute a qualitative method which makes it possible to explore attitudes, values, norms in a given time and space. There are different ways of doing interviews, in this study the interviews have been semi-structured. Level of structure affect answers given by the informants, semi-structured interviews are more similar to an everyday conversation, although the frames of conversations are fixed by the researcher. There are also different levels of participation for the interviewer in the conversation. I have deliberately taken more space than usual, sometimes confronting and sometimes disclosed to my personal views in the interviews in order to highlight different or similar discourses that exists between me and the informant. This have been a key point to understand and explore expression of discourses given by the informants. This type of interview is discussed by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:171p), which they refer to as a discursive semi-structured interview.

I have conducted six interviews, between 40-80 minutes per interview, with officials who either work or have been working with the regional RDPs at the CAB of Gävleborg and Stockholm. Initially a test-interview was made, with an official from another CAB in Sweden. This interview is not included in the analysis, due to the geographical demarcations made in this study, but the test-interview has been a great inspiration.

The interview questions focused on the officials' experience of the preparations process of the regional RDPs, for both the program periods of 2007-2013 and 2014-2020. The aim in the beginning of the study were to interview officials who had been working with the program of 2007-2013, but it proved difficult to get in

contact with and find officials associated with the regional RDPs 2007-2013 only. This because fewer officials were involved in the previous preparation processes of the regional RDPs. The sample has been made according to the snowball method, but with a strategic approach (Teorell & Svensson, 2007:86f; Bernard, 2006:192pp). Key individuals at the Gävleborg CAB and Stockholm CAB were advised to give information of officials responsible for regional RDPs.

The text analysis are made merely on the regional RDPs of 2007-2013, since the present [2014-20] regional RDPs were under creation and therefore not published during the time this thesis were written.

## **Informants**

Here follows a short description of the informants of this case study. The informants are or have been officials administrators at the CAB in Gävleborg and in Stockholm. The informants have given pseudonymous names; the names can refers to both genders, so as to safeguard their anonymity.

### **Gävleborg**

All informants interviewed at the Country Administrative Board in Gävleborg worked at the division of Rural and Growth [RGD]. These informants are named Kim, Love and Robin in this thesis. Here follows a short presentation, which will be presented without internal order. One of them work with the current regional RDP, and has previously worked as an adviser, and also at the county administrative board. The other two have worked with both program periods, 2007-2013 and 2014-2020, but with different responsibilities and tasks. One of them had more responsibility of the preparation processes, while the other one assisted with expertise in specific issues, such as agriculture and infrastructure. Both have previously worked as advisors and officials, with other matters than the rural development program, such as animal husbandry, agriculture and project management.

## **Stockholm**

Three informants have been interviewed from the Rural Division [RD] at the CAB of Stockholm. The officials have different positions within the division, one of them is retired and have merely experience with the work of the preparations of the previous action plan [2007-13], while one other official has worked partly with both programs, in different fragments of the work. The third official has only worked during the present period [2014-20], and has earlier worked at the CAB, with environmental supports and as an advisor regarding environment matters. In no particular order, I have given the officials the following names: Mika, Mio and Nim.

## **Discourse analysis**

To explore and analyse the ideologies, norms and perspectives which forms societies, discourse analysis is used. Discourse analysis is useable within a diversity of research areas, for example political science, anthropology and literature studies. In the analysis I have used a discourse method to understand the empirical material of this study. Discourses can be described as a general set of ideas, norms and opinions that cluster together, which are formed within a certain field (Atkinson & Coffey, 2011:84). Discourses can also be defined, “as configurations of ideas which provides the threads from which ideologies are woven” (Shore & Wright, 1997:18).

I have studied elements of the regional RDPs, and the selections of these parts are based on how the officials at the CAB express and describe the counties, and thus how the authors express “the needed development”. This has resulted in a focus on the initial descriptions of the counties, the current assessment, SWOT analysis and measures. By asking same questions to these two regional RDPs, I have been able to examine similarities and differences between Gävleborg’s CAB and Stockholm’s CAB.

With inspiration from critical discourse analysis [CDA], I have examined perspectives taken by the authors in the regional RDPs. A CDA-questionnaire (cf.

Jäger & Maier, 2009:55) has been used to explore the perspectives of the counties given by the authors of the regional RDPs. The questions are designed to understand the text, including how the text is structured, the content and the rhetorical means, for example; how the argumentation of the text is constructed, who articulates a desired image/reality of rural areas, which ideologies govern the desired goals of the policy etc. The questions have been adapted to this thesis purpose and research questions (cf. Jäger & Maier, 2009:55; appendix 5).

I have scrutinized the language of the regional RDPs. The paragraphs, sentences and words have been broken down and thematised with help of a questionnaire (appendix 5); then they have been translated into English and analysed by using the concept of field, ideology and governmentality. The questionnaire include questions concerning power relations, for example how relations are expressed by positioning actors in relation to the regional RDPs and thereby also to the County Administrative Boards, and the State in the extension. Shore and Wright (1997:12) states that “policy and language /.../ provides a key to analysing the architecture of modern power relations”. Discourse analysis can contribute to examine, among other things, language which helps to understand perspectives and norms which are articulated by the language in policy documents (ibid.).

Critical discourse analysis [CDA] uses, as opposed to discourse analysis, a critical approach to the analysed object/subject. It is critical in the sense that the study highlights problems within a certain discourse. Problem which in this case concerns how strategies as policy document, the regional RDPs, are highly affected by being produced within the bureaucratic field, which exclude individuals from other field with the language. This is studied by including, inter alia, various power relations between different subject positions within specific field (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994).

Actors who work with the regional RDPs occupy different positions within the sub-bureaucratic field concerning rural development, and possess distinct resources that affect their involvement with the RDPs. These resources can be of different nature, such as cultural, social, political and symbolic capital etc. and are used by the involved actors to achieve their desired goals. As an example, the au-

thors of the regional RDPs have more power to shape what the policy should contain, the structure of the document, choice of words, and so on, than for example, a village association that intends to seek support from the program. The actors have different positions to act on in relation to the regional RDPs, which affects their approach to the policies. This affects what power different actors have to shape an image of reality, or rather, what problems exist, and thereby creating an image of reality. Critical discourse analysis is therefore an appropriate tool for this study.

Policies follows a certain rhetorical structure, a problem is presented, objectives and measures are outlined which has the task to present a solution to problems. Researchers who use CDA, study how a text is composed, the relations between words and sentences, which words and terms that are used, as well as the plot and the structure of the narrative as a whole.

## Translation

Another aspect which is important to bring into light is the language of the interviews, the regional RDPs and the thesis. The empirical material has gone through a translation process, where the main translation happened during the analysis. Since the interviews were conducted in Sweden, the interviews were held in Swedish and were written down into band protocols, lighter version of transcripts, also in Swedish, but the thesis is written in English. The same follows the analysis of the regional RDPs, which are written in Swedish and during the analysis translated into English. The procedure of systemising the interviews into themes and break down the policy text into fragments based on the questionnaire (appendix 5), have been made in consultation with the supervisor. The supervisor has been the language editor, which includes advice and corrections, because he is familiar with the thesis process and the topic.

The choice to write the thesis in English is partly because questions regarding regional development are often written in other languages than English. Usually because the purpose is to distribute the outcome of the study to policy makers or citizens, and the spreading effect is higher if it is in the researcher's native tongue. I hope that more people, outside Sweden, can take part of this study since it is

written in English, and thereby get an insight in regional policy making in two Swedish counties.



## 5 Background to the study

Every seven years the Rural Development Programs are rewritten, there are new programs with new strategies, goals and measures. This process takes action in all levels, from EU to regional, in the Swedish context the regional RDPs are products of the County Administrative Boards. In this section you will be given an introduction to the background of the policy process, which contains general and specific points from EU level to the County Administrative Board (CAB) level.

### European Union's policy process

The political influence of decision making has changed drastically, due to the Swedish membership of the European Union 1995. Decisions made at EU level have direct effects on Sweden's different political areas, like rural development. EU laws are compulsory guidelines for national laws, hence the vast impact and direct effects of EU policies on member countries (Tallberg, 2010:11, 13).

EU is a complex political system, which Tallberg (2010) argues is unique and is a combination between a traditional international organisation and a federal state. Like in traditional international organisations the member states of EU have a central role in negotiation, decision-making and implementation processes, but on the other hand EU has some characteristics of a federal state in the sense of division of powers of decision between a core at the EU level and an extended arm at the national level (Tallberg, 2010:12).

The main institutions of the EU are the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Parliament, and the European Court of Justice, as well as the courts. The Commission consists of 28 commissioners, one from each member country. The main role of the Commission is to prepare and suggest new laws, and the task also involves responsibility of law implementation and control of how the member countries follow the laws. The commissioners are representing the EU and should look for the union's best, not national interests. Regarding the Council of Ministers it's different, when the ministers from each country meet they should act beneficial to their countries' interests. The topic of the meetings decide which ministers are participating, for example when the issues concern agriculture, the ministers of agri-

culture from each country meet (EU, 2014a). The Parliament consists of 751 positions and is the only EU organ where the positions are decided through public elections. Together with the Council of Ministers the Parliament decides on legislation, in areas such as agriculture policy and environmental rules. In other questions the Parliament can only give recommendation to the Council of Ministers, for example in question about concurrent (EU, 2014b). The European Council gathering the prime ministers or heads of government four times per year to discuss and decide about the EU future. Their task is to decide guidance for the EU, and the overall goals, not the detail issues. For example the European Council discuss and prepare strategies for the foreign policy (EU, 2014c).

The backbone of EU policy making processes consists of a formal order which is based on EU treaties, this order regulates how the Member States and institutions, such as mentioned above, are related to each other. Treaties determine, among other things, which decision-making processes are possible in various political areas, which institutions that are responsible for specific areas and which areas there are a legal support in order to take decisions on (Tallberg, 2010:37p).

## The Common Agriculture Policy

The Common Agriculture Policy [CAP], is one of the most important politic areas in the EU. CAP was one of the first politic areas of the EU and was set up for creating a viable agricultural and a stable food sector, in the tracks of the Second World War and many years of food insecurity in Europe. The goals and the priorities of the CAP have shifted since the inception, the policy have changed from price support to a direct income support to farmers. It is still an averaging and subsidy systems used financed by member states to support farmers financially. Today the CAP holds about 45% of the EUs total budget (Tallberg, 2010:59p).

CAP is consisting not merely of agricultural policies, there is also a rural area regulation. This rural regulation generates every seven years, a rural development program, which each period have specific themes and directions (Sjv, 2014). The rural development program is financed by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development *EAFRD* (EU, 2012). The program's overall goals is to con-

tribute to a sustainable development, which consist of economic, social and environmental sustainability (Sjv, 2014). The program is divided into four different areas so called axis, one of each axis have an overall theme with a set of measures.

Axis one is based on improving the competitiveness of the agricultural and forestry sector. Axis two contains measures towards protection and enhancement natural resources and the preservation of agricultural and forestry with high natural values. The main focus of axis two is land management and environment issues. Axis three focus on the rural population, which involve quality of life and diversified rural economy. The axis consist of a range of measures which are set out to reach the overall goal of the program, promoting certain actions to be done, For example the measures will help to develop rural areas by promoting services, development of micro-enterprises and enhancement of cultural heritage to enhance the growth potential and job creation in all sectors. The fourth and last axis is called LEADER, and is an abbreviation of the French name *Liaison entre actions de développement de l'économie rurale*. LEADER is described as an organization form that allows an innovative governance through strategies for local activities in a bottom up approach of rural development (EU, 2006).

## Swedish policy process

“All public power emanates from the people and is conveyed step by step from voters to parliament, from parliament to the government and from the government to the authorities” (Tarschys, 2011:163).

The Swedish political system is based on a representative democratic system, where the parliament have the power to constitute laws, appoint the Prime Minister, and control the government, among other things. The government is accountable to parliament and must have the support of Parliament to carry out its politics. To assist in the work, the Government is supported by the Swedish Government Offices with a number of ministries, and state authorities and companies. The government carry out their politics through policies, which central authorities and executive authorities are set out to fulfil. The government and the parliament are elected every four year in Sweden (Regeringen, 2013a).

Sweden is a member of the EU since 1995 and are therefore obligated to follow the laws of EU. There are not one way direction of the participation, Sweden as all the other member states are a part of forming the EU structure and decisions. When the Commission have a new law proposal, both the Swedish government and parliament are actively involved in the decision process. The proposal is reviewed both by the Swedish Parliament and the Government with relevant ministries and expert groups to formulate national statements and position, which is later discussed and negotiate at the EU level (Tallberg, 2010:47).

The EU membership also entailed once again a power sharing as Gustavsson (2011) argues. Up to 1917, the power was shared between the King and the parliament, after this a government replaced the political power of the king. The EU membership consists of a vertical power, which as mentioned before, the EU laws stands above national ones, as restricts and distance power of the people even more (Gustavsson, 2011:138). The membership have not only made the people more distanced from decision power, a result of EU accession has the power shifted from parliament to the government as well. The government is the party that partakes in law negotiations in the EU, before the Parliament was the only one to make laws. The Parliament is not entirely omitted; they sit on committees and boards that are closely linked to the EU (Tarschys, 2011:165).

Perhaps the most interesting part is the administrative organization of the executive authorities. The part of the policy where decisions become a reality, in Sweden there exist a number of different authorities and agencies to ensure that decisions are accomplished. The executive level working not only to implement the decisions already taken, but also functions as a part of the political game, they influence the political agenda in many respects and is designing these as well. It is therefore interesting to study this part of the political system (Ahlbäck Öberg, 2011:173p)

The County Administrative Boards are a part of the executive authorities which is a government operation (Ahlbäck Öberg, 2011:173). There are 21 CABs in Sweden, each CAB have a County Governor, which is appointed by the government (Regeringen, 2013b). The CABs are responsible for areas such as: *food in-*

*spections, animal welfare and general veterinary issues, regional growth, infrastructure planning, sustainable community planning and housing, energy and climate, cultural environments, protection against disaster and emergency preparedness and civil defence, nature conservation and environmental and public health, agricultural and rural areas, fishing, equality and integration.*

The responsibility for these areas are divided into different divisions at each CAB, figure 1 presents the structure of the Gävleborg CAB, as an example (Gävleborg, 2014). Each division at the CAB have a head official, which is responsible for the work at the division and is a link between the officials and the head of the CAB. The *division for rural areas and growth* at Gävleborg CAB (Gävleborg, 2014) and the *division of rural areas* at Stockholm CAB (Stockholm, 2015) are the responsible divisions for the regional RDPs, therefore examine in this thesis.

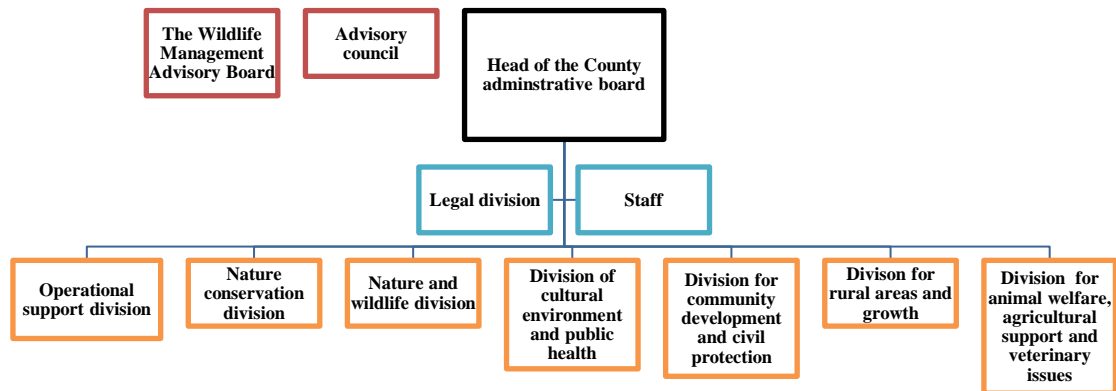


Figure 1. County Administrative Board Gävleborg -Organization 2014

## Rural development policy in Sweden

In Sweden, the former Ministry of Rural Affairs on behalf of the Swedish government had the main responsibility for preparation of the national RDP. The Swedish Board of Agriculture [SBA] has been the executive authority concerning the national and regional RDPs during the program period 2007-2013 and the present period of 2014-2020. The Country Administrative Boards [CAB] were assigned to conduct regional RDPs with support from the SBA, both for the last and

present periods [2007-13 & 2014-20]. In earlier programs period the SBA had handle all matters concerning the RDP, both nationally and regionally (Landsbygdsdepartementet, 2012:290pp).

The Rural Development Program [RDP] is adapted in each member country, to suit the national and regional conditions. The structure of the responsible ministry in Sweden has change during the present and previous period [2007-13 & 2014-20]. Today the division of Rural affairs at the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation is main responsible for the national RDP, even though the preparation of the national RDP is delegated to the SBA and the regional RDPs to the CABs. The SBA prepare a proposal of the national RDP which includes the Swedish adaptation of the EU RDP, which is send to the EU Commission for review (Regeringen, 2015a; Landsbygdsdepartementet, 2012).

The national priorities were during 2007-2013; entrepreneurship and the environment, but also environment and sustainable development, added value for local and organic food, new goods and services, education and diversity. These priorities were connected to the four axis, as mention in previous section as; i) improve agricultural and forestry sector, ii) improving the environment and landscape, iii) improve quality of life, broaden entrepreneurship and promoting the development of rural economy, iv) the Leader, method for rural development (Sjv, 2014).

The budget for this program were over 35 billion of Swedish crowns [SEK]; the cost was equally divided between Sweden and the EU. The budget were allocated into the four axis, with about 14 percent, ca 5 billion Swedish Crowns [SEK] to axis 1, 71 percent, ca 27 billion SEK, to axis 2, 8 percent, ca 2,9 billion SEK to axis 3 and about 7 percent, ca 2,5 billion SEK to axis 4 (Riksrevisionen, 2013:33).

While writing this thesis much have happened with the process of the present national and regional RDPs. In August 2014 the EU Commission gave feedback on the national RDP, which the SBA send in June 2014, with the result of 333 questions to develop additions and clarifications of the program. The SBA have reformulated and developed the questions the Commission asked for, and are now waiting for the approval of the new program, which is expected to June 2015 (Regeringen, 2015b). The estimated total budget for the current period is approxi-

mately 36.1 billion SEK for the whole programming period. Of these funds, SEK 14.8 billion from the EU budget, 20.6 billion from the state budget and the remaining funds from other public funding sources, mainly municipalities (Regeringen, 2015b).

Since the program for 2014-2020 was completed in the end of the work with this thesis, the document analysis of this thesis focus on the regional RDPs of last program period, 2007-2013. For the case study, which will be presented in the next chapter, the program period have less significant due to the more stable administrative structure viewed by the stories of the officials.

## 6 Case study – the process of constructing the regional Rural Development Programs

In this part of this thesis the interviewees' stories will be presented. The informants are, as presented earlier, officials who work or have worked at the County Administrative Board (CAB) in Gävleborg and Stockholm. This case study will give an insight into officials' work with the regional RDPs, their stories can be seen as an expression of the reality which they live and work within. Which also tells a story of a hierarchical power structure within the CABs, between the CABs and the Swedish Board of Agriculture and between the bureaucratic field [CAB and SBA] and the civil field [actors in the partnership group], in which various actors' positions and resources affect the ability to make decisions.

### Who writes and decides?

The regional RDPs are intended to govern specific areas, such as the environment, cultural landscape, and they are created by individuals which will have effect on other individuals. The main objective of the policy is to be achieved through the various activities, for the regional RDPs this is called measures, which is complemented by targets, priorities, budgets, etc. (cf. Landsbygdsdepartementet, 2012).

Governing documents such as the regional RDPs thus creates the basis of how society should be shaped and therefore shaping how we see and act in "reality". Policy underlines power, which is described in general terms as, one or several actors acting, guiding, deciding and/or governing other actors in a desired direc-



tion of interest. The power relationship between state and citizens is always uneven, due to domination of resources which the state have. The state can decide e.g., what is needed to be developed or not, or which areas should be prioritized, for example forestry or agriculture, conventional or organic agriculture, small or big farms and so on. The state thereby set the frames, through legal instruments, of which actions are possible and not (Thompson, 1990).

The regional RDPs have a connection to both the EU level and the national level. The composition of the regional RDPs are the result of a strict hierarchical order within the bureaucratic field, based on, among other things, EU treaties and national laws on e.g. the executive agencies' working structure, such as that the RDP in Sweden are prepared by the CABs. The aforementioned hierarchies are based on different access to distinct forms of capital, such as economic, social, legal and political capital, within this field (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994).

Even if there is a formal procedure of how the preparations of the RDP should be made, the procedure is dependent on and affected by staff within the field. Individuals interact in different ways, partly depending on their position and area of responsibility within the field. The positions the officials' at the CABs holds determine their access to capitals mentioned above (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

Officials working at the CABs with the regional RDPs were supposed to prepare the regional RDPs [2007-13 & 2014-20] with fixed methods. At the Gävleborg CAB the division for Rural and Growth [RGD] has the responsibility for the preparation of the regional RDP. The staff at Gävleborg County considers that the head of division had the ultimate responsibility for the work and for changes during the program period 2007-2013. At the Stockholm CAB it was an administrative official at the Rural Division [RD], who was responsible for the working process [2007-13].

Even though the titles of the positions of those in charge for the RDPs differ, as well as the access to power resources, the interviews show that the preparations task for the RDPs were similar between the two CABs. These tasks consisted of creating an administrative order to ensure that officials meet deadlines, arrange

meetings with external actors, which includes the partnership group<sup>1</sup>, considerations regarding what should be included and not, the layout of the document, to check that the text corresponds with CABs line in the issues concerning the regional RDPs and national RDP, meet deadlines from the Swedish Board of Agriculture, attend meetings and so on.

The CABs have specific hierarchies (see figure 1, Ch. 5), defining the positions, which underlies access to different resources, e.g. decision rights. The resource to make decisions, such as access to power based on hierarchical position within the CAB, differed between the two responsible officials' positions during the previous program period [2007-13]. The head of the division at Gävleborg CAB, had shorter and a superior access to decision-making, compared with the responsible official at the Stockholm CAB. For the official at the RD at the Stockholm CAB, the decision process was more extended, because this official had to get major decisions and changes approved by the head of the division. When the final drafts of the regional RDPs were finished, there was a formal decision process, headed by the County Governor, the Deputy County Governor or County Director [2007-13 and 2014-20].

The bureaucratic field which individuals at the CABs act within are characterized by "systematically asymmetric power relations", implying that the CABs are built on a hierarchy of a number of positions, such as the head of the division, giving distinct positions greater formal and informal rights to make decisions than other (cf. Thompson, 1990). One of the officials working with the preparation describes the hierarchy of relations within the RD at Stockholm CAB as follows: "my boss had opinions all the time /.../ it's always the top who decides, the heads decide".

In the interviews the staff [Gävleborg and Stockholm] argue that the work of the current program period [2014-20] requires similar tasks as the previous program period, but the framework of the work is stricter at present. Stricter means

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<sup>1</sup> The partnership group consist of organisations, authorities and associations which have the main task to give external input to the work with the regional RDP. Further explanation in section "External feedback and input".

that Swedish Board of Agriculture [SBA] directives are stricter than previously; the purpose is to create more standardised regional RDPs.

At the Gävleborg CAB, a project manager is managing the preparations of the present program [2014-20] instead of the head of the division. At the CAB of Stockholm, a project manager has also been appointed to the task, during the present period [2014-20]. The project manager works as an administrative head of the preparation process, and the main task is to make sure that every part of the regional RDP is prepared and adhere to SBA's deadlines. If the field of the CABs is taken into consideration, positions implies different possibilities to act and interact, and the organization of the work for the new program period [2014-20], will not change the fact that some positions, such as the head of the division and the County Governor will have greater influence than the project manager (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

Different sections of the regional RDPs are distributed to officials, who shares the right competence for the area addressed. This structure of the work is similar to the structure of the previous RDPs [2007-13]. Persons involved in contributing to the writing process are mainly officials working at the rural development division, such as the head of the division, officials and coordinators. The interviews [Gävleborg] show that officials that participate in preparation of the regional RDP have experience in specific areas, such as broad band, livestock, culture- and nature conservation, tourism and farmers support, but also more general areas such as consulting and coordination. At Stockholm CAB, the informants, Mika, Mio and Nim, also highlight the importance of both specific and broad general knowledge. They believe that it is important that people with "a feeling" for the county, which have long been working with areas which comprises the action plan, participate in the process. Issues covered include agricultural entrepreneurship and rural employment, land issues, as well as overall knowledge of rural development in Stockholm County.

Officials working and contributing to the preparation of the regional RDP are to some extent independent in their work. The officials are, among other things, required to write fragments of the program, and then organize their own reference

groups. The reference group has the purpose to give input on issues and should include both internal and external members, in order to get a broad perspective. Robin from Gävleborg CAB, explains that “a formal group may not always exist”, questions are asked when needed and there are not regular meeting appointments. Furthermore, Robin clarifies that there is a small “core group” [at RGD] which is a short internal link to input, but when it is necessary meetings are arranged with other divisions at the CAB. Officials are also coordinating external groups, where municipalities, for example are represented. When the officials have terminated their tasks, the text is sent to the project manager.

In the interviews [Gävleborg and Stockholm] the informants are unanimous about the necessity to include other divisions at the CAB to gain more specific knowledge, such as issues outside the competence area of the RGD and RD [Gävleborg and Stockholm]. When the responsible officials receive drafts from other divisions or externally on topics outside their competence areas, they need to consider the formulations and content before adding the text into the RDP. Nim, explains this process as follows, “when one sits and writes, you cannot all supports in detail, so you have to put in what you get, if you think it seems reasonable”.

Input and feedback within the CAB contributes to “an internal quality assurance” as Mio explains. The procedure of including specific knowledge from other divisions is done mainly by remitting questions, as the informants explain. The issues are sent out within the CABs internal net, including a deadline date for response, the remitting questions are usually sent to specific divisions, for example questions regarding environmental conservation are addressed to the Division of Environment. Society in general terms and CABs in specific, shows that specific knowledge, so called expertise, are highly essential on to make decisions, to form e.g. policy.

One official from Stockholm CAB explained the process of including competence from other divisions: “I got [texts] from colleagues who are experts on environmental support, details which I am not familiar with /.../ there are many topics that I stuffed into [the RDP] / ... / it's a bit like being a secretary in some way”. An

official from Gävleborg stated: “I received assistance from the right and left, with this particular, demographic situation [section of the regional RDP]”.

Officials [Gävleborg and Stockholm] explain that the project manager receive document from officials at the RGD/RD, which have written chapters or sub-chapters and answers from issues remitted to other division. It is the task of the project managers to collect information needed and put it together so that it becomes coherent. In the program period of 2014-2020 the project managers were assisted by reference groups, which consist of officials with different competences that are included by the regional RDPs. The regular meetings with the reference group had the function of a discussion forum and as a platform for giving the project manager expert advice in the process of harmonizing the document. In this group the chapters, sub-chapters and the remitted answers were discussed, wherever it should be included, excluded or reformulated, to fit the goals of the regional RDPs, both on regional level and national level [Gävleborg and Stockholm].

According to the officials [Gävleborg & Stockholm] “test runs” are made before the regional RDPs are sent to the County Governor, the Deputy County Governor or County Director for approval. Test runs are done to ensure the quality of the regional RDPs. The officials consider questions such as; is the regional RDP leading to the desired goals? Is the formulation of the measures written in the way the CAB suggest? Robin from Gävleborg consider given the writing process that;

“/.../ we dwell a back and forth with each other, can we write like this? Do we really mean right now? When we think and write something, and someone else reads it /.../ do they think something else than we do?”

Mio as well as Love believe that the purpose of the test runs are to understand the impact of the regional RDP [Stockholm], to examine if the desired impacts, which the CAB wants is in line with the goals of the national and regional RDP. If not, reformulations are done. The strategy of a policy is to govern, and by using different techniques, such as test runs, the policy can be ensured to govern in desired direction by the goals appointed (cf. Rose & Miller, 1992).

The officials' stories articulate their perspectives, and how they "make sense" of the regional RDPs. The working processes which the informants display express norms, ideologies, culture etc. within their bureaucratic field. When the officials explained what are needed or are of importance for creating the regional RDPs, for example, the necessity of including other divisions at the CABs, they explain their interpretation of the work with regional RDPs at the same time. This is an on-going process of constituting meaning of the work, which are processes present in everyday life (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

## External feedback and input

The project manager is appointed as the link between the SBA and CABs, regarding keeping deadlines and submitting drafts to the SBA. The partnership groups consist of regional external actors, which the project managers are the main responsible for. The external feedback and input from the SBA and the partnerships, as well as their relations, will be presented in this section.

## Partnership

The partnership groups are mentioned in the interviews [Gävleborg and Stockholm] as external groups, which contribute with feedback and input into the preparation process of the regional RDPs. It consists of a number of external representatives from various organizations and associations. These actors were invited and selected by the responsible officials at the CABs<sup>2</sup>, initially to create working groups. The informants point out that actors, who have a local connection and who are associated with an issue concerning the regional RDPs in the counties, should be represented in the partnership groups [Gävleborg and Stockholm]. For example the partnership groups can include LRF<sup>3</sup>, Hushållningssällskapet, SIKO<sup>4</sup>, The transition movement<sup>5</sup>, the County Council, The Region, etc.

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<sup>2</sup> During the previous period [2007-13] the head of the RGD [Gävleborg] and an official at the RD [Stockholm] were responsible for the creation and contact with the partnership group. During the present period [2014-20] the project managers [RGD & RD] were handling the invitation and the contact with the partnership group.

<sup>3</sup> The Federation of Swedish Farmers

The partnership groups are a demand made by the Swedish Board of Agriculture (SBA). Love, who works at the Stockholm CAB, believes the formation of the partnership group“/.../ is nothing we have come up with ourselves, it is something that all county boards must do.”

The position of the partnership groups as one unit is given access to resources by the CAB, even though the access is limited. The project managers sets the frames of the access, which make the access limited, for example by choosing which participants to invite to the partnership groups and make the decision of the agenda of the meetings (cf. Thompson, 1990).

The informants of Gävleborg CAB and Stockholm CAB believe that one of the purposes of the partnership groups is to give feedback on the work with the regional RDPs. One other purpose of the partnership groups is to establish support of the regional RDPs in the counties. Love believes that: “its main task is to spread the rural development program, so that we will reach out [in the county to different actors] /.../”.

There is an idea of the officials that the process of establish support of the regional RDPs gives more acceptance among the actors in the rural areas, if the regional RDPs are promoted by the actors of the partnerships themselves. For this to happen the actors of the partnerships need to feel included in the preparation process.

The use of words like partnership is a well-used technique by governments for creating an impression of a democratic basis in e.g. decisions. This approach serves as creating democratic legitimacy of the state, because it gives the impression that is not only the bureaucratic field, the state, which makes decisions, rather that there is a mutuality in the decision-making process, where the civil society constitutes an actor. What is not covered by the term partnership, concerning the regional RDPs, is that the relation of power over decision is highly unequal between the CABs and the external actors in the partnerships, which will be demon-

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<sup>4</sup> Archipelago Interest of associations Contact Organization

<sup>5</sup> Omställningsrörelsen; Transition Network

strated in following paragraphs (cf. Rose, et al, 2009; Dahl, 2007; Habermas, 1987; Habermas, et al, 1974).

The officials [Gävleborg & Stockholm] explain that the CABs and the partnership group meet about one to two times a year. Most of the time CABs only provide information about the working process, which the partnership groups can give feedback on, but the meetings can also be more interactive, for example including so called brainstorm meetings, where the partnership groups are given more space to come up with ideas and suggestions to the regional RDPs. Kim from Gävleborg believes that the partnership is a help for the CAB, to give support to proposals, “because if we want to change something, I brought it up with the partnership and if there was no resistance, we decided to make the change”.

The positions of the project managers are superior to the partnership groups in relation to power over decision-making. The project managers considers the suggestions and inputs from the partnership groups, which also limit the partnership groups’ access to make decisions, due to the project manager’s aims. However, the aims of the project managers are also limited; in the meaning of acceptance within the bureaucratic field, both by the opinions of the superior decision makers at the CABs and by the Swedish Board of Agriculture [SBA] (cf. Rose, et al, 2009; Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

The superior position and frames of the bureaucratic field affect the considerations made by the responsible officials at the CABs. One example of a consideration is about where the geographic boundaries of the local market run. Mio from the Stockholm’s CAB argues that, “LRF [The federation of Swedish farmers] think that the entire nation of Sweden is local, we know that they [LRF] have views like that /.../ and we adjust perhaps in some places, but we have to base ourselves on our current situation assessment”. According to Mio the CAB needs to relate to the geographical county border regarding the action plan.

The receiver [in this case LRF] and the producer [CAB] think about and value “the geographical boundary” of the county in the regional RDP differently. Since this valuation of the “boundary” take place within a field, where the actors have a power relations characterized by a systematically asymmetry, the valorisation of



the CABs have greater impact. Since officials have access to power resources over this decision, the actors representing LRF have a disadvantageous position, concerning the decision for what should be included and not in the regional RDP (cf. Thompson, 1990).

The officials [Stockholm] highlight that the feedback, which is offered by the partnership group, can be hard to manage considering the different skills, levels and timing. One official explained, “It is important to let the partnership group produce feedback and ideas in the right time and for specific issues. Sometimes the regional RDP is too technical and too complicated for the partnership representatives to give any feedback on /.../”. Another official [Stockholm], explains that some part in the plan are more easily understood, for example, the overall parts which includes description of the partnerships’ work and communication. However, the more difficult parts such as selection of criteria of the support, scoring and weighting the applications are harder to understand. The same official summarize, “It can be hard for external persons to really get acquainted with the regional RDP /.../”.

The formulation done by the officials above demonstrates their roles as an expert. The officials’ positions give the right to decide when it is “a good time” for feedback and what “good” feedback is. Words and expression which are made by experts, the officials at the CAB, sometimes have a function of excluding, because these expressions are difficult to understand for people “outside” the field, constituted by the CAB, SBA and EU. The words and expressions become in this case dependent on knowledge, ideologies, culture etc. within the field where they were created. The purpose of communication of the regional RDPs seems in this case to give a higher importance to communication within the field, rather than outside (cf. Bourdieu, et al 1994; Rose & Miller, 1992; Thompson, 1990).

The partnership groups have some access to the field where the regional RDPs are prepared, explained by the officials [Gävleborg and Stockholm] above. However, the knowledge and/or working method which officials [experts] communicate in the regional RDPs can be described as “esoteric knowledge”. Knowledge which requires an understanding which is only accessible if you find yourself

within the field, e.g. as the officials working every day with the regional RDPs do. The content of the quotes above, outlines that parts of the regional RDPs are examples of “esoteric knowledge”, where the regional RDPs are incomprehensible to people outside the bureaucratic field, because “is too technical” (cf. Rose & Miller, 1992). This aspect raises the question for whom the policy is written for.

### Swedish Board of Agriculture

The Swedish Board of Agriculture is both giving assignments and feedback to the CABs, which is displayed by the officials at the CABs. This feedback regards everything concerning the regional RDPs, from formulations, to structure to specific matters. The feedback from the SBA has stronger impact on the preparation process than for example the partnership groups, since the SBA has the right to approve the regional RDPs or not. This outlines the different positions of the SBA, CAB and the partnership groups consider rights to make decisions (cf. Thompson, 1990). The work that is going on at the moment to construct the regional RDPs for 2014-20 is a constant “juggling” back and forth between the SBA and the CABs, because conditions change constantly and delays the process.

Love explains the feedback given by the SBA as detailed and consisting of, among other things, documents and examples from other CABs’ regional RDPs. The examples from other CABs regional RDPs are sent out by the SBA to show good examples of formulations which Love considers, “it’s good when you get examples from others on how they have thought, because it’s that [the formulations] which is really hard /.../ text that must be precise.”

The interviews displays that the SBA is responsible to ensure that the regional RDPs complies with the EU regulations, which makes the CABs very careful to receive the necessary feedback. There are occasions when CAB decides to emphasize a policy, even though SBA disagrees. If this is the case the CABs have to make their argument very clear and be more specific on how this policy contributes to the goals of the national and the EU RDP. The CABs thereby challenge the systematic asymmetry that exists between the parties and by doing so the CABs can be given more power in the decision-making process

over the regional RDPs, if accepted by the SBA (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

The bureaucratic hierarchy which the process of the regional RDPs underlies has a great effect on action and interactions between the SBA and the CABs. Nim argues that control of the policy are strict; the SBA is very meticulous and goes into detail level to evaluate; in individual cases, for example, the informant believes that, “they [SBA] want to have the back free towards EU /.../ so in these audits, they will always find something”. The regional RDPs are not merely power documents which are sent out to govern the civil society, the policy underlies power relations within the field of bureaucratic as well (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

## Summary

Who writes and makes the final decisions concerning the content of the regional RDP? In conclusion, I have in this chapter described the internal govern-process at the CAB level in connection to the preparatory process of the regional RDPs. The structure of the work is largely determined by the superior treaties and laws forming an interpretive frame. However, the CAB has some flexibility to decide the distribution of work, hence there are differences between the two counties in the study. The field is characterized by a bureaucratic hierarchy which surrounds the CAB, including individuals at various levels, both internally and externally. These individuals possess different positions. These positions have more or less access to resources, such as access to decision-making. There is a so-called systematic asymmetric power relationship both within the field (between the EU, the Swedish Government, CABs and the partnership), but also between the bureaucratic field (CAB etc.) and civil field (citizens).

External feedback and input given to the work of the regional RDPs includes the partnerships and the SBA. The partnerships and the SBA have widely different opportunity to influence, as determined by the bureaucratic hierarchy. The partnerships, the SBA and the responsible officials of County Administrative Board have different positions in relation to each other. The SBA has the greatest opportunity

to control the work of the regional RDPs, partly because the SBA gives the mandate to the county administrative boards, and partly because they check and approve the regional RDPs. The partnerships, on the other hand, can only give their opinions in specific issues determined by the CABs. Policymakers use different techniques to achieve desired goals; the partnership is one such technology. The use of the word partnership expresses a democratic basis and equal participation between the parties, which is not shown by the interviews in this case study. One of the key terms describing the different positions and resources of the actors in this section is “esoteric knowledge”. Esoteric knowledge indicates that methods and language used in the regional RDPs are difficult to understand or even incomprehensible to individuals outside of the bureaucratic field. This highlights a normative ground which implies the importance of experts in our society.

## 7 Regional Rural Development Program

The aim of this chapter is to examine the two regional RDPs from a critical approach, and thereby demonstrate how the authors of the policy argue for certain perspectives regarding the counties realities. By exploring similarities and disparities of Gävleborg's and Stockholm's regional RDPs, the analysis show how power is used through language by the officials to communicate views of reality of the counties.

Firstly a more general analysis of the genre and style is made of the regional RDPs. Secondly a more specific analysis of the argumentation of each CAB's regional RDPs will be presented. Since this is an analysis of the text of the regional RDPs, I recommend to have the regional RDPs nearby, or at least go through the table of content (appendix 1 & 2), to get an understanding of the structure of the two programs.

### Genre and style

Policy documents are made up by words and sentences which together create a set of meanings, perspectives and norms. Policies are often seen as something neutral, even though they are a product of politics. Why is it like this? Shore and Wright (1997:8pp) argue that policy documents become neutral in the light/disguise of being "mere instruments for promoting efficiency and effectiveness", although "policies are the most obviously political phenomena". Policy documents have a structure and form that makes them appear in a non-political way. Using the notion of a language of a "neutral" science with experts behind is often an approach used (cf. Shore & Wright, 1997; Rose & Miller, 1992). The

political content becomes disguised and it gets harder for citizens to understand how the political decisions affect society and everyday life. Thus it is of big importance to explore and analyse language and argumentation which is used in policy documents.

The power of policy is partly exercised through language, genre or styles of expression. This is one aspect of the function of language as Apthorpe (1997:44) reasons. Furthermore Apthorpe (ibid.) writes that a “style” is a “gaze according to which a focus is selected and pursued.” Policy documents emphasize the technique to persuade rather than describe, therefore it is useful to examine the styles of texts.

The regional RDPs [Gävleborg and Stockholm] have a formal and bureaucratic character, which can be defined by what Atkinson and Coffey (2011:83) discuss as “the use of the passive voice and similar constructions removes personal agency in favour of impersonal institutional realities /.../”. In the regional RDP of Stockholm “impersonal institutions” (ibid.) such as the *County Administrative Board*, are referred to instead of using personal pronouns such as *we*. In the regional RDP, *County Administrative Board* is mentioned 91 times<sup>6</sup> and *we* is mentioned one time in the text, “The *County Administrative Board* will report which measures *we* have implemented in 2011” (Stockholm, 2012:57). As an example of a “passive voice”; the text does not tell who is doing the action described; “a simple analysis *has been done* in order to highlight the rural conditions in Stockholm County /.../” (Stockholm, 2012:12).

As for the regional RDP of Gävleborg, the *County Administrative Board* occurs 28 times and *we* is mentioned 12 times, here it is not of interest to compare the amount of times the document writes *County Administrative Board* and *we* between the two CABs, because the documents differ in scope, i.e. the number of pages, and also because statistics is not used as a method to answer the research question of this thesis. However, it is rather interesting to see the difference in terms of relation between use of *County Administrative Board* and *we*.

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<sup>6</sup> Excluding the *County Administrative Board* where it is not mentioned in a sentence/text, such as; titles, front page, table of content, etc.

As outlined above, texts and documents made by the officials can also, unlike what Atkinson and Coffey (2011) describe, use a personal style even though the documents are part of official texts within a bureaucratic field. A study by Forsström (2013) presents how policy documents can contain a combination of different styles of expressions, such as a personal style where the author is using personal pronouns to create a personal bond and including the reader in what seems to be a dialogue or a conversation. The example in Forsström's study is from a goal-document called "Sweden – the new culinary nation"<sup>7</sup>, concerning development of the Swedish food sector, where the government creates a sense of personal impression by using the pronouns *me* and *you* to make the reader ".../ feel included in the conversation" (Forsström, 2014:17).

In the regional RDP (Gävleborg, 2011:3pp) the personal pronoun *we* is used. *We* are used in different terms (Gävleborg, 2011), on one hand the pronoun *we* is used in for example the vision, "*we* want an open countryside where men and women live and work for a sustainable future." Another example is when the CAB refers to the work with the regional RDP, "to find out what should be prioritized in our county, *we* have conducted a SWOT analysis" (Gävleborg, 2011:6). The personal pronouns *we* is also used in the description of the county, "this means *we* have about 80 -100 lynx [in the county]." (Gävleborg, 2011:5).

To reconnect to Forsström's (2014) study, the intention of the use of a formal and a personal style of the language in policy statements is to create legitimacy. The formal style gives a serious impression, a bureaucratic language using for example words like: *the government*, *research* and *innovation*. The personal style, using *we*, *you* and *I* is creating a more colloquial language; the reason is probably that the representatives from the public sector try to search for acceptance among the citizens.

One of the examples by Apthorpe (1997:44p) explains how an everyday phrase like "see you", contains a style which aims at persuading the receiver. The example is based on an everyday life situation, where a TV- program announcer, in the end of the program says "see you at this same time next week". Apthorpe argues

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<sup>7</sup> Own translation.

that when the sentences “see you /.../” is reformed by the receiver into “see me next week”, the message is “completely contrary to the information given”, because the TV-announcer cannot “see” the one watching the program. This sentence become undecided and vague, which amounts to a persuasive style. A persuasive style is used in both political and everyday life context.

The use of personal approach in policy documents, such as use of *we*, *you* and *I* can be a strategy of the author to persuade the reader in desired direction (Apthopre, 1997:ch.3).

Considering Atkinson and Coffeys (2011:83) ideas of bureaucratic language as a passive one, the regional RDP (Gävleborg,2011) shows the opposite, the authors actively have done something, “we have conducted /.../”. On the other hand, the use of *we* in the regional RDP of Gävleborg, is vague in the sense as Apthopre (1997) displays with the example of the TV-announcer. The vagueness of the formulations consists of the omission of the explanation of who *we* are. *We* can be the staff at the Division of Rural and Growth or the whole staff at the CAB, “/.../we have conducted a SWOT analysis”. *We* is also used in the way which could mean the county in general “/.../ we have about 80 -100 lynx”.

## Perspectives

Atkinson and Coffey (2011:84) argues that when we ask for and inquiry the function of texts, what the text is doing? One can go further than the style of the language. The language works as a way of which problems and realities are created and realised, not only defined. Furthermore Atkinson and Coffey (2011) argue that, document are not only describing, they are also justifying and explaining. Documents, such as political ones, but also scientific ones, are claiming and performing, constructing a reality, therefore they are “inescapably rhetorical” (ibid).

In the regional RDPs, Gävleborg and Stockholm, the structures are built up on an argumentation. The document starts with a description of county and a SWOT-analysis, these which have affected the selection of focus areas during the preparation process. The focus areas together with the measures forms the direction of which actions of rural development should be addressed, explained by the officials



(Interviews, Gävleborg and Stockholm). Figure 2 show a general overview of the argumentation. In following section argumentations will be examine due to understand which similarities and disparities are expressed by the CABs in the regional RDPs concerning their images of “realities”.



*Figure 2. The argumentation logic of the regional RDP*

The analysis begins with Gävleborg’s regional RDP 2007-2013, which have the subheading “A new face of forestry”, followed by the analysis of the regional RDP 2007-2013 of Stockholm, which have the subheading “Close to the market”.

### **A new face of forestry**

In interviews with officials (Gävleborg), an image of Gävleborg as a forest county was presented. The informants, Kim, Robin and Love [Gävleborg] argue that the forest provides much, such as work and livelihood for many inhabitants, but the informants also stress the importance of entrepreneurship. I will follow up how the forest and forestry sector is articulated in the policy. The regional RDP is called “Open County”, which is defined in the document as open agricultural landscape, but also “open” in the sense of open to entrepreneurship, visitors, innovation, integration, etc. (Gävleborg, 2011:31).

The regional RDP consists of 33 pages, and at the very beginning a vision is presented; “we want an open countryside where men and women live and work for a sustainable future” (Gävleborg, 2011:3). The introductory description of the county, SWOT-analysis, focus areas and measures will be further examined with focus on the articulation of the forest. The structure which will be following here is similar to the one show in the figure 2.

### Introductory description of the county - Gävleborg

The county is described through themes, in a current assessment, which are, including: *employment and labour market, education, agriculture, forestry, nature and culture, and other business and new businesses*. The author articulates that the conditions of the county rest on being a forestry county. The authors are not merely describing the county as a forest county, as Atkinson and Coffey (2011) argues, policy like the regional RDPs, justify and explain the reality to the object governed, in this case the counties.

The following quotes show how the authors argue for Gävleborg as a “forest county”; “Gävleborg is Sweden’s most distinctive forest county with 81% woodland” (Gävleborg, 2011:4) and “the county is one of the four county with the highest number of employees in this profession [forestry]” (Gävleborg, 2011:3pp). In the subheading “forestry” in the current assessment, a positive tone of the sector is displayed, for example; “provides many jobs”, “the brand name “Hälsinge Furan”<sup>8</sup> is unique and of good quality and is it a sector with growth potential”.

Further on the authors present a demand and desire for increased growth, “/.../high competence in wood and industry/.../ should mean good prospects for growth and development” growth has the potential to raise “/.../the improvement of forest management and care” (Gävleborg, 2011:4p). The political story of the regional RDP is therefore justifying and setting the frames of which action can be taken, what is of importance and not in Gävleborg County (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

Texts, such as the regional RDPs, are composed by individuals within the bureaucratic field that share certain norms, rules, culture etc. which pervades the policy, as I argued for in chapter six. The time and place when the Gävleborg regional RDP was written, forestry seems to be articulated by the author as one of the important key points of the region. The following section, the SWOT-analysis, is not merely given a positive image of the forestry sector, as the initial description of the county to a large extent does.

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<sup>8</sup> Pine wood produced in the region.

## SWOT-analysis – Gävleborg

SWOT analysis was originally a planning tool for businesses, but the method has spread to different sectors. The name SWOT is an acronym for strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. The approach is to examine the internal strengths, weaknesses and the external opportunities and threats that may affect, for example, the company, the project, or as in this case the county. Knowing what strengths, weaknesses, etc. there are, the idea is that the entrepreneur, project manager or the official should plan the work so that the strengths and opportunities are utilized and the weaknesses and threats are removed. Questions which are considered in the analysis are for example; how should I/we deal with the weaknesses? How can I/we use the strengths? How can I/we prevent external threats? And how can I/we take advantage of the opportunities available? (cf. NE.se, 2015; Tonnquist, 2012).

The description of the county in the regional RDP serves as the basis for development of the various factors which should be sorted into the four piles of the SWOT-analysis (Interviews, Gävleborg). The link to the forestry sector in the SWOT-analysis (appendix 3) is, *strengths*, “renewable raw materials from agriculture and forestry” and “/.../ large proportion of production forests”, *opportunities* presented with connection to forestry; “space for new entrepreneurship in the processing of wood /.../”. The forest or the forestry are not mentioned as a *weakness* or as a *threat*, however, there is a connection, in the section “focus areas” [next paragraph].

The author outlines in the “focus areas” for example, how the “secure jobs” in the forest sector have consequences, such as “weak entrepreneurial spirit”, which is considered as a weakness in the SWOT-analysis. A threat which is connected to the forestry is, “too few companies start”, which the author also articulates as a result of “the secure jobs” in the forest (Gävleborg, 2011:6pp).

SWOT analysis is not just a method or tool for planning, it is also a technique for governing. By using SWOT analysis, the CABs takes part of a framework which is embedded in the method. As I mentioned initially, SWOT-analysis origi-

nated from a business perspective, which means that the frames of the method originally convey a business perspective. When using the SWOT-analysis to argue for which issues the regional RDP should “take action on”, this is done with the basis of business norms, rules and culture (cf. Rose & Miller, 1992).

This reflects, or rather describes and justifies the vision and the image of society as a business, “the company Sweden”, which demonstrates liberal rationalities. This is shown in the regional RDP by firstly displaying the desired direction of action done by the author; economic efficiency and growth and development. Secondly, how the author articulates relations of whom the policy should be address to, which in this case are the actors in the civil society operating within the rural areas. Finally the regional RDP are morally coloured; using expression and technique such as the SWOT-analysis which forms liberal rationalities of how the issues should be addressed (cf. Rose, et al, 2009; Rose & Miller, 1992).

#### **Focus areas - Gävleborg**

There are seven focus areas in the regional RDP [Gävleborg, 2011, appendix 1), which are prioritized during the program period [2007-13], and these are according to the author, “based on opportunities which exists to develop the county, but as well as to strengthen the areas considered as weak or may threaten the progress towards a sustainable rural areas” (Gävleborg, 2011:7). The document also articulates that “the conditions to be granted (support) increases the larger the related activities have to focus areas” (ibid.). This shows the “systematically asymmetrical” power relationship that exists between the applicant and the authority, if you do as we say, you will get support (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

The focus areas describes which priorities are made, for example, focus area *Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, the authors argues that the historical background with secure jobs in the forest and at the mills, consequently “reduced the incentive for start-ups” in the county. The CAB writes that the entrepreneurship is important for “rural business development” due to the development of the rural areas. To succeed, it “requires new businesses and a continued development of

existing businesses that want to grow.” Regarding entrepreneurship and innovation the author also argues, “businesses in rural areas need to increase their competitiveness” (Gävleborg, 2011:8).

A few words that are written frequently in both Gävleborg’s and Stockholm’s regional RDPs are among other things; innovation, entrepreneurship, growth and competence development. These words are buzzwords, as they are repeated throughout the policy and set the direction of the policy. If the regional RDP was to be compare with a tale, the words innovation, entrepreneurship, growth and competence development, would be the pieces which together form the “red thread or leitmotif” of the tale. The “red thread” holds the key message of the tale, whatever it is a drama, a comedy or a tragedy. Tales are said to be an interpretation of the current morale, they are not only describing the reality, but they are also narrated to maintain the morale (cf. Cullhed, et al, 2015; Johansson, 2012)

The regional RDPs have some similarities with tales, i.e. it describes ideas of how reality should look like, and in this case for example that entrepreneurship is desirable. Innovation, entrepreneurship, growth and competence development, are words which have an underlying perspective that forms how people see and act in reality. Perspective and norms form a so called discourse. When the authors articulate that secure jobs in the forest are not only positive, but actually a problem, because it is not conducive to entrepreneurship, there is an underlying tone of a discursive shift.

A shift which goes in line with neo-liberal discourse, where in general terms the individual [the entrepreneur], business [cost and benefit] and the market [supply and demand] is of importance. The “secure jobs” in the forest is argued in the regional RDP to counteract “the entrepreneurial” development and is not seemed to be desirable in the same manner any more. The forestry sector is argued to involve competence development to gain more entrepreneurship, which in the long run contributes to economic growth (cf. Atkinson & Coffey, 2011; Rose, et al, 2009; Dahl, 2007).

The officials at the CAB have not randomly chosen to include words like innovation, entrepreneurship, growth and competence development; these words are

also mentioned in the goals and priorities of the national RDP (cf. Landsbygdsdepartementet, 2012). The discursive shift can therefore be argued to be triggered by the bureaucratic field, to be accepted and given budget for the regional RDPs by the SBA, the CAB needs to write in a way which include the neo-liberal discursive practice (cf. Rose, et al, 2009; Shore & Wright, 1997).

### Measure - Gävleborg

The logic of the policy is built on, as shown by the structure of the figure 2; descriptions, analysis, priority areas and measures, which together will fulfil the objectives of the policy. Every measure includes a description of, for example; the goal, priority, linked to the focus area, support details etc.

One of the measures of the regional RDP of Gävleborg is; “Competence development for improving and strengthening the competitiveness of enterprises”. Each measure in the regional RDP has a goal, which in this case is; “Increased knowledge and competence among enterprises in areas concerning quality of production, the application of new knowledge and technology, sustainable exploitation of resources and development of viable enterprise related to forest”. This measure is connected to five focus areas, the focus area *Entrepreneurship and innovation*, given as an example in the section above, is one of them (Gävleborg, 2011:22).

The measures are part of the regional RDPs, which describes how support should be allocated, and thus what should be “corrected”. One of the problems that is described in Gävleborg’s regional RDP is the need to “correct” the lack of entrepreneurship in the county; it has been described as a weakness that prevents the growth potential of the rural areas. The technique of policy underlines that there are “gaps” [no entrepreneurship] which are in need to be filled [increase entrepreneurship] to meet the objectives. What is rarely reflected on is that these “gaps” are not voids, but already a reality filled with practices. The regional RDP for example describes one of the realities of the county, the “secure jobs in the forest”, but by arguing for the importance of entrepreneurship, this reality is ignored or set

aside; in this way power is operated by state in the “western modern society” today (Apthopre 1997:55).

### Close to the market

The officials at the Stockholm CAB outlines a key characteristics of the county as “closeness to Sweden’s biggest market”, another characteristics which was highlighted was the archipelago, and the difficulty to create a functional infrastructure on it (Interview, Stockholm). The expression “closeness to the biggest market” will be highlighted in the analysis of how the CAB of Stockholm formulates the description, priorities and measures in the regional RDP.

So far, the two CABs, Gävleborg and Stockholm, differ in their descriptions of the counties. Another major difference between the two counties' regional RDP's is the amount of pages of the regional RDPs, Stockholm County's RPD has 83 pages, in comparison with Gävleborg's 33 pages. This has partly affected the analysis, due to the larger material, which addressed more aspects in the regional RDP of Stockholm than in Gävleborg. However, it is the differences and similarities that make the analysis interesting and that show the CABs' flexibility to decide over the work process within the bureaucratic field they act in.

Since the analysis of the two CABs is presented separately in this thesis, first Gävleborg and subsequently Stockholm, several of the comparisons are therefore presented here. One similarity is that both counties have produced a vision for the work of the regional RDPs. However, the vision differs both in content and regarding length. Gävleborg's vision consists of one sentence, “we want an open countryside where men and women live and work for a sustainable future” (Gävleborg, 2011:3). The vision of Stockholm RDP consists of three paragraphs, below presents an abbreviated version;

“The rural economy is diversified and quality of life is high through the local entrepreneurship, enterprise and business development, and developed rural tourism. /.../ Agriculture and forestry are profitable, market-oriented, diverse and welcoming companies with positive offers for genuine experiences. Entrepreneurship and professionalism

characterize entrepreneurship in rural areas. /.../” (Stockholm, 2011:15).

Even if the documents differ in many respects, the structure of the policy is similar. This analysis will be presented in the same manner, that is; description of the county, SWOT-analysis, focus areas and measures.

#### **Introductory description of the county -Stockholm**

A description of the county, based on a current assessment and the SWOT analysis is the basis of the priorities and measures outlined in the regional RDP; this is the same procedure for all CAB. The formalities of the working process of the regional RDPs, done by the officials at the CABs, which they must comply with, are determined at a higher level in the bureaucratic hierarchy, e.g. at the EU level (cf. Thompson, 1990). Within the framework of the regional RDP, the authors of the Stockholm CAB have formulated three themes to describe the county: *Population and land use*, *Agriculture and horticulture* and *Forestry* (Stockholm, 2012:10pp).

The Stockholm CAB has, unlike Gävleborg, a section entitled “General Conditions for Stockholm County” (Stockholm, 2012:9p). This section highlights especially the expression “Closeness to Sweden’s biggest market”. The authors for example write;

“Stockholm County has as a special condition, connected to its metropolitan condition, which in many respects affect the region's countryside and its development. These conditions means in many respects great opportunities“(ibid).

The descriptions of the county has a big impact on what is a priority and not, what should be addressed and not. The structure and the practical logic of the regional RDPs thereby give the descriptions a great significant role regarding the county's development. The descriptions are assembled within the bureaucratic field where officials work. What affects the descriptions include the politics, ideology, culture which are interwoven within the bureaucratic field, i.e. the Europe-



an Union, Swedish Board of Agriculture, County Administrative Board etc. (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

The authors write that the location affects the rural areas in the sense of proximity to, “knowledge centres, companies and organizations, which also form a good basis for the development of business and entrepreneurship”. On the other hand some parts of the region, such as the archipelago, are described in a more negative tone, for example;

“The rural areas within the region commuting areas have completely different opportunities than those outside, such as parts of the archipelago. There, preservation and expansion of the IT infrastructure and local services constitute preconditions for the development of both business, employment and attractive accommodation” (Stockholm, 2012:9p).

“Close to the market” is written as a positive aspect in the description of Stockholm County, unlike the archipelago where the infrastructure is poor and it takes a longer time to go to the market. This highlights that the city and the market is what is desirable and represents a norm. The authors point thereof on the ones operating far from the city is in need of development in order to “reach the city and the market”. This image of the rural areas as e.g. “far away”, contributes to the so-called urban norm, which have recently been stressed by different medias; where different people have argued and discussed the effects on the rural areas by pointing at the cities as the norms, drawing on news reports, debate articles and projects (cf. Aftonbladet, 2014; Heed, 2014; SVT, 2014; HSSL, 2014; Rose, et al, 2009).

#### **SWOT-analysis – Stockholm**

A SWOT-analysis, “has been done in order to highlight the rural conditions in Stockholm County in general and, based on the opportunities available to achieve the goals of the Rural Development Programme” (2012:12). The SWOT-analysis of the Stockholm RDP have both a table (see appendix 4) and written description of the analysis (Stockholm, 2012:12p), while the RDP of Gävleborg does not have a description of the table.

The buzzwords, mention before, in the analysis of Gävleborg, *innovation, competence development, entrepreneurship* and *growth*, are present in the regional RDP of Stockholm as well. What is interesting in this analysis is how the CABs, Gävleborg and Stockholm have adapted the words into their regional RDPs. In the regional RDP of Gävleborg, for example, entrepreneurship is described as a scarce resource and therefore the author is arguing that it is a weakness. While in the regional RDP of Stockholm, the authors argues that “the business structure is good in large parts of the county, and many farmers are already entrepreneurs” (appendix 4). The strengths presented in the regional RDP of Stockholm also consist of inter alia, ”lies largely in proximity to a large market with many conscious, financially strong consumers of food, activities, health experiences and more”. The buzzwords are strongly setting the tone of the regional RDP, whereas a market-oriented focus tends to be important (cf. Atkinson & Coffey, 2011; Dahl, 2007).

The method [SWOT] includes analysing the weaknesses, Stockholm County’s weaknesses, according to the authors; “can be attributed high costs and high land prices and problems with the supply of capital which may hamper the expansion and development of enterprises”. The documents also states that;

“Transport problems are in terms of both land and sea transport. Land transport is the accessibility problems in and near urban areas and many times narrow, curvy, inadequate roads and lack of public transport in rural areas. For sea transport is an availability and cost issue”(Stockholm, 2012:13).

According to the method, weaknesses show internal problems within the county, which can be “fixed” by the regional RDP. The CAB can so to say influence these weaknesses. Unlike Gävleborg regional RDP’s weaknesses, the Stockholm’s regional RDP does not express a lack of entrepreneurship, instead the focus is largely on location, close to a big market, which seems to be both a weakness and strength.

The external opportunities of consider the County of Stockholm are described in the following way: “lies in a good way exploit the strengths which can be sum-

marized in the concept of proximity”. The authors display opportunities with proximity as:

“The proximity to a large number of colleges and universities whose body of knowledge should be exploited to enhance development in rural areas” and “The proximity to other entrepreneurs also provides good conditions for establishing contacts and get new ideas which can provide synergies and develop entrepreneurship” and, “the proximity to the largest market with almost a third of Sweden's population resides in Mälardalen region provides great opportunities for locally produced foods, biofuels and other products as well as complementary activities such as tourism” (Stockholm, 2012:13).

Threats to the Stockholm County are formulated like this:

“There are many powerful vested interests and strong competition for land for, among other things, buildings and infrastructure, leading to high land prices” as well as “may complicate the expansion possibilities. The urban areas growth close to the farms can pose a threat to established food producers with significant investment in buildings and constructions” (Stockholm, 2012:13).

#### Focus areas -Stockholm

In the regional RDP of Stockholm [2007-13] the focus areas are presented in chapter three. There are three focus areas, which are “*A diversified rural enterprise, Local food and an open landscape, Renewable energy and No eutrophication*”. Before the focus areas are described, there is an introduction of the chapter, which consists of general strategies for the county. The document describes the importance of the enterprises, “development of enterprises based on individual initiative and interest in enterprise. The goal of the program in Stockholm County is to facilitate and embrace new ideas, projects and investments” (Stockholm, 2012:15p). These perspectives underline a tone of liberal rationalities, due to the position of the individual in the description. According to the liberal perspectives the state is displayed as a passive actor in certain sectors, such as the private and

business sector. The individuals are in these sectors given more space to act, which some express as freedom and other as strategy of government (cf. Rose & Miller, 1992).

In the first focus area “*A diversified rural enterprise*”, the document argues for that businesses should be dynamic, innovative and competitive, which leads to “more jobs and higher growth in the rural economy”. In order to create a diversified rural enterprise, the traditional agriculture primary production need to, according to the CAB, “be developed and supplemented with new business ideas and activities that can generate income and increased employment” (Stockholm, 2012:17). The priorities in the focus areas serves as the basis perspectives of the measures.

### Measures – Stockholm

One of the measures in the regional RDP of Stockholm County are; “basic services for the economy and population countryside” (Stockholm, 2012). The description of the measure includes;

“The customer potential required to be possible, on commercial terms, to conduct various activities of a service nature, which are often too small in the countryside. Creative solutions in the form of, for example, co-location, flexibility, infrastructure adjustments, etc. shall be supported through the RDP. To be successful requires good cooperation between both public and private stakeholders that are important for the rural residents’ access to local services” (Stockholm, 2012:34).

Throughout the analysis, the authors argue that the proximity to the market is the biggest advantage, and therefore the biggest drawback is the long distances for some residents, such as those who live in the archipelago. The solution for rural areas given by this measure, as one example, the regional RDP can provide financial support to create;

“A rural structure that contributes to sustainable development of society, for example, a maintained or increased number of rural inhabit-

ants, improving access to local services for consumers and entrepreneurs and ensure that more villages have broadband connection” (ibid.).

## Summary

This section initially presented that expressions given in the regional RDPs are important for the image policymakers produce of reality. Policy documents can use different types of styles to convince the reader of the image of reality; for example, the authors use in the regional RDP of Stockholm exclusively *The County Administrative Board*. This expresses a more formal approach towards the reader, in comparison to the approach of the authors of the regional RDP of Gävleborg, where of both *The County Administrative Board* and *we* are used.

It is not merely words and expressions that shape perspectives in policy, techniques also play a role in what is described and not in policies. In the regional RDPs, SWOT analysis is used to analyse the counties’ different *strengths, weaknesses, opportunities* and *threats*. Methods are created in different fields, with different perspectives, norms, culture, ideologies etc., which shape the methods and to some permeate the method, even if they are transmitted to another field. The SWOT method originated in the business field, and therefore carries perspectives embedded in this specific field, which affects the outcome of the regional RDPs.

Policy is also a technique, which has a structure based on identifying problems and then seeks to “solve” them. “We have a lack of this, therefore we must”, and so forth ... This also affects what is selected by the policymakers to be included and not in the policy document, what is considered a “problem” and not. For example in the regional RDP produced by Gävleborg the county is described as a county with a lack of entrepreneurship, the solution is competence development and creating possible innovation forums. For Stockholm County the main problem is described as the long distance to the market for people living outside the commuting areas, for example in the archipelago. One solution the authors argue for is

to create a more sustainable rural area, with better infrastructure, such as broadband.

The expressions highlights different realities of the counties, such Gävleborg's lack of entrepreneurship and Stockholm's proximity to the market, but there are also similarities. Many words, terms and concepts are repeated in both documents, so called buzzwords; innovation, competence development, entrepreneurship and growth. Buzzwords set the tone of the documents and produce political rationalities, which articulate the direction of the policy, such as economic efficiency; the policy in relation to subject/object, the residence in the rural areas; and political rationalities, which are morally coloured, and express particular normative perspectives, e.g. liberal rationalities.

## 8 Conclusions and reflections

This study have explored how the regional RDPs are prepared and how the EU policy is broken down into specific objectives and plans on a regional level in a Swedish context. The aim of this study was partly to study how the officials at two CABs, Gävleborg and Stockholm, was working with the preparation process of the regional RDPs, and partly to explore power relations between different actors in the process, such as the Swedish Board of Agriculture, County Administrative Boards and the Partnership groups. Similarities and disparities between the two regional RDPs have been examined, using critical discourse analysis as a heuristic tool. The analysis has intended to demonstrate the techniques of composition, representations and forms of rationalities expressed in the policy by the authors. In this chapter I present conclusions and reflections made of the results of the case study and the text analysis. This thesis with its qualitative approach does not intend to draw any generalising conclusions, rather discuss the research questions from perspective generated by the methods and theoretical framework.

### Case study

This case study has shown how power relations are represented and enacted is a key issue when it comes to creation of policy documents. Officials, such as head of division or project managers at the County Administrative Boards (CABs), are designated as responsible for the work and creation of the regional Rural Development Programs (RDPs). The responsible officials for the regional RDPs at the Gävleborg's and the Stockholm's CABs exercise direct influence over the process of practical decision, e.g. which focus areas are selected, how the content should be described and who at the CABs should prepare drafts, etc. However, the distinct bureaucratic field which responsible officials work within sets frames of what action are considered and if, and how they can be made. The frames of the field are largely determined by EU and national laws and treaties (cf. Tarschys, 2011; Tallberg, 2010; Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

Even so, it also seems as if different actors within the preparation processes of the regional RDPs [CAB, SBA, Partnership group] have different formal rights to

make decision determinant, depending on their position in the field. These positions give its bearers more or less access to resources, such as financial resources and social networks, and their specific configuration of resources, or capitals to use Bourdieu's term, open up different access to decision-making. The project managers and the heads of the divisions possess greater resources to decide about the regional RDPs than for example the actors who are part of the Partnership groups (cf. Case study-interviews; Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990).

The relations between the different actors, mentioned above, can be described as, a structural asymmetric power relationship (cf. Thompson, 1990), which means that laws and structures which make up the pillars of the Swedish and EU society, offer some individuals greater legal right to decide over other individuals. This systematic asymmetric relationship exist within the bureaucratic field [between the EU, the Swedish Board of Agriculture, CABs etc.], as well as between the bureaucratic sub-field [CAB etc.] and the civil society field [Partnership group & citizens].

However, it is of importance to remember that the officials at the CABs and other institutions make decision which leads to actions, based on what is appropriate within the bureaucratic field. For example based on the hierarchy, superior institutions (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Thompson, 1990), such as SBA, control, regulate tasks and deadlines among other things.

Language and expressions used by official, creates certain impressions, e.g. by using the word "partnership", the policy work gains an impression of a democratic based and equal participation process. Nevertheless, the empirical material of this study shows that the "partnership" between the CABs and actors in the rural areas is not based on an egalitarian relationship. Instead the CABs governed the Partnership groups almost exclusively. For example, concerning when and how persons defined as "partners" can provide feedback and which parts of the regional RDPs they can give feedback on. This example, by using words such as "Partnership", serves as a typical technique of governmentality used by policy makers to give an impression of democratic based decisions, even if the decisions are far from democratic Habermas idea of the ideal speech situation (Habermas, 1987).



Another technique of governance and domination described in this thesis that is used by officials is “esoteric knowledge”. It means that there are methods and/or language produced by officials within the bureaucratic field which are incomprehensible or difficult to understand for individuals outside the field (cf. Bourdieu, 1994, Rose and Miller 1992, Thompson, 1990), such as actors in the Partnership groups. This kind of communication, in the regional RDPs, shows that the responsible bureaucrats of the RDPs prioritize communication within the field, rather than outside (cf. Bourdieu, et al, 1994; Rose & Miller 1992; Thompson, 1990).between the field and external actors. This highlights the different positions and resource of the actors, who are involved in the creation of the regional RDPs, but it is also raises the question for whom the policy is written for.

## Regional RDP

The second part of this thesis constitutes a text analysis of the regional RDPs of Gävleborg and Stockholm, 2007-2013. The text has been analysed based on a so called Critical Discourse Analysis [CDA] questionnaire (Jäger & Maier, 2009), which has been adapted to the purpose and the research questions of this study.

Language is, among other aspects, a tool for claiming power, to implement goals and approaches in the desired direction in the regional RDPs. By using a certain kind of style, such as formal or informal, writing for example *County Administrative Board* instead of *we* or vice versa, the officials at the CABs seek to reach their goals in different ways. Vagueness is a strategy used in different situations, from everyday life conversations to political negotiations, to convince or persuade the receiver/reader in a desired direction, and the style of language, such as formal or informal, is contributing to this vagueness (cf. Atkinson & Coffey, 2011; Aphorpe, 1997).

In the thesis, examples of both formal and informal styles are showed. The authors of the regional RDP of Stockholm almost solely use *County Administrative Board*, when expressing an action or a point of view of the CAB. Gävleborg’s regional RDP on the other hand, uses both *we* and *County Administrative Board*. The formal style, by using of the *County Administrative Board*, does not differ

from the informal style, *we*, considering vagueness, since both do not explain who is claiming an action or a point of view. By using the *County Administrative Board* the reader cannot directly know who is saying what, as for the same concerning the using of *we*, one example given in the thesis is; “/.../ we have about 80 -100 lynx”. Who are the authors referring to as *we*? The vagueness includes an uncertainty of who *we* are, and are therefore contributing to a persuasive style, whatever this is a strategy of the authors or an unintended consequence, is not examined in this thesis.

In the analysis I have chosen to focus on one perspective from each CAB; this is a result of limitations in time and space of the study, but it is also because of the informants who brought up specific perspectives of the counties during the interviews. In the regional RDP of Gävleborg, the county is described as a county with an absence of entrepreneurship, as one argument given as explanation in the RDP; it is because of “secure jobs in the forest”. The solution for this lack of entrepreneurship is expressed in the policy is to develop competence and creating forums for innovation processes. For Stockholm County the key problem was defined as the time-consuming distance to the market for people living outside the commuting areas, for instance in the archipelago. Better infrastructure, such as the installation of broadband, was one of the solutions the authors argues for, which should in the long run create more stable and prospering , i.e. sustainable, rural areas. As the two examples above shows, policy is a bundle of techniques, which is structured through the method to classify problems and then formulate “a solution” to them. “There is a lack of this, therefore we must ...”

The structure of the policy affects the way officials at the CABs work to produce a policy, and thereby also which methods or tools that are used. SWOT analysis is used in the regional RDPs to analyse the counties’ different *strengths*, *weaknesses*, *opportunities* and *threats*. Methods in general and SWOT in special are created with different perspectives, norms, culture, and ideologies etc., which shape the methods and to some extent are embedded in the method even if it is transmitted to another field. SWOT originates from the business field, and has been transferred to other user areas, but the norms, perspectives etc. which are

method implies, affect the outcome of it. To pull this idea to its extent, when SWOT-analysis is used in the preparation work of the regional RDPs, the use in it's self can be seen as an expression of the direction of the policy, which states a viewpoint on rural development which resemble the development of an enterprise.

One way of discover perspectives or norms are to read a text and mark the words which are important for the creation of the meaning of the text, so called buzzwords. For example Gävleborg's lack of entrepreneurship and Stockholm's proximity to the market, show different realities of the counties expressed in the regional RDPs. However, buzzwords like innovation, competence development, entrepreneurship and growth are connected to both of the very different realities of the counties. These buzzwords are repeated throughout the regional RDPs and sets the tone of the documents, which articulates the direction of the policy, such as economic efficiency and the policy in relation to subject/object, for example the residence in the rural areas, and also political rationalities, which are shaped morally and normative, e.g. liberal direction of the policy.

## Reflection

After having made some reflections on the policy process and the official's role in society during the work with this thesis, I find it frightening that I have become aware of how little I know of the policies which affect my everyday life. I guess that it is not only I that has a hard time understanding both processes and the language of policy documents, and therefore I find it problematic that I do not understand decisions made which affect me directly. It is not just the wording that are opaque, but the lack of transparency of the structure and communication of decisions.

If it is like Shore and Wright argues (1997), as highlighted in the beginning of this thesis, that there is an on-going trend in the modern society with increasing regulations-processes, that results in bigger distance between decision makers and the ones that are affected, I have started to wonder over and questioning the "democratic foundation" our society is built on.

I find it interesting and strange at the same time that the regional RDPs are not meant to be fully understood by those who actually should/will apply for funding from the program. I think it is peculiar for example that the Partnership groups can only give feedback on some aspects controlled by the project manager or head of the division, which are not “too technical” or difficult for the Partnership groups according to the officials. Where is the participatory and democratic aspect, which the word *partnership* indicates?

At the same time I know, based on the interviews, that the officials to some extent are considering how to make the formulations more readily comprehensible to give a wider spread of the regional RDPs. However, the works with the regional RDPs are usually stressful, because the works are done in addition to regular duties. The stress and limited time available to the officials at the CAB make them formulate and work along the SBA’s deadlines and instructions scrupulously, so as to avoid receiving complaints and having to rework the document.

Officials at the CABs are in a position in the bureaucratic hierarchy, which is furthest distanced from the decisions of the EU and closest to those directly affected by the decisions. I believe that this is partly a dilemma for officials who write the regional RDPs, or other similar documents, because they must follow the EU’s decision, while the frame has to adapt to the county’s requirements and ultimately interact with the target group, and take into consideration how they get affected by EU decisions.

On the other hand the CABs officials position in the bureaucratic hierarchy can be a dilemma for officials, but on the other hand, if it is as Shore and Wright (1997) argues; “regulations are the legal instrument that underlie policy programs, which nowadays have got an increasing influence in all areas of life”, the question of the experts’ role in society is a complex and highly democratic question. Complex because of the many layers of historical decision which have led to the decision systems we have today.

A decision system which generate a structure, underlying a demand for more competence and knowledge of the individual, to understand the decisions that affect the daily life for him/her. It is a democratic question because how can deci-

sions be democratic if only a few individuals understand the implications of the decision? If fewer people understand the implications of the decisions, fewer can challenge and control those who make decisions. It is perhaps no news that only a small proportion of individuals in the society understand the implications and the possible effect of the decisions, but my question is if it this is a desired path to strive for?

The methods and theoretical framework forms the outcome of this study. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been used to break down the content and outline the regulations-processes of the regional RDPs of Gävleborg and Stockholm, with the purpose of discover the author's perspective and thereby the policy direction. I selected the CDA as a method in this thesis because I thought it could be a useful tool in doing policy analysis, and because of inspiration from researcher within my field of studies, rural development. However the use of CDA can be criticized, as for all methods, but discourse analysis maybe in particular, because the methods are highly dependent on the researcher's interpretation of the method and of the object/subject studied. That is why the methods within the field of discourse often are referred to as a handicrafts work. You, as a researcher are formed by the scientific sub-field of discourse analysis, on how to interpret the methods, which resembles any other skills development in all kind of fields.

The concept of field (Bourdieu et al, 1994) was used in order to get a broader inclusion in the analysis, because the concept "field" includes terms such as; contexts, norms, ideology, culture and power. This instead of merely use the concepts "context" or "symbolic forms" which Thompson (1990) refers to in this book about modern ideology, which are narrower concepts. A broader interpretation of both the methodology and the theoretical framework has been a strategy to not risk drawing too specific and too narrow conclusions of the material in the study, due to limitations in my personal skills.

For future studies, I would wish for more possible collaborations between students from different research fields. The agronomist program, specialising on Rural Development, which I am finishing by writing this thesis, is a part of a more interdisciplinary field. However, I would have found it more interesting to cooper-

ate with students from other fields, such as political science or socio-linguistic studies so as to develop and explore new skills. If such cooperation would have existed I believe that the analysis, especially the text analysis would have become deeper and more comprehensive, both regarding theoretical and methodological aspects. I regard my knowledge in socio-linguistics as one limitation in the analysis, but at the same time I have seen this thesis as an opportunity to develop my skills of making discourse analysis. I hope the readers found the thesis interesting, and perhaps gained some new insights and questions to reflect upon in the future.

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## Appendix 1

### Gävleborg county – regional RDP 2007-2013

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(Gävleborg, 2011. Own translations)

## Appendix 2

### Stockholm county – regional RDP 2007-2013

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##### 7.2.1. Restoration of pastures and hayfields

##### 7.2.2. Compensation for maintenance of mosaic pastures including other grasses poor soils

##### 7.3. Other regional priority actions

##### 7.3.1. The restoration and re-creation of avenues

##### 7.3.2. Restoration of surplus buildings

##### 7.3.3. Reconstruction of wooden fences on farmland

##### 7.3.4. Diversity fallows

##### 7.3.5. Special initiatives landscape's natural and cultural values

##### 8. Correlation between regional RDP and other related policies and programs

##### 8.1. Regional Development Plan for the Stockholm County (RUFs)

- 8.2. Sub-regional Development Plan for the Stockholm coast and archipelago
- 8.3. The new water management
- 8.4. Establishment and restoration of wetlands
- 8.5. Perimeter
  - 8.5.1. National Parks
  - 8.5.2. Natura 2000
  - 8.5.3. The strategy for formal protection of forests
  - 8.5.4. Other protected areas
- 8.6. Regional environmental
- 8.7. Regional environmental monitoring of agricultural land
- 8.8. Regional landscape analysis
- 8.9. Landscapes Strategy
- 8.10. Regional Structural Funds Programme for Competitiveness and Employment  
Stockholm- Objective 2 Regional Fund
  - 8.10.1. Overall program idea
  - 8.10.2. The program's areas of intervention
- 8.11. Objective 3 - European Territorial Cooperation
- 8.12. Baltic Sea Region Programme - a transnational programs
- 8.13. European Fisheries Fund (EFF) 2007-2013
- 8.14. European Social Fund 2007-2013
9. Coordination, support process and partnership
10. Monitoring and indicators
11. Information arrangements
12. Organization for implementing the program
13. Education of implementation
- Appendix 1 - Allocation of budget funds
- Appendix 2 - Budget of the Rural Development Programme 2007-2013
- Appendix 2a - Arrangements codes for Annex 1 and 2
- Annex 3 - Selection criteria for interventions in The Rural Development Programme 2007-2013
- Arrangements-specific criteria
- Axis 1 Improving the competitiveness of the agricultural and forestry sector
- Axis 2 Improving the environment and countryside
- Axis 3 Diversification and improved quality of life in rural areas
- Axis 4 Leader
- Appendix 4 - Selected contributions to Selected Environment 2012
- Appendix 5 - Decision on regional RDP for Stockholm County

(Stockholm, 2012. Own translation)

## Appendix 3

### Gävleborg County- SWOT analysis

#### *Strengths*

- Varied landscape with valuable natural and cultural sites and industrial heritage
- Coastal county
- Local development groups , rich cultural- and associations activities
- Renewable raw materials from agriculture and forestry
- A well-established work with environmental goals
- Attractive housing in rural environments
- Hälsingland Farms
- Good communications to Stockholm / Arlanda
- The county's geography for summer and winter tourism
- Balanced agricultural production and large proportion of production forests
- Large areas of national interest for wind power

#### *Opportunities*

- Development of forestry and agriculture
- Space for new entrepreneurship in the processing of wood and food as well as in culture, tourism and service sectors.
- World Heritage Sites which can promote the county and help increase cultural tourism
- New products, new markets
- New business ideas in animal husbandry
- Local economy, collaboration, networking and cooperative solutions
- New Swedes in rural areas
- Promotion of increased rural housing
- Wilderness where, among other things, the county's coastline, 154 nature reserves and national parks are a resource for recreation, ecotourism business, recreation and protection of the biological diversity
- 95% broadband coverage in the county and enhanced distance education

#### *Weaknesses*

- Low level of formal education and gender-segregated labor market.
- Weak entrepreneurial mindset
- Weak willingness to change and “Jante lag”
- Sparsely populated parts of the county
- High unemployment and high sickness rate

#### *Threats*

- Too few businesses start
- Women are moving from rural areas
- Poor community services
- Poor commercial services
- Failure generation change in companies
- Abandonment, overgrowth and reducing the number of grazing animals
- Depletion of biodiversity
- Accelerating climate change
- Lack of appropriate skills

(Gävleborg, 2011. Own translation)



## Appendix 4

### Stockholm County – SWOT analysis

#### *Strengths*

- Close proximity to many affluent consumers
- Good business structure
- Many agricultural and forestry business owners are entrepreneurs
- High yields in crop production in parts of the county
- Competitive food production
- Alternating high natural and cultural embossed agricultural and forest landscape creates many interesting visits environments
- Viable agricultural and forestry actively involved in biodiversity
- Possibility for commuting
- Newcomers in rural areas are starting new businesses
- The horse sector is large and growing
- Large forest ownership corps

#### *Opportunities*

- Take advantage of strengths
- Close to Sweden's largest market
- Provision for local food
- Provision of locally produced biofuels
- Complementary activities, for example. tourism
- Close proximity to many knowledge center
- Close proximity to many entrepreneurs create synergies and develop entrepreneurship
- Good farm structure provides competitive production
- Increased bioenergy production from agriculture and forestry holdings
- Recycling of waste products.
- Growing horse industry generates increased employment opportunities particularly for women

#### *Weaknesses*

- High cost situation
- High land prices
- Problems with the supply of capital
- Difficult to develop and expand business
- Transport problems for land and water transportation
- Accessibility problems in and near population centers
- Deficiencies in roads and public transport in rural areas
- Deficiencies in availability and high cost of sea transport
- Short season for the tourism industry particularly affects the archipelago
- Agriculture's negative environmental impact
- Increasing proportion of people who are not permanent residents give weakly related to forestry potential for rural development
- Costly expenses for forest management in the archipelago

#### *Threats*

- Less favorable growing conditions
- Long distances to services, etc.
- Strong special interests
- Strong competition for land
- High land prices
- Growing population centers causes problems for agriculture and forestry farms
- Interference between livestock and dense housing
- Lack of grazing livestock to pastures

(Stockholm, 2012. Own translation)

## Appendix 5

### Analysis of regional RDP

#### *Context*

- Why is this document selected? Why is this document typical?
- Who/whom is the author? What is this person's position/status within the organization/institution?
- "What is the occasion of the document"?
- In what section of the work with the rural development program does this document appear?

#### *Surface of the text*

- What is the layout like? What does the document contain?
- What are the headings and subheadings? How is the document structured into units of meaning?
- What topics are touched upon in the interview? (in other words, what discourses stand in the document as fragments of?)

#### *Rhetorical means*

- What kind and form of argumentation does the document follow? What argumentation strategy is used?
- What actors are mentioned and how are they portrayed (persons, pronouns used)?
- What references are made (e.g. references to science, information about sources of knowledge used)?

#### *Content and ideological statements*

- What kind of concept of the society does the document presuppose and convey?
- What concept of (policy-making, rural development) does the document presuppose and convey?

#### *Other peculiarities of the document*

#### *Discourse position and overall message of the document*

(Jäger, S., & Maier, F., 2009:55)