From 'grey to green'- investigating the capabilities of the bureaucratic system to be an actor in reaching a Sustainable Society: A case study of Region Skåne, Sweden.

By: Annie Andersson

ABSTRACT

Sustainable development policies have for the last 10 years been a part of the Swedish domestic politics. The creation of a green welfare state has been on the agenda since 1996 and policies to construct this green welfare state have been formed, though the actual implementation of these policies has been less then successful in many cases. Critique has been directed towards the administration and its lack of ability to ensure that the policies are implemented in society. Some have even claimed that the bureaucracy is unable to implement sustainable development.

The lack of realisation of Sustainable Development policies has been widely discussed. This thesis aims to analyse and explore, based on an organisational level, what type of obstacles the implementation of the policies meet when they are to be realised in the bureaucratic organisation. The thesis aims to analyse the current setting of the organisation based on Max Weber's 'ideal type' organisation, on a structural level, and Lennart Lundquist's model on an actor level. The thesis uses these models to understand what type of changes that the organisation must carry out in the case of reconstruction to increase the chances of implementing the current Sustainable Development policies that the state strives to implement. The thesis uses a case study of Region Skåne, and uses this case to analyse the Regions' work in regards to realising the Sustainable Development policies. The main aim is to understand and explore the organisational structure and what obstacles it faces in regards to implementing Sustainable Development, as well as analysing a case study to see the impacts of possible change of this structure, based on the actor/structure of the organisation. Analysing and discussing the question if the bureaucracy can work as an actor of change to create a Sustainable society in Sweden based on the Sustainable Development policies defined by the state. The thesis presents an idea of the bureaucratic organisation as an agent of change in regards to creating a sustainable society.

Keywords: Sustainable Development, Bureaucracy, Organisational change, Sweden.

Acknowledgments

I'd first and foremost like to thank Gunnhildur for all the good hints, help and directions that you have given me during this thesis, thank you!

I'd also like to thank everyone that has listened to my grief over the past few months about headache and frustration, stress and confusion, you know who you are…and I am grateful for the nice words and the encouraging comments and help you have given me… and I hope you know that I am.…

Thank you, with love always, Annie.

And a quick note for the reader:

"Love truth, and pardon error"
        Voltaire

1. Introduction

Nationally, we shall rebuild Sweden into an ecologically sustainable nation. This is an enormous political and individual challenge. It is a task that goes way beyond what we normally refer to as environmental politics.
(Former Prime Minster G Persson 1997 cited in Matti 2006:79)

The above quote describes the vision of the former Swedish government, though the development of the change towards that vision has been slow. Many have claimed that it is the institutions and the bureaucracy in Sweden that are unable to adequately care for this change, based on its inability to handle the complexity of the notion of Sustainable Development. This thesis will address the implementation problems regarding the Sustainable Development policy that the Swedish State has defined and delegated to be implemented on decentralised levels from an organisational structure/actor perspective. The Swedish government has set policy goals to create a Sustainable Development in Sweden, a process that has met many obstacles. Not only the usual policy implementation obstacles but also new obstacles, as Sustainable Development policies are in many ways different in comparison to the traditional policies within society. Sustainable Development is an interdisciplinary cross-sectoral concept that involves the entire society. Non-governmental organisations, institutions, the state and private sector as well as corporations, all play a part as actors in implementing the sustainability policies. However, just as that is the strength of the concept it is also a problem, as the current structures in the society are divided into specialised sectors. These sectors are divided in areas of responsibility and have specialised policies for every area with their own set of goals and perceptions on how to achieve these goals. Sustainable Development on the other hand is not based on the same idea, as it strives to incorporate the whole of society towards a cross sectoral type of development. This has led to major obstacles and challenges when it comes to implementing Sustainable Development policies in to these settings. These setting are founded in the Swedish state and its construction; the state and its institutions are in this case seen as a major force for ensuring a Sustainable Development within the society (Hansson *et al* 2006:155). Moreover, the concept of Sustainable Development is based on reforming current structures and not replacing them, this means that implementing Sustainable Development policies must occur within current structures in society. The current national policy of Sustainable Development therefore challenges the whole construction of the present bureaucratic organisation (Bäckstrand *et al* 2004:249). This thesis will address the issues within the current structures, to increase the understanding of the ability of Sustainable Development policy implementation. The thesis will use a case study to investigate the capability of the bureaucratic organisation to implement Sustainable Development polices. The bureaucracy is seen as an obstacle of SD policy implementation in its structure, however the actors within this structure have to be acknowledged as well.

This thesis will analyse this process to try to understand the organisational structure and use this contextual understanding by analysing a case of Sustainable development policy implementation in a Region in Sweden, called Region Skåne. The case serves as an example on how bureaucracy tried to deal with Sustainable Development implication. The Region Skåne has identified that fact that the bureaucratic organisation has problems with dealing with Sustainable Development policy implementation; it serves as a good case in understanding the problems with the bureaucratic organisation and Sustainable development policy implementation. Region Skåne will serve as a case study to investigate the capabilities of the bureaucratic organisation to implement Sustainable Development polices and will be used as an example to investigate the changes in the bureaucratic organisation while achieving increased ability of SD policy implementation. The case shows that the bureaucratic organisation does not have to bee seen as grey and dull but can, provided with the right tools, be seen as green and progressive in Sustainable development policy implementation. The analysis is a case of understanding the bureaucratic organisation and its obstacles in implementing Sustainable Development polices, where Region Skåne serves as a case for understanding this process further. The case gives a good example of how the bureaucratic organisation can deal with Sustainable Development policy implementation without major restructuring on structural level, however imposing change on an actor level, showing that bureaucracy does not have to be seen as an obstacle in creating a Sustainable society but can serve as an actor of steering the society towards a more sustainable path.

1.2 Problem and aim

When conducting research one looks at reality and tries to make some structured analysis based on a set of concepts. This thesis will seek to find variables in the field of the bureaucratic organisation. This thesis claims that the bureaucratic system is unable to be an actor of ensuring a Sustainable Development, as it has several times proven to be slow and a reluctant force of ensuring a Sustainable Society (Pridham 2002:84). This led this thesis to investigate and understand the bureaucratic process and the bureaucratic organisation, within which it is implemented. It therefore became of importance to understand the concept of the public administration. This ensures that one can be able to understand the issues that this organisation deals with in regards to implementing sustainable development policies. It is also of importance to understand how sustainable development policies differ from previous policies implemented by the same organisation, therefore this will be analysed as well. When these parts are analysed and defined, this thesis will aim to conduct a case study that can increase the understanding of the process of implementing sustainable development within a western bureaucratic society. The claim is founded upon that sustainable development is a type of policy that is based on a holistic approach and that the current setting of bureaucratic organisation has difficulties handling, as it is not sufficiently constructed to deal with such policies.

The thesis aims to explore the Swedish bureaucratic setting to increase the understanding regarding implementation of Sustainable Development policies based on the case of Region Skåne.

By analysing the questions:
1) **How does the current bureaucratic organisation look like and what constraints does this structure set on the implementation of Sustainable Development policies?**
2) **How does the case study differ in regards to the 'ideal type' and what impacts does this have on the ability to implement Sustainable Development policies?**

Two perspectives are analysed, the first is to identify the 'ideal' organisation and the critique and the problems this organisation finds itself in regarding new types of policies on an actor/structure level. The second is to analyse how the case study differs from the 'ideal' type and the implications this has on the organisation and implementation of sustainable development. Finding out the differences increases the understanding of Sustainable Development policy implementation in a western bureaucratic organisation.

When conducting research one must ask why the problem posed is of interest for the current academic settings. This thesis claims that the Sustainable Development is a new type of solution to a new type of problem regarding the un-sustainability of the current western societies. New problems need new solutions, within old institutions, and finding the definitive way of trying to solve these new problems is a mission that has to be addressed. Sustainable development is a concept that includes both state and non-state actors, these actors also have to cooperate towards a general goal of sustainable development. The concept is therefore founded upon the fact that the whole of society has to be developing sustainably; if one part is not integrated in the work effort, there can be no sustainable development. Driving this change is therefore a cross-sectoral and a multi – actor development, and steering this type of development means that new challenges are put not only upon the actors but also upon the system of steering as a whole (Bäckstrand *et al* 2004:227). Finding structures within the current organisation of society that can address the cross-sectoral approach that Sustainable Development needs, is therefore one of the obstacles in the work of ensuring a sustainable society (Bäckstrand *et al* 2004:227). There is in many western states an increasing concern to implement Sustainable Development into the society, though even if many are talking about the concept of implementing sustainable development, the policies have been shown to be more difficult to implement. Primarily this is because they are based on different construction then what the current structure in society have been organised around. The dominating structure of the current bureaucratic organisations is sectionalised Dryzek (1987) defined as analytically instrumental, and that these organisations therefore lack a holistic perception of the problem of un-sustainability (Bäckstrand *et al* 2004:235). This is a complicated issue as the current structure is founded on specialised divided sectors that have diverging goals, and that these goals are often based on economic gains and competitive goals. The sector approach leads to a situation where some environmental issues become

marginalized and where some sections of the organisation conduct business as usual actions, meaning that the responsibility of implementing SD becomes marginalized and the holistic perspective becomes lost in the majority of the sections within the bureaucratic organisation. This is a major problem in regards to policy implementation of SD policies within a sovereign state.

Maarten Hajer (1997) writes that in the early work of environmental policy the legislative attempts of solving environmental problems took the classic bureaucratic form of functional differentiation dividing reality in to smaller sections, therefore the bureaucratic organisation reflected the same division. Later the development of ecological modernisation took a more profound role in the implementation of environmental policies. This development was defined by policies that recognized the structural problem of the environmental problems, and claimed that the current bureaucratic, political and economic structures as well as social institutions were equipped to internalise the care of the environment (Hajer 1997:25). The fact that sustainable development is founded on the opposite concept, meaning that it is a holistic idea that integrates all sectors, means that a reformation of the current organisations is necessary in order to implement the concept into society. Changing the current setting within the state to become less sectionalised and more transboundary to deal with the cross-sectoral concept of sustainable development is therefore a major obstacle to ensure implementation of these policies. The new concept of sustainable development meets as a result, problems in organisations with old settings, organised around dealing with the more traditionally framed specialised policy goals. To try to define and operationalise the concept of the ever growing notion of SD is creating an ever increasing issue for the bureaucratic organisation that is to implement these policies. The issues become larger the more factors that are included in the concept of SD as the bureaucratic policy organisation is traditionally designed to implement concrete and defined policies which SD policies tend not to be.

In western societies the state is one of the actors in driving change towards solving the new problems within society, trying to reach any sort of sustainable society is one of these new problems that the Swedish state has found it self confronting. The state is still seen as the major actor in steering society towards a change in addressing these environmental issues. It is therefore of importance to investigate the state and its ability to impose change towards a more SD society.

The thesis will have a theoretical foundation and apply empirical material to answer the question what the current structure of organisations and policy implementation looks like. The thesis does not aim at answering how and what; the organisation should look like, but will construct an alternative approach to investigate what the changes could lead to in regards to implementation of Sustainable Development. The main purpose is to investigate and understand organisational structure and the obstacles it meets regarding implementation of sustainable development, as well as using the case study to investigate what effects the practical changes have led to in regards to implementing sustainable development in the bureaucratic organisational structure.

2.2 Definitions

This part will define what it is that the thesis will analyse. The definitions are also limitations and are used to define what the thesis is researching. It is of great importance to define the concepts used as different sciences prescribe different meanings to the same concepts. This section will therefore define the concepts that this thesis applies to the research field.

SD: Sustainable Development

SYNAPS: *Systemanalytiskt Processverktyg för Sektorsintegrering*- Systematic process tool for sector integration.

Sustainable society: The former Swedish Prime Minster for the Social Democrats was the first to state what he called the creation of the "Green peoples home" a concept that in this thesis will be called a Sustainable Society where in Swedish it can be defined as "det gröna folkhemmet" or "ekologiskt hållbart samhälle"(Hermele 2002:36, Sundquist2003:57). The concept is founded in the idea of ecological modernisation where Sweden are to develop towards a more green society, guided with the principles of efficiency and better technology leading to a better environment and an increase in knowledge and green technology export leading to economic growth. Former Prime Minster Persson himself phrased the concept stating that he wanted to combine "the revolutionary freedom of the car with what he defined as

'an ecological responsibility'" (Persson cited in Matti 2006:3). The statement of creating a 'green welfare state' as the government have communicated also means that the contract between the individual and the state has increased in also including the environment. This means that the State had decided to also protect the environment in its actions (Sandstedt 2004:78). The policies are to transcended to all policy areas in society aiming at developing the current welfare state from the 1990's to the 21st century 'Green peoples home' (Matti 2006:3).

Sustainability: The definition of sustainability that will be applied in this thesis is the definition that is used by the Swedish government, as it is that sustainability policy that will be analysed. "The strategy covers all three dimensions of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental. The strategy proceeds from a long-term vision of sustainable development" (www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/7023 10/05-07).

I have chosen to use this type of definition, as it is the foundation for the Swedish Sustainable Development policy construction. This can be argued as problematic however as this is the foundation of the Swedish environmental policies and this is the type of Sustainable Development that will be analysed the concept of the official statements by the government will be used. The reason for using this version is based on that the thesis is not a policy analysis and the concept will therefore not be problematised, however one must acknowledge that the concept can and should be seen with a critical perspective as the notion of SD can be interpreted in many ways.

Institutional sustainability: An institution is a well-established entity with public status. The affiliates interact based on specific roles and codes of conduct. The institution is an "organ of government mandate by the constitution" (Hague & Harrop 2001:63). An institution serves as building blocks that form social and political life (Skjaerseth 1999:58). Institutions are defined by explicit set of guided rules and implicit rules as norms and values (Duit 2002:17). March and Olsen (1984) defines the institutions over time to be shaped by political structure and historical experience, "The information about that experience is encoded in institutional rules (March and Olsen 1984:28). The institution is therefore changing through experience. Institutional change in regards to the environmental debate can be based on the increased knowledge about the environmental impact of human behaviour and can therefore change based on this increased knowledge. In this thesis institutions will be represented by the bureaucratic organisation. Institutional Sustainability in this thesis, consequently based on the above definition, is defined by the organisational ability to implement the concept of the other three pillars of sustainability. Consequently, being defined through the capabilities of the institutional structure, exemplified by the bureaucratic organisation within the public administration, to implement the other three pillars of Sustainable Development.

2.3 Disposition

The thesis is structured in four parts; the first part will identify the theoretical framework, which identifies the theoretical explanations of the current Swedish bureaucratic setting based on Weber's theories of the structure of the bureaucratic organisation and Lundquists model of actors within this structure. The second part will identify the current structure in the bureaucratic system, based on secondary material, and will serve as a foundation for pre knowledge in regards to the theoretical section of the thesis. It will also give a brief introduction to the case of Region Skåne SD policy implementation and identify the process and background that developed the national policies towards SD in Sweden and the historical and political process that has taken place to reach the current sustainability policy.

This section will serve as background and pre knowledge to the analytical part and will provide with an overview of the Swedish bureaucratic setting within the state, and the development of the type of SD policy used in Sweden today. The third part will give an actor approach of the current bureaucratic system that identifies the actors and the obstacles they encounter according to implementation theory during implementation within the current system structure of the bureaucratic system. The forth part will give the framework for the case study and its structure, the current structure of the bureaucratic system based on both system/structure as well as an actor approach based on empirical material in the case. This will be followed

with an analysis of the empirical findings and will be finalized with constructive conclusion and further recommendations in regards to the possible shortcomings or problems of the case of Region Skåne relating this to the theoretical framework provided in part third and forth sections of the thesis. The case will be introduced in chapter 4 and will be analysed in chapter 7, where chapter 5 serves as background knowledge to understanding the policy implementation in a Swedish setting.

2.4 Theory

To be able to present this thesis one must be clear about the theoretical perspective upon which this thesis is founded on. To be able to present the foundation the epistemological and ontological foundations must be presented, this section will also give a presentation of these perspectives and also present the theoretical tools that have been chosen to conduct the analysis.

A hermeneutic and positivistic approach towards conducting science and the notion of reality are the two main fields of worldviews (Lundquist 1993:40). The positivistic approach is based on laws of nature and the objective ideal, while the hermeneutic perspective emphasises the human subjective approach towards reality and science (Lundquist 1993:41). These perspectives are the definitions of what one can learn or research in reality, the concept for the positivistic approach has its ontological foundation in the realist approach and conducts research that claims to explain reality, and have a foundation of dualistic objectivism, the hermeneutic approach has an ontology that is relativistic, and an epistemological approach of interactive subjectivism and tries to answer questions that seek to understand reality (Lundquist 1993:67). There is a third version of schools of science called critical theory with its major contributors being Marx and Habermas, with an ontology of realist foundations and an epistemology of interactive subjectivism. The realist ontology claims that there is a reality 'out there' that is independent of the beholder. As reality is independent of the beholder, the scientist can therefore be objective to this reality.

The subjective epistemology based on a realistic perspective claims that the scientist values, pre knowledge and environment influence the research; the objective relationship to the research is therefore not the foundation of this approach. The scientist is not objective towards the analysis and reality in the same extent that the research based on realist ontology would be. Reality in this case is subjective and is a construction and can therefore never be objective in the real sense. Depending on what field one would conduct research within one would have different approaches to what one finds as good research (Lundquist 1993:69). Theory is a mind abstraction of reality; the theory simplifies reality, though everyone has a different version of what reality is. This thesis founds its theoretical approach within the field of a realistic objectivism though based on the idea that reality can be seen differently by different individuals, this perspective is defined as so called subjectivism.

This thesis has its foundation in an interactive subjective epistemology with a relativistic ontology and focuses on the issue of understanding the organisation based on heuristic theory, founded in heuristic theory that differs from the realist theories within this field. Heuristic theory differs from realistic theories such as empirical, normative and constructive theory as it applies 'ideal type's or models as methods for analysing 'reality'. Typical examples of such perspectives are 'public choice' school and the Weberian 'ideal type' of bureaucratic organisations that will be applied in this thesis analysing the organisation of Region Skåne.

Weber made it "abundantly clear the 'ideal type' was meant to be exclusively an epistemological tool, and that in no way embodied reality as such" (Mommsen 1974:9). The use of Weber's 'ideal type' in this case is based on the cultural significance that the Weberian bureaucratic model has in the Swedish system (Mommsen 1974:9). It gives particular attention to aspects in the bureaucratic setting, which one finds in the Swedish system as it in many ways is based on the Weberian model. Using the 'ideal type' gives a so-called value free investigation of the current bureaucratic setting as it identifies a structure based on non-rational value free construction. One can question the use of 'ideal types' as it reduces the reality in to fragments. However the question to address when using them is whether or not the object of study resembles the 'ideal type' used (Matti 2006:50). This is the perspective that will be applied in this thesis. Based on, firstly, the current structure and how it resembles the 'ideal type' and secondly, how the

case example resembles the 'ideal type' and how these differ. In this comparative case the 'ideal type' is a useful conception of reality as it brings order to the analysis and brings up key features of the object that is analysed.

The thesis will also strive to investigate the action of actors within the 'ideal type' organisation; the actor analysis will also be based on a model approach based on Lundquists (1987) implementation theory. Where a model for ideal implementation is identified this next level gives further understanding of the organisation and the actors within it. Lundquists model will also serve as an analytical tool to describe the impacts that the SYNAPS program has on the ideal implementation based on an actor structure. The thesis will use empirical theory and address the question 'what has been, is, and what in due course may be the out come and why it is so' (Lundquist 1987:20).

The organisational theory will derive from what one refers to as prescriptive theory, what Lundquist defines as Weberian categories which founds its ideas about the organisation on values as rationality, hierarchy and central coordination (Lundquist 1987: 21). The thesis will use two types of heuristic theories in analysing the empirical material gathered from the case of Region Skåne to investigate what changes based on actor structure approach that has occurred in the case of Region Skåne. Using heuristic approach is especially fruitful when analysing organisations and bureaucratic institutions as the concept of the organisation in many ways have been in one way or another derived from Weber's 'ideal type' theory about the bureaucratic system (Lundquist 1993:82). One must consider that 'ideal type' is not the reality but are constructions of reality and should not be seen as reality (Lundquist 1993:84). However, using theory on empirical material can lead to a constructive theory that can be applied upon reality. The use of organisational theory gives a macro perspective (Robbins *et al* 2002:28).

Using heuristic 'ideal type's such as Weber's theory regarding bureaucracy is profitable in the sense that is serves as a model of understanding and organising reality. Weber is amongst those that developed the heuristic approach further beyond that positivistic natural science field and applied it upon social structures, where it was used to increase the understanding of reality. In difference from natural science based set theories Weber saw the heuristic model where one integrates the theoretical 'ideal type' into the empirical material (Jörgensen 2004:90). The key concept for this process is being Weber's version of *Verstehen*. This notion Weber claimed to be a process of using heuristic modelling to understand the social processes and that the model creates a meeting point to use common grounds and concepts. These concepts can then be used to increase the understanding of the social processes and the reality of them. Although Weber's models serve as generalisations they are not to be seen as reductions of social events to general laws, a type of process that natural science applies in its field of work (Jörgensen 2004:90). One must be aware Weber acknowledged that building heuristic model would lead to a reduction of reality, but instead he saw the benefits of creating rather empty concepts within the theories though that this processes gives a higher precision and acceptance within the field of sociology when creating these concepts (Weber cited in Jörgensen 2004:90). The heuristic approach used by Weber is therefore a merge of both the positivistic approach of using laws and generalisation but also merging the specific within every event one analyses. The use of 'ideal type's that Weber defined also serves as a methodological tool; this will be addressed in the next section.

Weber addressed in his theories the concept of the bureaucratic organisation based on a macro perspective, this will in this thesis be complimented with Lundquists theories regarding actor approach. Lundquist used the same theoretical approach based on heuristic modelling that will be defined later in this thesis. However, his approach is based on the actions taken by actors within the bureaucratic organisation. This will increase the understanding further about the actions within an organisation and will provide with deeper understanding at the actor level.

This thesis will address the issues with making change happen within the bureaucratic society in a Western bureaucratic setting, using organisational theory as well as implementation theory this thesis will analyse Region Skånes path in trying to implement SD in the Region. The theoretical perspective used in this thesis is therefore used to make an abstraction of the current setting and the empirical material is used as evaluation of this current setting and the changes that the case of region Skåne has inflicted upon the current setting based on the theoretical approaches. Therefore the impacts of Region Skåne's work to increase policy implementation will be analysed through the structure of the reality provided based on the heuristic 'ideal type's'. This provides with a further understanding of the process taking place within the

field of the heuristic model when implementing change upon those current structures. This also leads to a further understanding of the impacts of bureaucratic organisational change on a structure/actor approach and the obstacles the organisation have faced during implementation based on these 'ideal types'.

As a conclusion one must emphasise that the use of 'ideal types' are only used as analytical tools to bring order to the reality one is analysing. Claiming that this is reality and the validity in comparison to reality of the 'ideal type' is not the aspiration of this thesis. Any statements made in regards to 'ideal types' and the bureaucratic organisational structure are simply to clarify some aspects of the bureaucratic organisation to be able to analyse the differences between current organisational setting and the case study based on the action of policy implementation.

2.5 Method and material

Using a single case study as empirical material can in some cases lead to a low generalisation level or abstraction level. However, in this case the thesis has chosen to use the concept of any organisation based on organisations theory as well as keeping the cases of implementation anonymous in regards to the empirical material. On the other hand conducting a single case study means that one is provided with an in depth analysis of the case, something that is sometimes neglected during research based on several cases. This thesis aims to increase the understanding and therefore focuses on one case to provide with deep knowledge and understanding about the process of SD policy implementation.

The case study will not only include empirical material based on interviews it will use the notion of triangulation (Yin 2003:99). It will be based on using documents, archival records, direct observation, and secondary material such as previous conducted analysis in the field (Yin2003:83). Using heuristic modelling as a theory type has the implication that it also serves as a version of method, based on first defining the theory and its concepts and using them in the analysis to create an order of the reality that one is analysing. This approach will be used on both system/ structure as well as actor level. One can see the process as Hans–George Gadamer expressed it, as a hermeneutic circle when one creates understanding using knowledge by shifting between the knowledge one derives from the material and the pre knowledge one has upon the object (Gadamer 1997 cited in Jörgensen 2004:91).

The thesis is based on qualitative method, and the analysis is therefore subjective. To ensure objectivity within the material the thesis is based on semi-constructed interviews (see appendix I), as the case study is based on a tool of policy implementation process. The secondary material is used however to increase the depth through semi structured interviews, the secondary material is mostly based on policy documents and that have been analysed based on the models used in the thesis. The use of previous research and regarding the Swedish bureaucratic organisation and official documents will serve as the foundation of the empirical material for the analysis of the current setting. The use of policy documents mixed with the use of semi-structured interviews leads to a greater depth of analysis and understanding of the case. The policy documents used are the majority of policy documents that have been used by the bureaucratic organisation in my case Region Skåne.

The interviewees serve as three key actors on three different levels within the organisation of Regions Skåne and have all been a part of the Sustainable Development policy implementation. The interviews have been semi-constructed and the questions can be found in the appendix I. The interviews serve as the empirical material in regards to the case analysis.

The use of one case will through the analysis provide with a discussion that leads to a discussion with hopefully wider significance. The aim is to provide the case study with a wide approach aimed to be able to discuss beyond its boundaries (Hague&Harrop 2001:71). The case of Sweden and case of the Region provides with such analytical material, based on the concept of a European democracy and the issues of bureaucracy and SD policies. "Studying an early example may help us to understand the phenomenon which is growing in significance elsewhere" (Hague&Harrop 2001:72)

This thesis is based on a current case of how SD is being implemented in Region Skåne, it is based on a theoretical approach that will be used when analysing empirical material from this case. The material is therefore based on secondary material from the organisations that have developed the program and

official material and reports from the state. The majority of the material is qualitative but some statistical material will also be used so called quantitative material.

To increase the depth of the analysis some empirical material has been used. The empirical material are first hand interviews both unstructured and semi-structured, but the thesis is also based on secondary material, research conducted previously and official material gathered from the current bureaucratic organisation, in question.

2.6 Limitations

The focus of this thesis is to analyse implementation of Sustainable Development policies. It does not aim to analyse the development of the policy, the so-called policy process, but rather the implementation of the policy. The limitations that involve such analysis leads to the thesis overlooking the macro perspective of organisational theory, it uses micro version of organisational theory and an actor approach in regards to the concept of implementation of policy. The analysis is based on inter-organisational theory and inter-organisational implementation problems. It will not analyse the outcomes of the implementation but rather the inter-organisational process and what obstacles that this practice meets when it comes to implement Sustainable Development.

One of the major limitations of the research of the case study is that the actual SYNAPS tool that Region Skåne uses in regards to Sustainable policy implementation, is not fully launched and that many actors that take part in it want to remain anonymous in the process, therefore the empirical material has been somewhat limited and the theoretical and secondary material have therefore been forced to play the major part of the analysis. The empirical material has therefore been based on selection of three key actors on three different levels and types of organisational levels that have used the SYNAPS approach. The interviews have been semi structured so that an evaluation of the results, as well as the ability to merge the results in the analysis has been made possible. One must be aware of the selection of the interviewees in such case and that has been taken into account. The selection of interviewee is always a problematic process but the objects used in this thesis have provided a wide range of perspectives that give the material both enough with and depth to make an analysis of the program possible. There is always a problem with semi-constructed interviews as they can guide the interviewee towards answers that the interviewer wants. This problem has been considered but to ensure a higher level of objectivity the choice of semi structured interviews have been made.

Another limitation with the material is using interviews as empirical material and there can be subjective analysis of this material. To ensure the subjective analysis can be as transparent as possible the interview questions have been semi constructed to increase the comparative level the questions asked is also defined in the Appendix I. Another limitation is that the actors wanted to remain anonymous, however the have been selected based on that they have played a key role in different levels of policy implementation in the case of Region Skåne. The next section will introduce the model used for analysing the current bureaucratic structure in Sweden.

2. The Weberian bureaucratic organisation

To be able of understanding the bureaucratic organisation this thesis will apply Webers 'ideal type' as a model of investigating the current structures of that organisation and how that case study has changed this structure. This section will define what the ideal type is exactly.

Bureau means office in French and bureaucracy roughly translates as rule by office, and was a term first introduced by Max Weber (Robbins *et al* 2002:308). The bureaucracy is an authority that Weber defined as legal-rational, based on rules and procedures and is the foundation of three concepts of political power (Hague&Harrop2001:12). The 'ideal' organisational theory that Weber presents serves as a good theoretical foundation to be used on empirical material; to evaluate the organisational structure as will be used in this thesis. Organized cooperation between humans within society is a development that has taken place especially since the development of the modern industrial society. Many of the problems that one faces within the present industrial or post industrial society is currently so large and complex that the organisation is needed to specialize within different fields to seek solutions to the issues within this society (Flaa *et al* 1998:11). Though today, the current paradigm of separated specialized fields of organisation to solve problems have reached problems regarding the real complex issues such as ensuring the society develops towards sustainable development.

> To put it in other words, the further advance of capitalism was inevitably tied up with the rise of even more efficient bureaucracies, and even greater degree of formal rational organization on all levels of social interaction. Weber envisaged that this process was likely to eventually result in the emergence of a 'new iron cage of serfdom', in which all forms of value-oriented social conduct would be suffocated by the almighty bureaucratic structures and by the tightly knit of networks of formal-rational laws and regulations (Mommsen 1974:57).

Weber claimed that the more bureaucratisation that one finds in a socialistic society the stronger bond would the iron cage of rationality hold the individuals within the society. Weber also found the state as the major actor and the sovereignty of the state as the legitimate body of power (Baylis & Smith 2001:150). Weber's theory regarding the efficient bureaucracy is according to him not an unproblematic development of an organisational reform (Mommsen 1974:58, 59). This is of importance to emphasise, as Weber was aware and critical to the development of an extensive bureaucracy, even though he presented the 'ideal type'. The critical perspective was towards the extensive growth of bureaucracy and its impacts on society with its growing power within this sphere (Callinicos 1999:172). The bureaucracy in his version was an instrumental tool of imposing rationality in society (Callinicos 1999:173). Weber claimed that there were three versions of legitimate domination, Legal domination, Traditional domination and Charismatic domination. This section analyses the first mentioned version of domination based on the legal domination and uses the 'ideal type' construction to analyse this type of domination. The legal domination is based on Officials or Civil servants that act based on instrumental rationality and enacted rules. Instrumental rationality means that the goal fulfilment is based on rationality and efficiency and not on values. They have their mandate given from the governed though the parliament. The administration is based on bureaucracy and its instrumental rationality fulfilling the value oriented political administration (Mommsen 1974:76-81). In brief one could claim that Weber found this type of domination being based in the value free rationality of executing the goals set by the politicians. Bureaucracy executed its power through following the law set by others based on rationality and efficiency. "The trend towards bureaucratisation was, in Weber's opinion, almost irresistible"(Mommsen 1974:82). The moral values would in such a system be of little avail, as the bureaucratic organisation would only take to account the technical consideration (Mommsen 1974:82). The process of an ever increasing bureaucracy in society would lead to instrumental rationality. This process would in Weber's perception lead to patriarchalism,

and that the bureaucracy would conquer the world through scientific knowledge and lead to the instrumental rationality that Weber found being very critical (Callinicos 1999:178). Weber's perception of bureaucracy must be taken into consideration when one discusses the 'ideal type'; as Weber was critical towards the process and did not see it as an uncomplicated development within society.

This 'ideal type' of bureaucratic organisation will be described more in detail in the next section.

To evaluate organisational change one must therefore investigate the ins and outs of Weber's theory, this section will highlight the major definitions of Weber's 'ideal type' theory. The 'ideal type' that Weber presents is a rational and goal oriented organisation and is questioned by many but serves as a good foundation for discussion and understanding of the bureaucratic organisation. It is of importance to emphasise that Weber's model of an organisation is what an efficient organisation could look like and that if it is structured this way it may reach highest efficiency (Abrahamsson 2001:104). Weber claims that this type of organisation if executed in a rational way will reach the highest level of organisational efficiency. The choice of Weber's theory for analysing the current setting of bureaucratic organisation is being used in this thesis as Weber's description of the bureaucratic organisation has been the foundation of the prototype of most of today's large organisations and Sweden is no exception (Robbins 2002:42). Weber's model therefore was based on making the bureaucracy as efficient in regards to solving problems in society, however the issue of dealing with SD and solving the problems of un-sustainability has shown as being less effective in regards to bureaucratic actions in implementing those policies. Organisational theory is a very diverse section of interdisciplinary definitions of what an organisation consists of and how it acts. The different theories have developed different emphasis on what they explain and define as organisational behaviour. The next section will describe what a bureaucracy is and how that relates to policy implementation.

2.1 Definition of current organisations and bureaucracy

One of the schools is the so-called Carnegie school of organisational theory developed during the 1950's and 1960's by James March and Herbert Simon (1958). Herbert Simons wrote in 1955 that the concept of looking at the organisation as the ultimate solution for solving complex problems within society is a utopia. Since then organisational theory has since long given up the idea that there is such an ultimate solution that an organisation can reach to be able to solve the complex issues, still the discipline believes that through using empirical research material and theoretical approaches one can develop the notion and concept of organisations in a way that can improve the efficiency of the organisations to solve current and new problems within society (Flaa *et al* 1998:12). The most efficient method to solve the current problems in society has however changed in regards to the current setting of facing to solve the problems of an un-sustainability in society. A policy concept and an approach that previously have not existed in this type of bureaucratic setting. This evidently implicates that the current setting faces issues in solving the new concepts, as the current setting is not designed to face such holistic problems.

A bureaucracy is in many ways a questioned concept and indifference to democracy, bureaucracy is a term that many have a negative perception of. Bureaucracy is defined by being slow and anonymous and too much power concentrated to a few people (Premfors *et al* 2007:25). It has also been described in a way of engineering the ecological as well as social problems in society away, in an over rational procedure of conduct. Weber himself called this type of process that the bureaucracy and capitalism would create a rationalization and disenchantment of the world with its rational procedures (Eckersley 1992:102). Bureaucracy has therefore been very much contested not only by Weber himself, though it is still a fruitful definition of an organisation within the public sphere in the Swedish system as these types of organisations are the major actors in implementing society change such as SD. This thesis will apply the definition of bureaucratic organisation as the term organisation has a less negative perception though it still refers to the same structure as the definition of bureaucratic organisation. The next section will define what the so contested bureaucratic organisation consists of.

2.2 Definition of Weber's rational "Bureaucratic organisation"

The rational state has come to exist only in the western world (Weber cited in Andreski :1983:150). The rational state and the rational action and structure of the state are the foundation of its actions. This process also includes the bureaucratic organisation. In many post industrial states the development of large bureaucratic organisations within society has become so large that many claim that bureaucracy is the definition of today's society. Weber saw the bureaucratisation as a goal of its own, as the bureaucratic organisational form he saw as more efficient then the capitalistic organisation. Weber saw the bureaucratisation as the end of capitalism "We too will then enjoy the benefits of bureaucratic 'order' instead of 'anarchy' of free enterprise"(Weber cited in Andreski :1983:159).

The notion of bureaucratic organisations has been discussed and defined, though it is the theories from Max Weber that served to develop them from being discussions to theory. The Swedish bureaucratic system is one of the systems that early during the 1920's applied the rationalist version of bureaucratic system that Weber presented (Abrahamsson 2000:10). This rationalisation within the bureaucratic organisation is one of the issues that has been linked to the problems and marginalisation of environmental policies. Weber found the bureaucratic organisation being an authority rational organisation based on the legal system. This perception is derived from that Weber saw the legal system as valid and correct, based on that it is applied and constructed accordingly to the state constitution (Lundquist 1982:66).

Weber did not see organisations and bureaucracy as a problem he saw it as a solution and sketched a set of definitions, a so-called heuristic model of an "ideal" organisation. Weber saw the problems with the development of an "iron cage" of rationality but claimed that mixed with democracy, bureaucracy would be the most rational organisational form, and that this form was the most efficient form of bureaucracy. Weber also saw organisation and bureaucracy as a way forward in a society that grew lager companies as well as states. Bureaucracy is in Weber's definition an instrument for executing power and not a power source in itself. Weber used the Jellineks concept of 'ideal type', "as something which is thought to be perfect on logical grounds only, yet by no means as a normative pattern" (Weber 1904 cited in Mommsen 1974:9).

The execution of power is linked to the execution of state directed policies and the implementation of these policies. Meaning, in this case, that the bureaucracy executes the power of the people in a democratic state. If the directions that are given by the state to the bureaucracy are not executed, such as has been the case in the environmental policy implementation, one can argue that the power of the people has been neglected and that a democratic deliberation has occurred.

Weber distinguished that the 'ideal type' was seen as an epistemological tool and was not presenting reality as such (Mommsen 1974:9). It must be noted that Weber did not see the construction of the 'ideal type' to be the ultimate construction of an organisation but serves well in distinguishing some patterns within the organisation while trying to analyse and understand the bureaucratic organisation (Lundquist 1982:66). The 'ideal type' brings up the rational aspects of the bureaucratic organisation and is a useful tool for analysing this aspect.

Weber's 'ideal type' bureaucratic organisation was defined through several concepts such as:

- *Specialised divided sectors*: each individual job is broken down to small parts and well-defined tasks, also defined as job specialisation and *fragmentation*. To ensure effective actions taken by the organisation.
- *Hierarchy* within the organisation, where other managers on higher levels control the individuals. A hieratical system of decision making with different competence and goals.
- An organisation that follows a set of absolute rules and regulations to ensure uniformity and regulation of jobholders so called *formalisation*.
- An organisation that keeps documentation and impersonal relationships to ensure *objectivity* of personal preferences (Lundquist 1982:66, Robbins *et al*. 2002:308).

Some parts of Weber's 'ideal type' organisational structure include actions taken on an actor level. These parts of the 'ideal type' have been taken out of the 'ideal type' as it is only applied upon structure level

based on the organisational structure. The actor approach will be based on Lundquist's rational actor approach regarding bureaucratic actions within the rational 'ideal type' organisation.

There are a number of desirable attributes in Weber's 'ideal type' bureaucratic organisation. "These include the focus on impartiality when selecting employees: security of employment to protect employees against arbitrary authority and changes in skill demands: rules and regulations to promote impartiality in decision-making: and the establishment of clear lines of authority and responsibility" (Robbins *et al* 2002:308-309). The 'ideal type' also combats favouritism through using the notion of objectivity and reducing nepotism (Robbins *et al*. 2002:309). Simon and March (1958) are both critical to Weber's theory but their argument should also be seen as a development of Weber's theory. They indicate that the continuous changes for the environment the organisation is within leads to that the organisational position becoming "loosely coupled" (Ahrne *et al* 1999:47). Meaning that different parts become isolated and coordinating these positions is an important part of the organisation. March later developed the idea that organisations have a limited level of rationality called "garbage can decision making"(Ahrne *et al* 1999:9). That the rationality of making decisions is more based of creating non-existing problems and solving them based on external changes such as an increased budget. This type of critique can be easily linked to the issues regarding SD and sectoralisation within the organisation that is one of the main critiques of the inability of the bureaucratic organisation to implement and grasp SD policies. The next section will analyse the concepts more closely, to define what Weber found being the 'ideal type' and the distinction of these definitions.

Division of profession and specialisation

Within an organisation scientists have also found that different professionals decide to own their problems. Andrew Abbot (1988) defines this as a situation where a different part of an organisation decides to "own" a problem area, excluding others from addressing it (Flaa *et al* 1998:62). Weber defines this in his ''ideal type'; as specialisation. Specialisation is necessary for large bureaucratic organisations to be able to handle the complexity of the modern society (Lundquist 1998:120). This process can be identified as being a part of the rationalisation structure of an organisation based on the principles of Weber's 'ideal type' organisational structure. The case for the organisation is that one division specialises in one type of problem and handle many individuals that face this problem, instead of handling a few with a diversity of problems to increase efficiency (Lundquist 1998:121). This type of division is very efficient when policies are directed and defined with goals and measures, however this sectoralisation also leads to a lack of perspective in every department within the organisation. This issue has a positive impact if the policy is defined, however SD policies are rarely defined and are many times cross-sectoral. This policy construction means that the organisational structure makes it very difficult for the organisation to handle such policies.

2.2.1 Hierarchy

The concepts of hierarchy mean that the decision-making and implementation of policies follow a system where the manager controls lower level officials. The loyalty towards the policies and the goals that are set for the organisation has to be emphasised and the civil servants has to execute the goal that has to be delegated to them (Lundquist 1998:121). However, the hierarchical concept is not included in SD polices as they are horizontal which again leads to implementation problems on a structural level.

2.2.2 Absolute rules, formalisation

Formalisation is a guiding point in the bureaucratic organisation, and is based on that the organisation follows set codes of conduct. This ensures that all actors in contact with the bureaucracy are treated equally. It also implies that the organisation is to act in an impersonal manner. The formalisation perspective means also that the roles are set and that alternative perceptions or policies that do not fit into the formal codes of conduct can lead to complications. SD polices that are visionary and needs definition on a local level are therefore hard to define through these formal communicative structures.

2.2.3 Objectivity

The organisation needs to be founded in objectivity when dealing with society, the organisation has to follow the goal's that have been delegated from the state to ensure loyalty towards the ruling state and the democratic values. If the organisation does not follow the objectivity and decides to conduct actions that do

not follow the goals that are delegated then the hierarchy of decision is not followed and the democratic process is questioned (Lundquist 1998:121).The four definitions if existing within an organisation, create the most efficient way of bureaucracy and organisation in regards to steering, changing and solving problems in society. They are designed to handle goal-oriented policies, which are the traditional policy construction. Meaning that the organisation is provided with policies from the state with set goals that they are to reach during a certain time frame. The next section will give a brief outlook on goal oriented policies and the concerns that goal oriented policies can meet.

2.3 Goal oriented policies and its problems

Based on the above-identified principles of organisation policy constructions previously have been much based on these concepts. This has led to specified policies that have been goal oriented and constructed for certain areas of specialised parts of the bureaucracy. Such as jurisdictions, regulations and other directed policies for the bureaucracy to follow. In some terms one can claim that the policies have been directed towards the rational organisation and defined to fit into the code of conduct of this organisation. This ensures that the bureaucracy does not implement goals that are not set by the government and that the organisation follows the hierarchical system and objective principles. This ensures that the implementation is equal to all, and that the bureaucracy takes no subjective measures. The concept of goal-oriented policies has been used in the case of implementing SD policies in Sweden.

Johan P Olsen (1989) criticised the notion of goal oriented steering within political organisation, because of the fact that politicians cannot outweigh the separated needs of goals between different sectors. The goals can be in competition between different areas in society. Economic goals can interfere with social goals. Therefore politicians develop imprecise goals that in many ways do not steer the actual behaviour of the organisation (Flaa *et al* 1998:107). As it becomes easier for politicians to develop consensus in regards to vague goal definitions these vague definitions lead to problems later on in the implementation process where they have to be defined and made concrete (Flaa *et al* 1998:108). In many ways, it is then up to the bureaucratic system to define the goals leading to specialised and technical definitions of them, and again conflicts between different departments within the organisation. However the 'ideal type' shows that the bureaucracy is unable according to the organisational structure to define the policy goals themselves. The effective bureaucratic organisation handles directives and defined goals and can therefore not set the goals and define them especially not when it comes to cross sectoral policies as the organisation it self it based on division of policy implementation. This is an issue that must be understood in relation to the current setting of the bureaucratic system and the impacts that SD policies has upon it.

2.4 Conclusion of Weber's goal rational model

The goal of the bureaucratic organisation is to implement a policy and to make change happen in the most effective way. The 'ideal type' presents its construction as providing the most effective and rational organisational form for society change. Weber's 'ideal type' introduces the concept of the rational organisation. The rational organisation acts based on instrumental rationality, specialisation formalisation, hierarchy and objectivity. If these objectives are fulfilled the bureaucratic organisation will work at its highest level of efficiency in regards to implementation of policies and reaching the goals of the organisation. One must be aware that the 'ideal type' has both its advantages but it also has significant side effects. These side effects in regards to implementation of SD policies are noteworthy and the next section will establish further implications in regards to the relationship between the organisations the actors within it and the implementation of Sustainable Development. The key features have been described above, and this perspective will be applied on the current structure of the Swedish bureaucracy to identify similarities and differences, and will also be used as an analytic tool to investigate implementation of SD policies and the implications on the efficiency levels that this implementation can have upon the bureaucratic organisation.

3. Implementation theory and the rational actor

Implementation theory derives from the concept of the Weberian efficient organisation, this section will therefore examine from an actor approach why policy implementation within an organisation can be complicated on the basis of an efficient organisation however looking at the actors within the structure. The question if the state can control and steer western democratic societies has been divided in two perspectives, macro theories or micro theories. The thesis uses micro theory as it is applied on sub national level and claims that the organisation and inter organisational structure is of interest when considering policy implementation. To define the difference one finds state policy that asks the questions in regards to the macro perspective: What is the state? What should it be? Policy analysis theories ask questions such as "what governments do, why they do it and what difference does it make" (Lundquist 1987: 29). The micro theory that implementation and organisation theory derive from, revise the output of political processes and can be seen as a sub- field of the so-called state theory (Lundquist 1987:29). This section of the thesis will therefore define the actions of the actor in the process of implementation. It will define the action and investigate the issues that the actor faces during the implementation or output of state action. "Organisational theory exists on the level of the state, implementation, and steering. Since steering is an essential relation both within and between organisations, knowledge of organisations constitutes a precondition for steering analysis"(Lundquist 1987:30). Identifying the issues that the actor faces within the defined organisation leaves us therefore with an even more specified definition of the implementation of state control.

3.1 What is steering: Actors of steering

Steering within political structures is based on the assumption that "*actors attempt to affect other actors*"(Lundquist 1987:35). The political steering therefore happens between state and higher bureaucrats, higher bureaucrats affecting lower bureaucrats and lower ones affecting the society (Lundquist 1987:35). The goals are not to affect actors but to get outcomes of the steering. Steering mechanism can take place through jurisdiction or through taxes or subsidies as well as through information when it comes to the level between bureaucrats and society. Between bureaucrats the steering happens through directives from other actors within the organisations or from other organisations. Steering is defined more from the attempts of steering then from the actual outcomes of steering. The control that an implementer has is based on the level of power one has to shape his environment. Steering in this perspective is therefore an actors attempt to shape its surroundings, based on the limits that the organisation provides. The basic assumption is that organisations are made of structures but also by the actors, that structure been defined in the previous section and this part will concentrate on the reciprocal relationship of actors shaping the outcomes of the structure.

3.2 Actors of implementation of policy.

Changing and reforming organisations to reach SD is one part that is necessary to be able to reach a sustainable society as defined above. The relationship between organisations leads to problems with the implementation in the organisation. Still, other obstacles are also found when the bureaucrat is left with implementing SD into society, these issues that implementation finds on an actor level will be defined in this section. Previously the problems with the structure of the organisations have been investigated to define the problem areas according to organisational theory. This part will define the implementation problem that occurs during implementation and what obstacles that are defined according to the current literature. But first one must define, what implementation is, and why it is of importance to use implementation theory in regards to the case presented later in this thesis.

Governmental steering has been an area where the major theories were developed in the 1960's, however the debate started in the 1920's, and was based on the concept that the state could steer the society on its right path and that everything was possible to govern. This perspective was later contested

and a branch within the field of implementations steering and policy analysis claimed that the state faced areas that faced un-governability (Lundquist 1987:28). One can argue that the level of steering can be seen as the construction of the organisation the so called *organisation theory*, moreover that the organisational theory exists on the level of the state and that implementation theory exists on the level of the internal organisation within the state. One can claim that, understanding the concepts and issues regarding implementation steering therefore serve and give additional understanding of the organisation and the organisational theory that is founded upon.

3.2.1 Three levels of actor indicators to ensure implementation by the actors

Many organisations find themselves with policy documents claiming that they are working towards a more SD in the institution or in the organisation. Though the same organisations find themselves in a problematic situation implementing the policy. The organisation and the way it is structured as well as the way SD is structured as an idea leads to difficulties.

1) The structure of the type of policy that is needed to implement SD
2) The structure of the organisation makes it difficult to implement the idea of sustainable development.

Two actors can be defined as problem areas, SD includes every section of an organisation and therefore creates synergies and conflicts between different areas in the organisation. This leads to implementation problems; at the same time individual actors such as bureaucrats can sometimes according to Lunquists theories be reluctant to implement the theories that are assigned to them. The actor approach leaves us with three levels of properties that the implementers need to fulfil to ensure any type of implementation or outcome of the policy implementation. If any of these three are not satisfied, implementation or outcome can become compromised. The three levels highlight the issues that one finds in regards to the SD policies. The SD policies as mentioned before are non-defined and this leads to problems on an actor level. The earlier defined environmental policies were easy to understand and had set goals, the more ideological ones that came during the 1990's and after based on SD leads to implications in regards to Lundquists' ideal implementations variables.

The three versions are defined through three flows of socialization, information and limiting/enabling that are based on structure approaches within the organisation. These are then prescribed to an actor structure, where it is defined where socialisation leads to that the actor must want and understand the policy and implementation. Information is therefore a major part in the understanding of the policy, information can lead to a change of the individual actor perception, which can change the will of the actor and therefore affect the socialisation of an actor. The information and socialisation aspects can be contradictory, where one variable such as the social setting of the organisation can contradict the information given to the actor, meaning that the actor must break the socialisation within the organisation in order to implement the policy based on new information. Both information and socialisation are dependent on the third version of organisational structure the limitations that an actor finds in the organisation

The knowledge and understanding what to implement
- Understanding: Does the bureaucrat understand the policy and the goal of the policy.

The ability to implement
- Ability to implement: Does the bureaucrat have the ability through authority and financial capability technical skills and skilled personnel to implement the policy.

The idea is that if the two above indicators are fulfilled that the measures will be implemented accordingly to the policy goals. Though a third indicator of implementation must also be fulfilled. Because a bureaucrat could have both the ability and the understanding, though might not have the will to implement. If the will is not there then the bureaucrat will choose to prioritise other policies instead of the intended one, and the policy will therefore not be implemented (Sannerstedt 2001:29). Therefore a third indicator

for successful implementations is added to analyse the prognosis of a possibility for a successful implementation.

The will to implement

- Will: Does the bureaucrat have the will to implement the policy or can conflicts within the departments overall goal and the policy be clashing (Lundquist cited in Sannerstedt 2001:29)

Kaufman (1960) defines this relationship though the following question:

> If a man is willing, or even eager, to carry out the preformed decisions of his superiors, but lacks the technical knowledge and practical skills to do so, the decision may never be executed at all, and certainly not properly. If he has knowledge and training, on the other hand, but is vehemently opposed to the decisions he is called upon to execute, the result may be equally disastrous from the point of view of his leaders. It takes both the will and the capacity to conform for a member of an agency to do his job as the leaders of the agency want it done. (Kaufman 1960:161 cited in Lundquist 1987:77)

The understanding level of a policy is sometimes compromised through the political process. If there is a wide political majority that concur with the policy it can sometimes develop in very precise guidance. However, if that majority is not there, then the policy can be a political compromise and the policy will therefore come out vague and unclear. This happens many times within the environmental field as in many others, and leads to vague directions in the policy and can even lead to conflicting goals within the policy. For example the visionary goals regarding the Swedish SD policies can be defined under these definitions, as the visions are vague and the goals undefined.

The vague policy directions on the other hand leads to problems with implementation, as the bureaucrat might not understand the policy that is presented and therefore might not implement it at all, or implement the policy in a way and in a direction that it was not originally intended. Regarding environmental policy settings the third type mentioned is sometimes of great importance. The "will" to implement SD is not always there as the bureaucrat finds the goals of the department being in conflict with the ideas of sustainable development. Therefore implementation problems can occur because the administrator dislikes the political decision that is made (Sannerstedt 2001:39). Ensuring that the will to implement is there and avoiding the organisational clashes of different conflict areas within the organisation is therefore of great importance for reaching sustainable development.

3.3 Conclusion of the theories

The Weberian 'ideal type' and Lundquist model of implementation steering are two models on different levels of action and will be concluded in this section in brief. One important aspect is that the thesis has no intention of merging the two models but finds them useful in the analysis as they approach both structure level and actor level.

To make the current structure clear according to these models the organisation is based on a structure of hierarchy, specialisation and objectivity, and also formalisation in regards to the handling of a policy within the organisation. The current action of actors within the structure is based on three principles. The implication of these two rational models shows that the current setting is very much based on pin pointed specialised policies that are designed to one single department, or to one section of the organisation to make the implementation as efficient as possible. However as noted earlier in this thesis SD policies do not fit this specialised setting. The next section of the thesis will analyse the implications of implementation of SD in Region Skåne and identify how the case differs from the models defined above.

Why is this of importance? To establish that SD and the process of implementing it meets obstacles one must first define how the organisation looks like, its structure and the actors within it. This has been established through the 'ideal type' and based on these models on can clearly see how the current setting is based on hierarchy and vertical implementation procedures. The next section will analyse how Region Skåne have tried to approaches the horizontal structure of SD policies and how Region Skåne

approaches the vertical organisation in this process, it will give a brief introduction to the case that will be analysed in section 7 based on the above theories. The second section will identify the current structure to show the background of the current system in Sweden based on previous research, this section will serve as a background and pre-knowledge for the reader, and will increase the understanding of the Swedish bureaucratic model from state level to local level. This section will also identify the place in the structure of the Region and will bring up the issues that the current setting of bureaucratic organisation has met during implementation of policies.
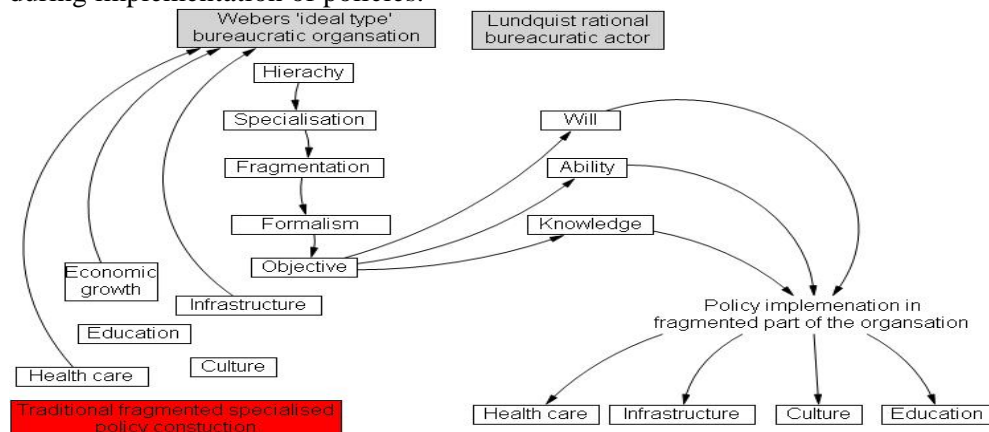

Figure 1: Example of Ideal type organisational policy implementation based on traditional policy construction
The figure explains the system of traditional policy implementation based on Weber's 'ideal type' model and Lundquists actor model. The traditional policy approaches are seen as fragmented policies and the model is recommended to be compared with figure 3, that explains the Region Skåne system approach for a brief comparison. Both figures serve as explanatory figures and are reduced models of reality, but should not be seen as reality as such, but serve as generalised version and abstractions of reality. This type of policy implementation is based on the concept of the 'traditional policy type', however SD policy does not fit into the fragmented type of policy implementation.

4. Background to the case of Region Skåne

As defined above there are several key areas where implementation of policies can be compromised and be problematic. This issue will be addressed based on the concept of that SD policies have a different construction that the traditional policy construction and therefore meets obstacles when implementation are to occur in a bureaucratic setting. These parts will be analysed in the next section however first one must establish the setting of my case and the types of SD policies that occurs in the Swedish state. This is an issue that the case study that I conducted at Region Skåne acknowledged. Region Skåne therefore created a tool to increase the ability of SD policy implementation within all sections of the organisation. As the next section will explain there has been a development of several SD policy documents however they have when reaching the organisations that are in change of this policy implementations been hard to implement. This section will give a brief explanation to what type of tool Region Skåne has developed and how it is applied and will serve as background material for further understanding of the analysis in this thesis. This section will serve as an introduction and understating of the case analysis in comparison to the current traditional structure of policy implementation. The case shows that the bureaucracy does not have to bee seen as static in its construction and that one can decrease the gap between SD policy on national level and the implementation and definition of it on decentralised levels (Book. Charlotte. SYNAPS coordinator 12/01-07).

Region Skåne is a large bureaucratic organisation that serves directly under the state, they found that there had been a lack of implementation of SD polices within the bureaucratic organisation. Therefore the environmental department of the organisation set out to develop a tool to increase that implementation of SD policies. One of the founding ideas was that the SD policy was aimed to be an overall goal for all work within the organisation that the origination had to integrate all areas in this process. However the integration of SD policies had not occurred within the organisation. The idea was based on making a tool that incorporated new

ways of communication within the organisation to ensure that they would be able to implement the local policy goals. The Social democratic party that was in charge of the launch created a 'Development section' that later was renamed 'Growth section' by the liberal parties. This section of the Region was to ensure that the SD polices would be implemented. The project started in 2004 when they established a lack of policy implementation of SD policies there was a need for something to increase the organisations capability to implement SD polices. The launch and establishment of need for a SD policy implementation tool was initiated by the Regional Development section and created by the Regional Development board to establish an environmental strategic program for the Region. The mission was to develop strategies for creating SD in the Region and to integrate the environmental policy goals with the overall society policy goals in the Region (SYNAPS 2006:1). The tool created by the growth department aims at increasing the ability for different sections in the organisation to develop common goals and integrating the environmental and Sustainable Development goals in to there traditional policy areas. The Region aimed at creating a tool that ensures that the environmental policies are borough tin and integrated in all areas hence leading to a more Sustainable Development in the Region of Skåne (Ibid).

The reason for the Region to develop this tool was based on an identified need for a tool to increase the ability for the organisation to efficiently and systematically integrate the SD goals into all sections as the SD policies were seen as such a large system complex that the organisation found themselves having problems with the implementations of these polices (ibid). It was also designed to ensure feedback with information about the decision taken in the organisation, increasing the ability for evaluation the Sustainability of the decision-making. It is now fully launched however since 2006, still in a process-based development, where the outcomes can still not be fully analysed. In the start this was project based but has now been developed into a permanent section of the organisation (ibid).

The tool was called SYNAPS (Systematic process tool for sector integration), and emphasised on the lack of set indicators and defined goals that the SD policy lacked and was developed to ensure that set goals and targets could be met on a local level in Region Skåne. The tool is based on a web based software program where key actors within different section of an organisation sit down and grade different issues within the organisation-based on a plus and minus scale. It provides with discussion tools for a systematic approach of developing policy goals and decision making in relationship to the Social, economical and environmental aspects (SYNAPS 2006:2). The material after the grading is then analysed, the software tool then gives a conclusion of the grading system. This also includes comments and personal attitudes. The groups of bureaucrats then based on common environmental goals try to establish decision making that leads to the least negative side effects in all sections of the organisation. For examples the goal of more wetlands in the area has to be developed with the input from both infrastructure department, economic department, environmental as well as health department. The need for wetlands is therefore not only based on the perspective and issues of the environmental department, but also is weight against the need for roads and communication or the impacts on the agricultural land in the area. This creates decision-making that then establishes the impacts in all areas of the organisation. The tool is seen as an environmental strategic tool that ensures that decisions made regarding policy implementation and society change is based on a holistic perspective where all areas are accounted for to ensure that no decision is based on only one department's perspective and goal. The foundation is to communicate Sustainable Development within the organisation and give the bureaucrats the idea on how to achieve Sustainable Development (Book. Charlotte. SYNAPS coordinator 12/01-07).

The tool has not only been recognised in Region Skåne but has also been acknowledged on EU level as well as in China and in the Balkan region and several organisations such as the Swedish aid agency SIDA has presented that they are interested in the concept where the Foreign department (UD) together with *Ramböll Natura* one of the leading Sustainability consultancies in Sweden (SYNAPS Region Skane 2006:3). SYNAPS has also been presented in *International Journal of Sustainability, Technology and Humanism,* published by UNESCO Chair of Sustainability at Polytechnic University Catalonia. This shows that what region Skåne has developed is a tool that can decrease the gap between SD policy and the implementation process that seemingly seems to be needed in both other type of organisation as well as other Nation states.

The main features of the tool that Region Skåne has used to increase the capacity of SD policy realisation:
1) Make the goals concrete that is usually not the case with SD policies. 2) To emphasise connections between different sections within the organisation regarding goal conflicts and synergies between goals. 3) Highlight the

need for an increase of sector integration in regards to SD policy implementation. 4) Show how practical solutions and possibilities in regards to policy implementation by evaluating the impacts on a system basis.

As the Region has acknowledged the policy implementation problems and imposed changes the theoretical modelling will be used as references to see what changes that the Region has imposed has lead to in comparison to the structure of the organisation and the roles of the actors within it. These changes will be analysed in section 7.

The next sections will address the structural and actor based problems that Regions Skåne faced in regards to SD policy implementation. Next section will also address the development of the polices that Region Skåne faced problems with in regards to implementation and will give a historical perspective on how SD polices were developed in to the Swedish bureaucratic structure. The next section will introduce the development of the policies that Region Skåne and other bureaucratic organisations have had problems implementing. That will later lead in to the analysis of Region Skåne based on the theoretical tools that were described in the previous section. But first a brief look at the development of SD polices in Sweden.

4.1 Sweden's sustainability policy an historical perspective

As defined above the bureaucratic setting has identified problems with SD policy implementation. To understand the problems with the policy one must first understand the context of the policy and how it has been developed. This part will identify the type of policy regarding sustainability policies that Sweden has developed during the years. It serves as a foundation for the reader to understand the current actors in Sweden that are in charge of implementing Sustainable Development such as the case of Region Skåne. Nevertheless, before the Swedish policy is investigated one must define what type of SD that Swedish state claims to implement with their policy document. This is of importance as the debate over what type of SD one strives towards differs within the sustainability debate. In many cases the issues encountered with implementation of SD policies are that the policies never really leave the paper and become realized in practice, what one can define as 'lip service'. The policy tends to serve as a document and never as an action plan. During the 1960's when the environmental policy development emerged, the idea with the policy was directed towards what Carter (2001) defines as 'the traditional policy paradigm', meaning that the policies were specialised to certain areas; as it was believed that the environmental problems were an unfortunate side effect of economic growth. "It was assumed that most environmental problems had solutions and that growth or the political–institutional structure of the modern liberal-democratic state" could solve these environmental problems (Carter 2001:162). The 'traditional policy paradigm' therefore adopted environmental policies that fitted into the concept of the institutional setting. However, as more knowledge and understanding has been developed the concept of the traditional policy paradigm were found unable to halt the inter-connection of the environmental problems with other areas of society. During the 1980's the concept of SD challenged that traditional policy paradigm regarding the environmental problems. Still, today the traditional policy paradigm is in many cases the typical construction that one finds even in countries with progressive environmental policies (Andersen and Liefferink:1997 cited in Carter 2001:162). The next section will give a brief review of the development of the current policy paradigm in Sweden.

4.1 History of environmental policies in Sweden

The environmental policy process in Sweden started early in comparison to many other European states. Since the 1930's the idea of the Swedish people's home has been the essential foundation of the creation of the Swedish welfare state. The idea was to engineer the society into a model society with minor class differences (Kronsell 1997:54). Aforementioned 'green peoples' home is based on the same notion of society engineering, this process started after the WECD report also called the Brundtland report (WECD:1987). However it was prior to this backed up by several policies regarding the environment. The first environmental debate on high political level is registered in the parliament in 1902, and in 1909 the first environmental protection law had been constructed and the National environmental protection agency was founded. However it was not until the 1960's that the environmental debate became a general debate amongst people (Bennulf *et al* 1993: 16). As in many other countries Rachel Carsons *Silent spring* (1962) gave major impact on the environmental discourse in Sweden, the book came in its translated form to

Sweden in 1963. The environmental problems became international during this period instead of the local environmental problems that had been addressed earlier (Bennulf 1994:12). The Swedish environmental act was established in 1969 and was later revised and improved in 1999. The introduction of the environmental act in 1969 was followed by the construction of organisations on local, regional and central level to control and monitor the environmental conditions. These institutions within the bureaucracy have shown to change very little in its structure in the last 30 years (Duit 2002: 123,127). The fact that there has been no change in these institutions is a problem as the environmental problems and knowledge about them has also changed during this period. Primarily because during this process the debate went from being localised to internationalised, ecological balance became a measurement for the environmental situation instead of localised clean ups of emission. In 1964 the Nature Conservation Act was implemented and in 1972 the Socialist government led by Olof Palme hosted the first UN environmental conference in Stockholm where the start of UNEP was introduced (Clapp & Dauvergne 2005:54). In 1987 EIA placed a fifth chapter to the Natural resource act where the case of sustainability was identified that was set in 1990 (Melin 2000:139). During the 1980's and 90's the environmental policy debate developed from jurisdiction and local control of emission to an ideological policy construction (Duit 2002:156). The Brundtland Report (1987) of course served as one of the influences of this process. The notion of social engineering that one saw in the 1930's had a revival after Brundtland (1987), and the notion of the green people home. However this notion has been established in the bureaucratic organisation in the Swedish model since the 1930's, where the society change is based on rational and scientific methods, and the notion of the green peoples home were to be constructed through the same manner (Kronsell 1997:55). The environmental agencies have through history in Sweden been rather central and have been operating without grass root foundation; the decisions regarding the environment have been delegated to the large bureaucratic apparatus (Kronsell 1997:57).

After Rio conference in 1992 the Swedish government delegated the Agenda 21 policies to be implemented during 1995 (Bro 1998:7). This process was evaluated and a report sent to UNGASS in 1998 and showed that 90% of the local municipalities had implemented the Agenda 21 policies. This was preceded with a law passed in 1991 that gave the more decentralised municipalities more power (Kronsell 1997:59). During this time the ideological development of Sustainability policies were the foundation of the environmental policies. This was one of the highest figures of implementations by any of the countries that had started to adopt the Agenda 21 plans (Carter 2001:276). The government also declared in 1995 that SD defined at that stage was to be implemented in all sectors of the Swedish society (SOU 1996:112). In 1995 the Swedish state joined the European union and from the outset established them selves as one of the 'leader' states in enforcing and pushing for more environmental policies in the union (Andersen Liefferink 2002:64). In 1996 a major shift in the idea of environmental policy making took place, the Social democratic led government announced

> "The governments ambition is that Sweden shall become an instigating force and a leading country in striving to create a sustainable society. The ecological needs can lead to the next leap towards economic growth". Prime Minster Göran Persson Inaugural speech 22 March 1996.

In 1999 the Swedish government set 16 environmental goals (Kriström el al 2003:29). They include areas such as climate change reduction, biodiversity, acidification, and toxic waste reduction emission, goals and limitation. These are the foundation for the locally defined policy goals and decentralised to be reached and implemented by Regions and municipalities (http://miljomal.nu/om_miljomalen/alla_mal.php 03-04-07). The environmental act was also established in 1999, it includes 33 chapters and 500 paragraphs, and has been applicable and used in 50 other laws in other acts (Persson *et al* 2005:231).

In 2001 the social democratic government again declared that they were developing a new type of Swedish welfare model based on creating a 'green' welfare state, though still with economic growth as the main feature of the concept (Hermele 2002:35). One can here see a close link with the concept of 'ecological modernisation' as the government stated that growth and environmental issues were not in conflict with each other (Hermele 2002:36). The idea behind this concept is to create an environment that pushes for technological shift and innovation to create an industrial and academic as well as technical development towards sustainable development, the win-win concept was based on the idea that Sweden

would be able to develop a green welfare state based on green production as a base of the national economic growth (for a general example see figure 1 below). The win-win concept is based on that economic growth and greening the welfare state are not incompatible. Today the government has very much applied the concept of ecological modernisation and strives with its policies to create 'environmental friendly' economic growth. This can be seen in most of the governmental policy documents such as *En Svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling-ekonomisk,social och miljömässig* 2003/ 04:129[1], this policy document had several key areas that were developed but delegated to the more decentralised organisations on Regional and municipality levels to create measures to reach the goals defined in the policy document. The governmental policy was however based on many visionary goals and many of the goals were not operationalized but of more general character. The policy was based on "a wide arsenal of tools and policy instruments, everything from legislation and taxes to 'soft' tools such as information and voluntary commitment"(*Nationell strategi för hållbar utveckling* Skr. 2001/02:172)[2]. The idea was to provide the Regional and local levels of governance with as much freedom to develop there own policy instruments and adequate measures to fit the local setting (*En Svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling-ekonomisk,social och miljömässig 2003/ 04:129*). The idea was based on the Rio conference, the Agenda 21. Meaning that the lower levels of governance should have the freedom and are better equipped with local knowledge in these cases and are therefore seen as better capable of developing these goals themselves (Matti 2006:123). The national policies that have been stated, in the above documents, have because of the decentralised concept of implementation and operationalization within the bureaucratic setting been developed as "value-neutral organisational or procedural goals where no specific outcomes are prescribed" (Persson cited in Matti 2006:123). This implies that the policies have been designed to fit the rational bureaucracy themselves. However the fuzziness of the policies being visionary and undefined poses obstacles for an organisational structure that is designed to address defined goal policies such as previous ones not including the SD policies. This is an important aspect to raise in regards to analysing the bureaucratic obstacles that are found in regards to implementation of SD in Sweden.
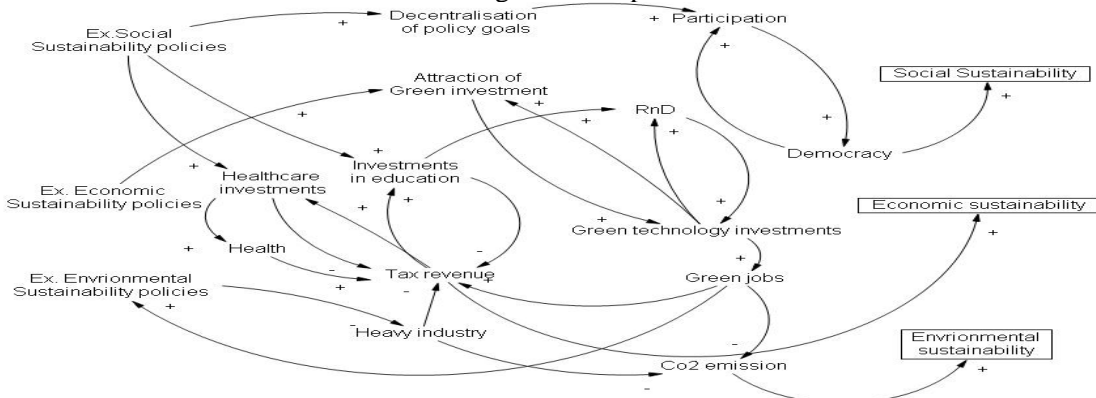

Figure 2. Causal Loop Diagram representing a general idea of 'Ecological Modernisation'
The above example gives a general example of the construction of the ecological modernisation concept, where policies directed on improving the environment also will lead to a better environment, social environment and economic growth. The plus indicates an increase where that arrows points and minus a decrease.

4.2 Sweden and 'ecological modernisation' a historical perspective of the development of the Green welfare state.

To be able to ensure that the reader has an understanding of the process of implementing SD within the Swedish society it is of importance to understand the grounds upon how these policies and measures have developed. This section will give a brief overview of what type of SD is to be implemented and the historical process of the current definition of sustainable development. This will serve as background knowledge to understand the setting that the case of Region Skåne is within when it comes to SD policy

---

[1] A Swedish Strategy for Sustainable Development- Economic, Social and Environmental.
[2] National strategy for Sustainable Development.

construction. Hajer writes in his book *The politics of the environmental discourse: Ecological modernisation and the Policy Process* (1997), "Policy-making is in fact to be analysed as the creation of problems, that is to say, policy-making can be analysed as a set of practices that are process fragmented and contradictory statements to be able to create the sort of problems that institutions can handle and for which solutions can be found (Hajer 1997:15). What Hajer (1997) describes is the process of how we define problems to solve the settings of our society, this is a statement that is not going to be addressed analytically in this thesis but is of importance when one argues regarding the process that Sweden has gone through while developing current SD policies. The policies have been based on a formation of types of problems that can be understood and addressed in the Swedish society without changing the current setting that the society is based upon, being a capitalistic society where the majority of tools to solve the environmental problems are based on this notion. The concept is based on a "that the pressure that ecological interests and ideas impose on economic and industrial practices are being mediated through science and technology to transform modern society in a way that can strengthen rather then undermine environmental reform" (Vogel 2002/03 cited in Elliot 2004:232). Elliot (2004) claims that the ecological modernisation debate and its version of SD is a merge between environmental protection and a growth friendly development discourse (Elliot 2004:66). This must be seen as pre knowledge when one describes the process that has taken place regarding the development of SD policies and the implementation of it. For example Hajer (1997) brings up the issue with the current progress of SD policies since the Brundtland definition of it as being a process where the critique lies in the, by some called, strength of the Brundtland definition. The definition merged previously opposing camps, those being the IMF and World Bank and the green movement creating a version of consensus around the environmental debate. "Radical critics of the Brundtland Report claim that the whole idea of SD is a rhetorical ploy which conceals a strategy of sustaining development rather then addressing the causes of the ecological crisis."(Hajer 1997:12) This merge was only possible through the fact that the Brundtland definition of SD based its idea in some ways on the capitalistic society and its structure. What the critic's claim as being an unsustainable win-win perspective where economic development will lead to a better environment, so called ecological modernisation. The normative discussion regarding this pre condition is not going to be addressed in this thesis, but one should be aware of this discussion when analysing the development of environmental policies within a welfare state. The discourse around the version of SD and the process of creating the policies regarding SD is not a consensus-based discourse according to the critics.

5. Environmental policy on state level

Today the previous development has created a policy foundation that will be reviewed in this section. This part serves as an introduction to the difference of policies between the state level in comparison to the Regional level, which is the setting within which SYNAPS is implemented. It is of importance to know the difference of the state level policies and the Regional policy development as Sweden has a decentralised version of implementing Sustainable Development. The Swedish government defined a policy regarding an overall implementation of SD in the whole of society. This was based on 16 environmental goals that were derived from extensive research in several different official documents. These goals were delegated to other actors within the bureaucracy to be implemented to reach a more SD in Sweden.
(Prop.1997/98:145;Prop.2000/01:65;Prop.2000/01:130;Prop.2001/02:55;Prop.2001/02:128;Prop.2002/03:1 17;Prop.2004/05:150). These are defined goals and are set based on national and international set standards. This was first developed in the latest version in 2001 called *Nationell strategi för hållbar utveckling 2001/02:172*. This document established that SD was an issue that was to be implemented in all areas of society and was not only a policy document for the environmental agencies in Sweden but for all agencies. This policy document was later revised in 2003 called *En svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling* 2003/04:129[3], and later *Strategiska utmaningar- En vidareutveckling av svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling* 2005/06:126[4]. Since 2003 it was decided that the state was on a path towards a more

---

[3] A Swedish strategy for Sustainable Development
[4] Strategic challenges further development of the a Swedish strategy for Sustainable Development

sustainable society within all fields, and the process later was to develop a more global and long-term plan for Sweden. The first policy strategy was based on the international goals that had been set by the UN and the later version that was revised in 2003 was a direct reaction from the decision and commitments that were set and discussed during Johannesburg 2002 (Regeringens skrivelse2005/06:126). The latest version revised on 2005 was another step towards a more global perspective on the sustainability policies within Sweden. The work around the issue of implementing sustainability in society started during the 1990's in Sweden, the Brundtland report and the meeting in Rio de Janeiro 1992 were the foundation of this national policy development. The work on local level started during the implementation of Agenda 21 during the 1990's. Governmental restructuring took place during the year 2005 that changed the emphasis on the importance of the integration of SD as it changed the department's in a way where a department called 'Society Planning and Environmental Department' was created, this was a restructuring that pin pointed the new direction the government took in regards to the SD on national level as the environment and SD became a part of the overall planning of the Swedish society. The delegations of responsibilities are formed on state level based on integrating SD in the separate departments. All governmental agencies are responsible for the environmental impacts in their fields. The Ministry of the Environment on state level, is responsible for environmental quality objectives, climate change, water, chemicals policy, environmental legislation, nature conservation including biological diversity, planning and energy (http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/5400/a/43490 10/05-07). The actual implementations of these goals are directed to regional level as well as municipality level. The 24 different Regional levels serve as a control agency for the state to ensure that the policy goals are met in these sections (Kronsell 1997:58).

To sum up the Swedish national goals one can define 8 key areas and in one of them are the 16 environmental goals that are the operationalized version of policy goals set by the parliament (Edvardsson 2006:97). The goals are designed to be implemented by public institutions, the parliament did not only decide on the 16 environmental goals but also decided that all political decision making in all levels should be made on the basis of long term social, ecological and economic considerations (Edvardsson 2006:97). One of the most stressing points set by the government was that central institutions and bureaucracy as well as local governments should have developed plans and work proactively for SD within one generation (Edvardsson 2006:98). To ensure this development and to operationalize the concept of SD several key areas have been developed to guide this process. However there have been increasing problems on regional level to translate these goals into actual implementations. One of the aspects is the lack of communication between the parliament and the decentralised levels of the bureaucracy. Another reason is the lack of guidelines for the decentralised levels on how and what to implement (Kronsell 1997:59). Below one can find the 8 key areas that have been constructed to guide these institutions and local governments.

1. **The future environment**
- Toxic compounds in the environment
- Biodiversity and preservation oceans and seas
- 16 environmental goals
2. **Decrease climate change**
3. **Population and health**
- Population development
- Public health
- Work food program
4. **Welfare and safety**
- Social participation
- Integration and diversity
- Equal opportunity
- Youth and children participation and development
- Security from crime
- Culture
5. **Full employment and education**
- Employment
- Education
- Research and Development
6. **Sustainable economic growth**
- Sustainable economy, trade and industry
- Innovation system and technology transfer
- Sustainable consumption
7. **Regional development and Regional conditions**
- Regional development
- Forrest, Fishing, reindeer, and agriculture
8. **Development of a sustainable society**
- Built up areas
- Energy security
- Transport system and infrastructure
- New information technique (En Svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling 2003/04:129

The development of using environmental goals as a tool to reach and implement that concept of SD has increased in the European setting. For example one finds the sixth environmental action program set by the EU based on the concepts of goals (1600/2002/EG), the Swedish goals that are defined and have guided the key areas defined above, have been set and developed during the beginning of 1990 and until this date comprised of 15 originally but were later developed to 16 when the biodiversity goal was defined

in 2004 (*Svenska miljömål- ett gemensamt uppdrag* Prop. 2004/05:150[5]). The goals are set as indicators of the environmental quality that Sweden are to strive towards until the years 2020 and 2025 and are meant to guide all decision making in the society within all sectors (Edvardsson 2006:16). The goals are defined with a further 70 defined partial goals. Even though the goals originally were defined over 7 years ago very little work has been done around defining them in a way where practical implementation has been made possible. Karin Edvardsson (2006) has in her analysis of the Swedish environmental goals found both conflicts between several goals, imprecise definitions of the goals, lack of coherence and lack of motivation within the construction of the goals in her analysis of the 16 environmental goals that are the foundation of Sweden's sustainability policy (Edvardsson 2006:36). In 2003, a Sustainable Development department was created, this committee was formed to help the Environmental protection department that have had problems in implementing SD policies in the rest of the national organisation (Bäcktrand *et al* 2004:251). What one can see on national level is that there have been major problems with integrating SD policies into other sections as well as the issues with the fuzzy construction of the SD policy creation. The lack of implementation of the environmental goals could therefore be explained through this complication, one, lack of integration of the departments and two, lack of definition in the policy construction. The division of responsibilities has been addressed as a problem on state level however " few new sectors have been affected by these new ideas, but not substantially, as only few minor changes have been initiated"(Kronsell 1997:61). However, this thesis will investigate the implications that this has inflicted on the organizational construction that has to deal with these issues. The next section will identify how the current structure deals with policy implementation on local level, where a majority of the goals are defined and realised.

5.1 Environmental policy on local level

As the policy developed the state delegated most areas of implementing SD to lower levels of the state. The actors identified were municipalities and the newly created regions. Region Skåne developed a strategic policy document based on the national state goals and created a framework that was custom made for the region. *Skånes miljömål och miljöhandlingsprogram- Skåne i utveckling 2003:62[6]*.

The policies developed on local level are based on the 16 environmental goals set on state level but also includes three additional policy developments that are specialised to the local setting of the region to fit the local setting. The first version to the current policy document was set in 1995 and has later been updated in various versions 1996 and 2001 *Miljövårdsprogram för Skåne – regionala mål och åtgärder 1995[7]*. Further defintion of the Regional goals were developed in the document called *Miljötillståndet i Skåne, Årsrapport 2001 – Att bygga Skånes framtid[8]*. However the policy document developed in 1995 called *Utvärdering av Miljövårdsprogram för Skåne[9]*, has been the major document that has been the foundation of the current policy document.

These policy documents mentioned above on regional level are based on the national policy documents called *Svenska miljömål[10]* (proposition 1997/98:145), *Svenska miljömål – delmål och åtgärdsstrategier[11]* (proposition 2000/01:130), *Svensk klimatstrategi[12]* (proposition 2001/02:55), *Kemikaliestrategi för Giftfri miljö[13]* (proposition 2000/01:65), *Vissa inomhusmiljöfrågor[14]* (proposition 2001/02:128) as well as, *Ett samhälle med giftfria och resurssnåla kretslopp[15]* (proposition 2002/03:117).

---

[5] Swedish environmental goals- a common mission.
[6] Skåne environmental goals and environmental action program
[7] Environmental protection program for Skåne- Skåne in development
[8] Environmental conditions in Skåne, annual report 2001- to build Skåne future
[9] Assessment of the environmental protection program for Skåne
[10] Swedish environmental goals
[11] Swedish environmental goals- staging post and action strategies
[12] A Swedish climate strategy
[13] Chemical strategy for emission free environment
[14] Certain indoor environmental issues
[15] A society with emission free and resource scarce cycle of nature

The Region or the county administrative boards are central government bodies and work as a decentralised version of the State and its responsibilities. They provide support and advice to the operational regulatory authority in municipalities on more decentralised levels in order to coordinate supervisory and regulatory activities in their Region. The Region is in charge of environmental monitoring and supervision of the air, ground and water and is responsible for inspections and enforcement, mainly in the case of activities that entail a major environmental impact. The Region is also engaged in nature conservation designed at maintaining functional ecosystems and preserving the biological diversity (http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/5400/a/43490 10/05-07).

One can see that there have been many policy documents that have been used to define the local goals and that they are all based on the state policy documents. The Region has according to the national policy directions, described previously decided to develop their own set of key areas for sustainable development. They have identified four major areas and selected the appropriate indicators or goals in to these four sections.

Growth (Tillväxt), Attraction (attraktionskraft), Strength (bärkraft), Balance (balans), the four sections have been delegated different sets of goals based on the environmental goals, and every area has different types of tools used to ensure that the goals are reached. Some measures are legislative, others are economic subsidies or fines, education or so called command control approach where the state ensures that emission levels are low by conduction controls on sources of this emission. Some goals are visionary ideas and other goals are defined goals a type of structuring that is typical for the Swedish environmental goals (Hansson *et al* 2006:164).

A goal is rational if it is defined in a way that makes implementation possible, though goals can be conflicting, meaning that one goal can interfere with the ability to reach another set of goals. Some goals are cumulative in a way where they can increase the ability of reaching other goals that are defined (Hansson 2006:165). Goals such as the 16 environmental goals or other goals defined when it comes to guiding the creation of SD have to be based on some concepts to be able to be implemented in to the current bureaucratic setting (See next section). Edvardsson (2006) describes that goals have to be rational, meaning that they have to be precise and have to be able to evaluate the goals, they have to be approachable and motivate the bureaucrats implementing them (Edvardsson 2006:99).

The conflict one finds between different set of goals and the different prioritization between goals has led to several obstacles in regards to the implementation on local level. One can find that the goals are set on paper by the state, but the implementation of them has been seen as complicated within the bureaucratic organization on more decentralized levels that are the actors that have been delegated to implement them. Some even claim that the bureaucracy is unfit to deal with the implementation of Sustainable Development. The bureaucratic organisation has traditionally organised the environmental issues into narrow sections in the organisation. Even though the Swedish system has since 1991 decentralised several of the environmental policy implementation the same structure has been found on the local levels in society (Kronsell 1997:60). This issue will be investigated further, based on organizational and implementation theory to see how this affects the implementations of SD polices, in references to the theories presented in the earlier sections. However first one must discuss what type of SD policy that Sweden is implementing based on the type of policy that is defined. The next section will address this theoretical issue based on SD policy types.

5.2 Organisational reformation and SD policies

Maarten Hajer writes in his book *The Politics of Environmental Discourse* (1997) that the concept of political policies towards attacking the environmental problems in society is today framed as a win-win concept. " The idea that evidence of environmental decline does not imply doom or failure but should be seen as a stepping-stone on the road to innovation"(ibid:264) Hajer claims, has lead to an increase of environmental policies based on the concept of Ecological Modernization. This is not an unproblematic development according to Hajer, however it continues to be the major story-line that bureaucratic organisations and state policies claim to be the reasoning for implementing environmental policies. This is much the case in western societies such as Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands as well as in Sweden.

Sweden has a long history of bureaucratic institutions and have previously had major society changes made through these type of organisations such as the creating of "the Swedish people home"(Lundqvist 2004:1286).

Hajer defines the origin of this process of Ecological Modernisation as eco-modernism, which means that states can develop there way out of environmental problems (Hajer 1997:264). A process that in the Swedish case of bureaucracy, has many times, been linked to the bureaucratic organisations capability of engineering society. The concept of ecological modernisation can also be linked to the concept of 'weak' sustainability, where the current structure does not need to be overthrown to ensure a better environment, the current structure of society needs to be reformed instead to face the new problems (O'Riordan 1996 cited in Carter 2001:201) To endorse that bureaucratic organisations can stimulate this development in the best possible way is therefore not only a goal to guarantee a better environment but also to ensure an economic development within the state and/or within the Region. Hence, this concept accepts the basic foundation of the capitalistic society; however it claims that it needs to be reformed in order to face the problems that the current society has created. One must therefore be aware that the SD that the Swedish state is applying is a type of development that is created through reformation and not an organisational revolution. The current structure therefore faces problems that have been identified; the major obstacle is that bureaucratic organisations and institutions face what Carter claims to be "narrow sectoral objectives with little consideration for their overall environmental impact"(Carter 2001:208). Carter (2001) claims that this is the most important obstacle for implementation of SD policies within western societies. New structures and organisational reforms as well as the transformation of established policy making processes are some of the key areas that Carter defines as important in this process of implementing sustainable development. This thesis will look at one type of organisational reformation that seeks to address this new type of problem within SD policy implementation. The idea is that as the environmental issues and problems have become more obvious and larger there is a need for environmental agencies or organisations to implement the policies to solve or restrict the environmental problems in society. This can in the long term lead to more innovations and increase the economic development in states or Regions. Many governments and states have therefore created new organisations to deal with these new types of policy implementation. Two types of reforms have been identified, one where governments have reformed the organisations in a way where the environmental issues have been segregated to a single independent organisation, for example the French ministry of Environment. The second version has been identified with a more general approach where the reformation of organisations has led to a merge with already existing organisations within the state, such an organisational reform that can be identified in UK and the UK Department of Environment that has been given not only environmental issues in there concern but also non-environmental issues (Carter 2001:260). The two versions both have their benefits and draw backs, but they both try to tackle the new types of policy implementation. A SD policy is one of these "new problems" that bureaucratic organisations face to implement. Carter defines this problem as one that many countries have been trying to tackle in various ways, though the most common perspective is to marginalize and construct independent organisations that are given the obligation so implement specific environmental policies. Carter defines two versions of environmental ministry organisations, where one version is given exclusive policy focus. Thought this version has met difficulties mainly because separating the environmental issues from the already existing organisations many times leads to a marginalistation of the environmental issues. The second version is the generalist organisational model, where already existing organisations face the concept of also implementing environmental policies, the problem with this version is that the environmental questions are many times not prioritised and sometimes "they struggle to reach the top of the departments agenda" (Carter 2001:259).

Environmental issues can in many cases be specialized and suit specialized organisations within the state, however one of the foundations of SD is that the policy issues tackle all areas of the society. Therefore sustainability is problematic to generalise and must be implemented in all sectors of the state organisation. This leads to a problem for the current structure within the state that many times is structured through specialized sections that deal with specific issues within society. The administrative structure of a bureaucratic organisation that faces implementation of SD is generally constructed in to "distinct policy sectors with specific responsibilities such as education defence or health care (Carter

2001:167). Implementing SD has therefore become a problem because of its complexity and inter-disciplinary construction, as current structures are not created for such policy implementation. The current bureaucratic structures instead are constructed of narrow sectoral objectives with slight consideration to the environmental impact of that part of the bureaucratic actions. The environmental issues are typically seen as an area that a separate department addressed based on the sectoral construction of the organisation (Carter 2001:168). This problem occurs as the typical code of conduct in a bureaucratic organisation is to "breakdown problems into separate units" (Carter 2001:168). However, SD does not fit into this bureaucratic construction as the transboundary perspective that the policies have based its construction on. Meaning that the problems needs to be addressed on a cross sectoral approach merging these narrow sectoral divisions into working together towards a common goal being Sustainable Development. Because it does not fit in to the current structure the organisation tends to concentrate on the policy goals that are tangible and defined as well as understood in the organisation. Meaning that the bureaucracy marginalize the SD policy goals because they can not define the goals or understand them because of the SD construction being too complex. Instead to be able to implement SD policies, all sections of a bureaucratic organisation need to cooperate to be able to implement this process, a type of cooperation that is not naturally found in the construction of the traditions bureaucratic organisation (Carter 2001:168).

This has led to a problem when governments have decided on implementations of such policies as that structure within the state for such divergent and complex policy implementation has not previously existed within the state. Therefore understanding the current organisation and the issues it faces when implementing sustainable development, within all areas of the current organisation, is crucial for the prospect of creating the possibility of a successful implementation of these policies. This section will define the current structure of the Swedish bureaucratic organisation, its background theoretical foundation. The next section of the thesis will investigate the current cultural setting of the bureaucratic organisation. This part will give the theoretical perspective of the current organisational setting. This will serve as a foundation for understanding the current setting of the bureaucratic organisation.

6.The current Swedish bureaucratic setting

The theory of organisation shows an ideal heuristic picture of how the organisation should look, and the basic assumptions that bureaucratic organisations and institutions use when they are constructed and put into action. The actions are steered by political policies; Lundquist (1998) defines three versions of political steering in the Swedish setting. One is political steering, the steering that takes place between politicians and the organisation/ institution, two the steering within the organisation and its different sections within it and three the steering that bureaucrats implement on society to steer society. Premfors (2007) defines several aspects that are typical for the Swedish bureaucratic setting; he claims that some parts of the 'ideal type' definition can be found. Formalisation, hierarchy, and specialisation are the key aspects while other parts of the 'ideal type' bureaucratic organisation are not so clear in the Swedish setting.

6.1 The structure of the Swedish political system

Every political system has some unique tendencies and organisational practices. Sweden is no different; one of the major differences in the Swedish system is the large bureaucratic sector and the way that power from the state is delegated down to fairly autonomous sectors, such as institutions and municipalities (Back *et al* 2006:173). The Swedish instrument of government declares that the "Swedish democracy shall be realized through a representative and parliamentary polity through self-government" (Hague&Harrop 2001:212). The parliament has a different decision-making procedure then many other democracies. The parliament takes collective decisions around 9000 per year and a single minister usually takes approximately a hundred. The parliament in Sweden has through the large bureaucratic sector delegated the execution of their decisions down to great machinery of different organisations, to put the decisions in to practice. In Sweden preliminary figures argue that up to 30% of the employments are provided within the public sector. 26% of these are employed through the municipalities and only 5% are directly

employed by the state. Around 60% of the expenses for the state are today invested in the public sector in Sweden, the highest ever in Sweden and the highest in the world currently (Back *et al* 2006:175). Traditionally the public sector have been addressing areas such as education, health care, social care and policy and well as law and army, but as the bureaucratic sector has grown larger the areas of responsibility have grown to childcare, and environmental planning has been included as well as other areas (Back *et al* 2006:176).

The Swedish bureaucratic sector is perhaps not so influenced by the ideas of Max Weber but can be seen as explained through his ideas regarding how the bureaucratic society works within a democracy (Premfors *et al* 2003:38). The concept is based on three concepts. It is based on formalism, hierarchy in decision-making and specialisation. Formalism is based on the rules that a bureaucrat has to follow while conducting their work, specialisation is the division of work that different departments are delegated to address, and the hierarchy is founded in the idea that no one can make autonomous decisions but are checked through different decision makers to ensure a control of the employees within the bureaucracy (Back *et al* 2006:173). The separation and division between bureaucrats and the democratic process is emphasised (Premfors *et al* 2003:38). This process is often referred to as slow and complicated and differs very much from the processes within a company, as it has rules and codes of conduct that many times makes the decision-making process this way. At the same time this process has been developed this way to control that every individual be treated indifferently by the bureaucratic system independent on the individual bureaucrat. The administrative man must always ensure that she/he has followed this code of conduct (Back at el 2006:174).

The most public state institutions are directly under the parliament, and are steered through three main principles with exceptions lying in the ministries. One, the institution should be politically steered. This means that dependent on who is in majority in the parliament the institutions follow their political goals. Two, the institutions must follow the rules and laws that are controlling them, which means that it is also a control mechanism for the different political steering that might take place. Some laws are constant and cannot be over ruled independently of what the political power might want the institutions to execute. Three, the institutions must be working effectively, and be able to address local and current changes in need. This means that there is a level of independence in how they develop their decisions dependent on the current environment in the local society. These are a way of decentralising the institutions and making the decisions more flexible. This decentralizing process means that it is up to the institution to interpret the decisions that the politicians have delegated to them for execution. No minister is allowed to communicate with the institutions in single cases, or in how they interpret the decisions once they are delegated. The institutions are autonomous in that sense. The next section will give a brief overview of the decentralised sections of the bureaucracy and how they are organised.

6.2 Decentralisation / Governance

The development of decentralizing more power closer to the citizens has been one of the major changes lately in the Swedish bureaucratic system. The concept of decentralisation has been given various different meanings but in this case one can call it non-centralised governance (Pierre 2001:106). The executions of state decisions are through decentralisation, or non-centralisation, delegated through three different structures. One is that they create smaller sections of offices on local level. The municipalities self-governing authority was given to them during a bureaucratic reformation during 1984 when the government passed the 'free commune' act (Dobers1997:71). The second is decentralised decision making through the municipalities. The third version is the so-called "Lanstyrelsen" or "Landstingen", two version of overall regional execution of the state delegated power (Back *et al* 2006:204). The idea is not that the decentralisation takes place through that power is given to the lower levels, the decentralisation in the Swedish system is based on that the central power delegates a goal or policy idea and that the lower sub state organisations are given the power to choose how to organise and execute the decision made on higher levels (Pierre 2001:109). This process is made through policies or so called "frame laws" that guides the lower organisations towards goals, but does not give straight directions on how to execute the decisions however they are usually formulated with specific goals that the bureaucracy must reach (Pierre

2001:115). This concept fits in to the hierarchal concept of the 'ideal type', and is typical for the Swedish bureaucratic structure.

"Lansstyrelsen[16]" areas of power execution is within the fields of infrastructure planning, environmental care and protection, social care, logistics such as transport traffic and roads, civil defence and fire brigade and the operational surveillance of the implementation of SD (Premfors *et al* 2003:140). This version of state decentralisation was later changed in some areas Skåne being one of them, where the power structure was changed and where a Region was formed, and became a much larger local administrator of implementing power. Instead of being a state version on local level the Region that was created was to ensure the local needs were protected and secured in relation to the centralised state, giving the execution of power a hierarchal structure. Nevertheless, the Region is still answering to the state to implement its directives, therefore the Region is divided towards protecting the needs of the region towards other regions as well as the state but also to follow and implement what the state requires from the Region (Premfors *et al* 2003:165). The concept of Region Skåne was a trial version of changing the bureaucratic structure to ensure that the Region Skåne was to protect the needs of the municipalities in the area. One can claim that Region Skåne is an unsymmetrical version of political steering, as the Region has a much larger area of issues to deal with in comparison to the smaller Lansstyrelsen that can be found in the rest of the country. Though this can be seen as decentralisation it is also a version of centralisation on local level (Back *et al* 2006:206).

This is the current structure of political execution within Sweden at the moment, though this is in no way a simple and uncomplicated structure. The concept of that "the right hand does not know what the left is doing" is many times referred to in the Swedish system. This typical structure has been brought up in several cases as one of the reasons why the current setting faces difficulties while implementing SD policies. The fragmented development within the larger Regional structure has been researched and Daniel Tarschy developed six points where one finds problems.

- Redundancy: Too many actors create double work and inefficiency.
- Fragmentation: One part does not know the actions of another part within the structure, which can lead to conflicting goals and counter effective policies.
- Targets and goals might be divided into two sections but because of divided sections no one deals with these.
- Sub optimised decisions which means that every part deals only with its own version of rationality.
- Lack of holistic perspective, leads to that when cooperation occurs it is slow and inefficient.
- Interdisciplinary decisions that can lead to that the sections lose their own set goals and targets and work in a different direction then it is intended to do (Back *et al* 2006:211-212).

These are all issues that need to be dealt with especially when it comes to restructuring the work and implementing sustainable development, a version of development that is holistic and needs cooperation to be implemented. The above critique is typical, what many describe as side effects, of the bureaucratic organisation.

Gooding (1992) claimed that "If there is anything truly distinctive about green politics, most commentators would concur, it must surely be its emphasis on decentralisation" (Gooding 1992, sited in Carter 2001: 55). This idea is in many ways consistent with the Swedish idea of implementing sustainable development. Though many have claimed that bioregionalism and too much decentralisation has its problems. Therefore advocates of this perspective such as Schumacher (1975) argue "decentralisation to the lowest 'appropriate' level of government" (Schumacher sited in Carter 2001:57). Region Skåne can be seen as such an appropriate level within the context of Sweden. The Swedish government has since 1991 also delegated the implementation of SD down to Regions and municipalities to ensure a more local implementation (Bäckstrand *et al* 2004:249). This process was founded in the idea that the Region itself is the best actor to find its specialised solution within its local setting and Agenda 21 became one of the

---

[16] County administrative board

starting points for this process (Bäckstrand *et al* 2004:249). Despite the fact that this process received low funding the concept became at least on paper well received. The above description of the bureaucratic organisation and implementation shows a picture of an organisation that is unable to deal with holistic and horizontal policies such as SD. This picture seems to show a bleak future for further implementation of Sustainability policies in Sweden. The next section will investigate why the organisation has issues with the concept of SD based on the policy construction and the holistic perspective of SD policies.

6.3 Traditional policy types

Based on the above concepts of bureaucratic organisation several key functions have been identified and policies that have been implemented by this organisational type have traditionally also been designed to fit into the organisational concept. Based on the Weberian 'ideal type' one can see some key functions that the policies have been designed after. One, is the fragmentation in the bureaucratic organisation, policies have traditionally been divided into distinct policy sectors that have been directed to fit into the fragmented division within the bureaucratic organisation (Carter 2001:169). This has worked well in regards to traditional policy areas, but in the case of environmental issues it has shown to be less efficient as a policy type, mainly based on that the environmental problems are interlinked with all other policy areas. Weale (1992:10-23) has identified several characteristic features of the traditional policy type. The traditional policy type is reactive, and piecemeal, and are usually directed towards one fragment of the organisation that dealt specially with environmental issues just as the traditional organisation has constructed the other specialised fields of expertise within the organisation. Secondly, they usually apply an end of pipe solution and use regulations as a tool for reaching the environmental goals. Many of these policies failed to be implemented through the traditional policy structure (Lundqvist 1980:131-158). One can see how the 'ideal type' construction of organisation had several flaws in regards to addressing cross-sectoral policies based on the construction. Carter (2001) also brings up the fact that policies and the bureaucratic organisation always seemed to be in limbo between the goal of economic growth and the goal towards a better environment where the latter never seemed to be prioritised. While the traditional policy type has been shown to have defects the construction and use of this type of policy type seems to still very much be in use in view to environmental policies. This can be linked to the 'ideal type' construction of a bureaucratic organisation that can only address these types of sectoral policies, as it is designed to handle. "Yet, despite the emergence of the alternative paradigm of sustainable development, the traditional paradigm has proven very resistant to change"(Carter 2001:169). Carter (2001) claims that it is based on the power interests within the society that ensures that other values then the environmental guides the policy construction being special interest groups, such as key groups within the economic sphere (Carter 2001:170). However, this essay looks upon the issue from a different perspective and would claim on the basis of the 'ideal type' and the current bureaucratic structure in Sweden that the bureaucratic organisation is not capable of implementing policies that do not fit in to the current structures of organisation. Moreover one cannot disregard the perspective that Carter identifies but that only serves as partial explanation to the issues regarding implementing SD policies. Lennart Lundqvist (2004) also brings up this perspective where he investigates one of several sectors that faced implementation of SD being the housing sector and found that one of the key obstacles of implementation was the institutional structure or the institutionalisation of the concept of SD was the institutional construction and not so much other power interests that opposed this process (Lundqvist 2004:1285). The obstacles seem more inherent in the bureaucratic organisation then from actors imposing pressure upon the organisation.

Based on how the Swedish bureaucracy is constructed and how one finds several key concepts based on the 'ideal type' inherent in the Swedish bureaucratic organisation, the resistance might not so much be built in the concept of economic growth prioritisation or personal resistance but in the construction of the bureaucratic organisation. The current organisation could not be based on formalism, specialisation hierarchy implements a policy that does not cohere to the same functions that the organisation is build upon. The new paradigm of SD just does not fit into the current structure that the organisation is founded upon and therefore meets problems in regards to ability to be able to implement it.

6.4 Public administration and the bureaucratic organisation analysis based on the 'ideal type'

One can find clear parallels with the current or previous administration in Sweden in regard to the 'ideal type' organisation. The bureaucratic organisation it self has not changed in its internal structure though some changes have been made to meet new types of policies. The organisations are still in many ways based on instrumental rationality, and they still conduct there actions based on goal oriented policies and objectivity. The power is still delegated through the parliament down to more decentralised sections of the state machinery. The work with Agenda 21 and SD policies has in most cases just led to 'brain storm activities' and has had little success in defining the current SD goals. And even though the current organisation has tried to change the structure to increase the ability to implement SD policies, the current sectoralisation is still very much intact (Bäckstrand 2004 *et al* :251). There is still a struggle between different sections within the greater organisation that one finds in the 'ideal type'. The specialisation and the internal competitiveness between different sections seems to be the major problem in regards to implementing the current version of society change that SD policy creates. The organisation as such has an in build contradiction in regards to its construction. The 'ideal type' shows that what could be efficient according to specialised policy goals within the current setting, leads to problems when the same organisation are to implement horizontal policies that stretched over several departments within the organisation. It seems very clear that the 'ideal type' model might be working in a setting where policies are specialised as the construction of the organisation are formed in that way. The 'ideal type' shows that the current setting can, based on these assumptions, meet problems, as SD are not based on the rational conception that previous policies have been. One can find three very distinct features that one finds in the 'ideal type' there is a specialisation in the bureaucratic structure in Sweden, it is based on objectivity and formalisation. For example the division within the bureaucratic organisation leads to that the agricultural sector speaks on behalf of farmers instead of promoting environmental issues in its own field of responsibility. The infrastructure departments speak on behalf of commuters and construction within its section. The fragmentation of the construction leads to that the environmental protection or SD is not seen as a common policy interest but an interest that is represented by another fragment of the bureaucratic organisation. This organisational fragmentation should be put in comparison to the perspective where every fragment of the bureaucratic organisation takes on the responsibility of Sustainable Development. Again the institutional organisation based on fragmentation and specialisation and traditional policy paradigm leads to obstacles regarding implementation of Sustainable Development. There are three levels where the rational model of an organisation can be discussed. Abrahamsson (2001) identifies these three as the economical, the technological and the political levels (Abrahamsson 2001:120). The rational model based on Weber's organisation faces one major obstacle and that is the rationality of the organisation.

Lundquist defined the bureaucratic organisation theory such as a theory that " examines how bureaucratic divides the problem up, specializes knowledge in each unit, creates a standard solution and exploits the different techniques to improve the capacity for problem solution" (Lundquist 1987:115). That perspective can be linked to the concept of so called micro oriented analysis of organisations that looks at the issues that one faces within the origination and how it is shaped. Many claim, that this type of analysis looks for the dysfunctions within the organisation and the unforeseen consequences that the current structure within the organisation have led to. Micro oriented analysis found that a bureaucratic organisational form creates, not theoretically, but practically dysfunctional tendencies such as inflexibility, un-personality, fragmented processing of problems, problems defining and meeting targets, problems facing uncertainties for example. The strong emphasis on divided areas for responsibility; formal ways of communication and divided sections of labour divisions have been criticised as some of the reasons for the problems with the bureaucratic organisational form (Flaa *et al* 1998:28). The strong emphasis on rules also leads to a situation where the goals of the organisation become secondary and that following the rules becomes a goal in itself, leading to an ineffective origination (Ibid). Lundquist (1987) claims, that "often organizing models are related to some abstract task such as rational- decision making. In concrete organizing these models meet two problems. One is that different tasks require different kinds of organizing and the other is that different situations call for different types of organizing"(Lundquist 1987:

115). This perspective is well known in regards to the problems with implementing environmental policies. Where one can see a distinct clash between the current structure of bureaucratic organisations and the type of policy implementation and problems they are constructed to implement in contrast to the "new problems" that has occurred and the type of policy implementation that is needed to solve these "new" problems. The mechanic arrangement that the current structure have in the Swedish bureaucracy leads to as aforementioned a hierarchical delegation of policy implementation that leads to problems in regards to SD policy implementation (Bäckstrand *et al*.2004:233) This means that the condition for this process is that upper level of the policy implementation chain have more knowledge about SD policy implementation then the lower levels (Dryzek 1987:104n cited in Bäckstrand *et al*.2004:233). However this structure hinders a constructive dialogue based on local needs and conditions, which leads to implications when the SD policies are to be realised on this level.

6.5 The bureaucratic actor and SD policy implementation

The issue with implementation deficit based on an actor approach is very much in relationship to the concept of the bureaucratic role in an organisation. Based on the concept where SD is a cross-sectoral policy instead of a fragmented policy the actor within the organisations has other objectives that the bureaucrat find being of higher importance then ensuring Sustainable Development. In many cases according to the current bureaucratic role, the bureaucrat has to have the ability to implement Sustainable Development, as well as the knowledge of what SD is, and the will to implement this within the organisation. As the current structure has an impact upon the bureaucrat it is many times found to be hard for the bureaucrat to grasp the cross sectoral concept of Sustainable policy implementation. As the policy of SD are still according to the traditional policy paradigm seen as a secondary goal for the fragmented part of the organisation, the bureaucrat therefore faces the issue of the *ability* to implement the policy as there is not a holistic approach to the concept. The bureaucrat as an actor has no overall perspective of the organisation and has therefore no ability to ensure implementation of the concept. This ability is very much linked to the knowledge of the concept, as the bureaucrat many times does not know what the concept of SD means to the fragmented part of the organisation that the bureaucrat are addressing within the organisation. The *will* is also hard to ensure as the hierarchy of goals that are defined for the bureaucrat, according to the code of conduct of a bureaucrat implementation are set by the hierarchy of goals, the bureaucrat will therefore always prioritise other goals if they are not explicitly defined as important. In this case the specific goals for a certain department within the organisation are inherently more important then implementing SD within the organisation as the traditional paradigm still makes the issues of SD in a fragmented bureaucratic approach an omitted goal to implement for a bureaucrat working for the health care department or the infrastructure department. Based on Lunquists model the analysis based on the actor structure approach one finds several key areas where the bureaucrat faces obstacles when implementing Sustainable Development. The *ability* to implement the new type of policy is not there as the construction of the organisation leads to a restriction in possibility of action, there is also a lack of financial initiatives from the higher levels of the bureaucratic organisation as the bureaucrat in the current structure has to find ability to implement based on the current setting, no new funding has been delegated to ensure the financial ability for the bureaucratic actor improves to be able to implement the new policy. The *will* to implement lacks as well based on the concept that the current structure and the hierarchy of goals for the separate department have not changed, SD is still not seen as an overall goal for every part of the organisation, and is still seen as an area that other fragmented departments have the responsibility to implement. The understanding of SD as a new policy type seems to have been neglected and the bureaucrats still see the SD policies as a sectoral issue and not a cross sectoral policy that all bureaucrats are delegated to implement. According to Lundquist model of implementation steering there is a great lack in all areas of implementation in regards to SD policies.

6.6 The problem with the Swedish organisational setting and SD

When the concept of SD were identified and prioritised, the Swedish government launched an overall implementation of sustainable development; the policy was to be integrated in all departments and across the whole public sector. The 'Delegation of Ecological Sustainable Development' was created where the

sectors of agriculture, schools and labour, and taxation was integrated into this department. This process showed that the Swedish government had decided to implement the concept of SD through integrating several political sectors within the concept instead of segregating the policy department into a specialised field. In 1997 the government set up a goal of creating an economically and ecologically sustainable Sweden. However, the idea to integrate SD across different sections in this way that has happened in Norway, UK and Sweden has shown to date to have no or little impact (Carter 2001:262). This shows a major problem, as this means that the implementation of SD has not been prioritised within these organisations and has fallen into the same problem as other environmental policies that have been integrated into the current organisational settings. The current organisations have not implemented the concept; this is a major issue when it comes to solving the problems with an un-sustainable society. As all sectors need to be integrated in that work, to be able to achieve Sustainable Development. This is of great importance that the concept of SD is a cross-sector implementation of policy, because if one sector is not integrated the concept therefore cannot be implemented to its full extent. Research has shown that in Sweden the idea has been to implement the notion of cross sectoral implementation of SD into different organisations and that this process could lead to a trickle down effect to other sub national government. Still, Carter (2001) claims, "at best it seems that such bodies have done little to encourage policy-makers to think more holistically about sustainable development" (Carter 2001:263). In Sweden especially this problem has occurred on sub national policy definition levels. What one can define is that the trickle-down effect has not happened in Sweden, and that the current setting of organisational structure becomes one of the major obstacles for such an effect to take place. Hence changes in this current setting must take place to enable SD policies to be implemented in sub national organisations. Carter claims that implementing SD "may promise to end the economy/environment trade-off but, in practice, policy continues to emerge from a sectoral administrative structure where economic growth is the priority" (Carter 2001:282). Hence, implementing SD in the current setting will not change the foundation of set priorities that an organisations have, which is first and foremost economically and the economical struggle between organisations to increase its individual funding. The above section has pointed out the problems and clashes in regards to different organisations and their competitiveness and problems with working towards a general overall cross sector goal because of the current structure it is founded upon. However, this problem does not only occur because of the organisational setting but also within the organisation and also with the individual bureaucrat as an actor, based on the actor and implementation deficit. The analysis above shows that the institutional structure and the bureaucratic actions based on an actor approach shows that there are several issues that the implementation of SD policies meets when faced with practical realization of the set goals. Several key features are identified, one being the construction of the policy being cross-sectoral construction in a fragmented organisation. The fragmentation leads to a lack of implementation based on the actor approach, as the bureaucrat does not find the will, ability or knowledge of how where and why to implement the policy based on the current institutional structure.
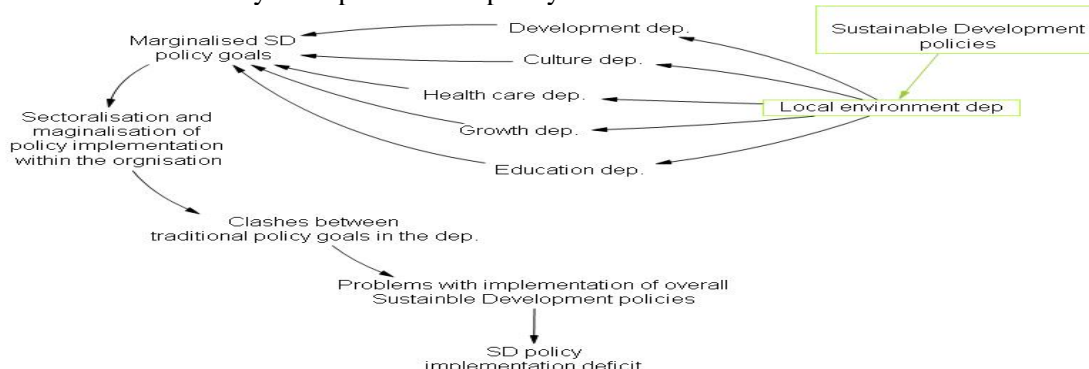

Figure 3. A generalised picture of traditional policy implementation of dealing with SD policies
The figure gives a general out look on the implications of when SD policies traditionally are marginalized to the environmental section of an organisation. This process leads to that the other sections conduct 'business as usual' in regards to policy prioritisation hence leading to an implementation deficit in the overall goals of implementing SD in all areas of the organisation.

7. Results: Changing the organisation a case study.

As aforementioned the bureaucracy in Sweden is guided by rules, specialised sectors, and objectivity to ensure a certain code of conduct meaning that all actors that are subjected to the organisation are treated equally. Also mentioned before several bureaucratic organisation have found problems in implementing SD polices and has therefore as the case shows tried to deal with this implementation deficit. This has shown to have implications upon the organisations ability to deal with complex issues such as SD policies. Region Skåne is no exclusion in this case. Region Skåne therefore decided to create a tool that could improve the implementation of SD policies. One part of the organisation was assigned to develop a tool called SYNAPS-Systematic process tool for sector integration. The emphasis is concentrated on the cross-sectoral construction of SD policies and to increase the bureaucratic organisations' ability to communicate, understand and define the SD policies. SYNAPS is a tool that is to guide the organisation to be able to deal with complex issues, but avoiding the usual complications that occur when organisation based on the above principles have to deal with complex issues (Interview A 12/01-07). The concept of SYNAPS was to increase the ability of the organisation to be able to reach the targets set in regards to the SD policies that the government has delegated to the bureaucracy. The idea is that SYNAPS will enable the organisation to define the goals that have a tendency to be 'fuzzy' or unclear and create policy targets, to increase the ability of implementation. It is designed to ensure that different sectors can weight the issues between themselves and prioritise the goals on an overall level. This will increase the bureaucratic organisations ability to set targets and goals, and formulate indicators, something that is currently not developed in the visionary goals of SD (Interview A 12/01-07). SYNAPS is therefore a tool that works as a process of increasing the knowledge about the complexity of SD policies. It is designed to increase the ability to communicate what SD is within the organisation. It is also designed to find problem areas where different sectors traditional goals clash with the goals of SD. The goals of SYNAPS are to create a system shift in the bureaucratic organisation based on the communicative process. A type of process that is traditionally not available in the current bureaucratic organisation (Interview A 12/01-07). The emphasis is to work with the current organisational setting, however using the communicative approach to enable the organisation to grasp, and to define the concept of SD.

7.1 Understanding SYNAPS based on the 'ideal' type:

As defined previously in this thesis, SD policies are delegated by the government be implemented on Regional level. The directions include what areas to target and specific goals of emission and democratic values, social aspects and an overall plan for sector development. However, the policies do not give directions on how to implement the concept of Sustainable Development. The discussion on how to implement SD has therefore been widely discussed. The discussions were based on ensuring that the policies that are set on national level does not only serve as 'lip service' in this process, meaning that they are fancy words on paper but never realized in practice, but are implemented in reality. Which has been the case in several cases of SD policy implementation. The issues that are brought up when it comes to implementing SD, is the problematic structure that SD policies face when they meet the more traditionally structured organisations that exist in the Swedish society today. The structure of the current setting is pictured below, where one finds that the regional growth policy plan is the foundation for the organisation of the different action plans within the region. Also the picture shows the diverging sectors within the bureaucracy and the large organisation that it is. The environmental strategy plan is the foundation of the implementation of Sustainable Development (see below). One can already see in this picture the division amongst the specialised fields in the region.
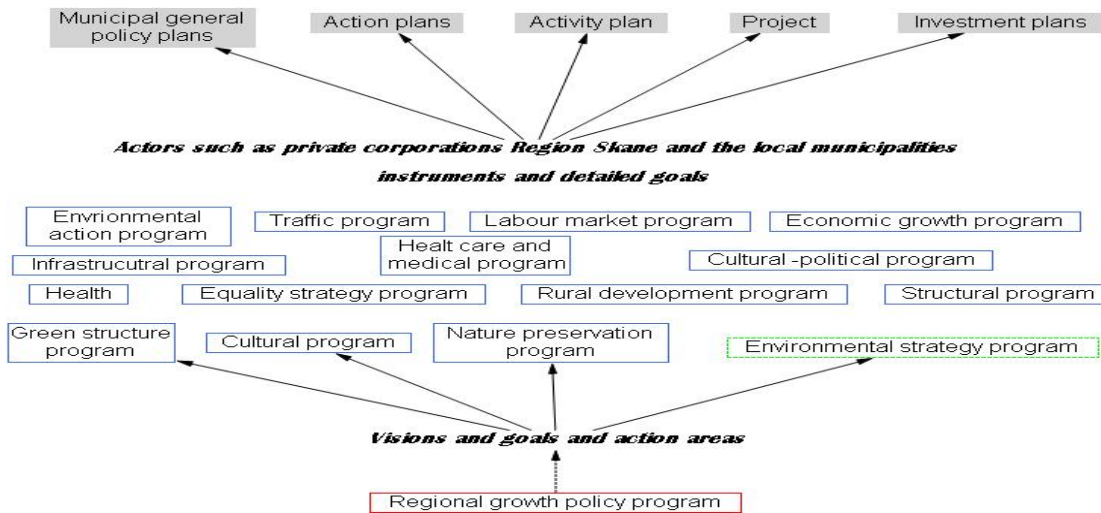
Figure 4. General picture of Region Skåne organisational structure
This figure shows the complexity that the region faces when they are to coordinate all sections towards implementing SD policies in all areas. It serves as a general overview of the organisational structure today (ref: presentation material from Charlotte Book Region Skåne authors own translation).

The above figure shows the fragmented construction of the current organisation in Region Skåne. This is a typical fragmentation where different programs set the agenda for different fragments of the organisation. This means that Region Skåne have several similarities to the 'ideal type' construction. Taken into account that the organisation is value rational and that the actors are rational, the organisation would face the same obstacles that are previously defined regarding implementation of SD. Where the cross-sectoral approach and the lack of will, ability and knowledge, set the agenda for the actors in the organisation. However the case shows a different reality, where certain measures and the SYNAPS tool have avoided some of the obstacles that are usually found in SD policy implementation, in the current bureaucratic organisation.

According to the previous attempts to implement SD in the organisation there have been obstacles and the organisation therefore decided to create a tool to increase the chances of implementation to avoid the obstacles that institutions within a bureaucratic setting face. This tool is designed to make the implementation of the cross-sectoral approach possible, within the current structure, without changing the whole organisation.

7.1.1 Systems approach - what is that?

The SYNAPS tool argues for a system approach that is designed to go from fragmentation as the 'ideal type' advocates, towards instead working with a holistic perspective creating synergies between these sections within the Region Skåne. The concept is based on what has been defined above as organisational problems and implementation deficit. The tool tries to avoid these classical obstacles by posing the system approach (Interview A 12/01-07). Region Skåne has therefore developed a program to ensure that these obstacles are not avoided, but solved through a communicative process, based on the system approach and the cross sectoral development of SD policy goals. The tool is used to avoid the obstacles that the current bureaucratic system encounters, when it comes to implementation of the new type of SD policies. Instead of looking at the organisation as a hierarchical mechanic product, the organisation must instead change in its perception to increase the ability of an over all implementation of SD towards a system approach. The concept is to use the defined goals that the government has set, based on hierarchical system of delegation, but to approach these goals on regional level, based on synergies and communication. This differs from the traditional formal and specialised approach traditionally taken in the bureaucratic organisation.

On one hand the SYNAPS program follows the given structure of hierarchy according to the 'ideal type', but when implementation is to occur the SYNAPS tool gives a system approach within the organisation that is horizontal instead of the 'ideal type' vertical implementation. One can here see a clear difference between the 'ideal type' organisation and the SYNAPS approach (Interview A 12/01-07). Weber himself found that specialisation of different areas within an organisation would lead to the most efficient implementation of policies. In difference the SYNAPS takes the system approach in to the

organisation and emphasises that system and merging of all areas in the bureaucratic organisation is the most efficient version of implementing SD policies. The system approach differs a lot in comparison to the 'ideal type' and one can already see here how the SYNAPS tool takes a different approach then the traditional 'ideal type' in its pursuit to try to encompass the needs in organisational change to implement SD.

7.2 Organisational reformation system level

The SYNAPS approach is based on the concept of Synapsis, which means that the program is a tool to increase the understanding and communication between different sections within an organisation. The type of change that the SYNAPS tool is meant to lead to, is to increase the implementation and the effort to ensure SD within an organisation (http://synaps-test.temp1.wbsab.info /synaps2/Synapsinfo.html 07-04-16). The idea is that a tool has been developed that includes international and national, social, economic and environmental goals, and that the tool is used through discussions on how the organisation can meet these goals. The focus is on addressing goal differences between sections in the organisation, and uses these goal differences, acknowledges them and tries to solve them between different sections within the organisation. This process has a goal in increasing the understanding within the organisation and to build a common understanding and focus on cresting a Sustainable organisation. The tool works as a guidance for finding the clashing goals and to be able to create solutions to ensure a better development within the organisation in regards to SD (http://synaps-test.temp1.wbsab.info /synaps2/Synapsinfo.html 07-04-16). This means that the for example economic sections, environmental, social, healthcare and transport section of the organisation all have to communicate solutions to their different problem areas though still trying to realize the national or international policies. The concept of finding clashes is another divergence from the 'ideal type' organisation. The 'ideal type' bases its efficiency in the fact that it is specialised to increase efficiency. The SYNAPS tool uses the specialised sectors and merges them to find differences and to identify these clashes in regards to SD policies. This process is very much different to the 'ideal type' as according to that model it would decrease the efficiency, however, in the case of SD policies one can argue that it increases the ability to avoid side effects in the different sectors when one defines policy goals.The tool works as a communicator between different sections and their goal differences, but also as a tool that can create meeting points for the different departments within the organisation (Interview A 12/01-07). This is to increase the efficiency of reaching SD, as the positive effects are to be negotiated and possible negative effects of the actions of one department upon another department within an organisation can be avoided. The so-called side effects of some actions in one section of the organisation could have negative effects on another part of the organisation and this process is evaluated to ensure that the negative side effects are limited. SYNAPS helps to find these types of side effects and strives to avoid them.

Hierarchy, formalism and specialisation
The hierarchy approach is still very much a part of the SYNAPS program, though not in the same sense as the 'ideal type' presents. It differs in the way that the upper management in higher levels, and the SYNAPS tool provides with communication within the organisation in a way where the typical hierarchical structure is compromised. Upper management conducts its decision-making with lower levels of management though the communicative process. The SYNAPS process tool differs on a foundational level in comparison to the 'ideal type' specialisation aspect. In this case of implementation of SD, the SYNAPS approach is one where everything is interlinked. Meaning that specialisation is a problem in the organisational setting and therefore the tool strives to make bridges between the traditionally specialised sectors in the organisation (Interview A 12/01-07). The system approach is applied here, where the concept tries to avoid the specialisation of the organisation and the sectoral division of responsibilities and merges the responsibility for implementation and ensuring SD in all sectors. In this case it is therefore not one sector that has the responsibility of the implementation of SD, but all sectors have that responsibility. This concept can be linked also to the discourse regarding previous issues when bureaucratic organisations have been

faced with SD policies and failed to implement them, as the concept has been delegated to one sector and not been addressed as an issue for all sectors and has therefore been marginalized in the organisational goals. As it is based on several interlinked sectors the system approach leads to a complexity structure, this complexity is not the usual concept of an organisation and its approach to implement policies (Interview A 12/01-07). Again one finds that SYNAPS has addressed the concept of the benefits of not specialising the implementations of SD. The organisation finds the goal differences that can be found in every organisation that are to be brought in to the discussion in contrast to the 'ideal' type organisation where the issue of goal differences are not seen, as the policies for that type of organisation are not based on a holistic perspective.

The hierarchical version that the 'ideal type' presents is also changed based on that the policies are defined on the Regional level. The tool provides with this ability of defining the SD goals locally as the fuzziness of some of the SD policy goals on national level forces the Regional level to define them themselves. This is again a difference in comparison to the ideal type classical implementation of defined policies, however the Region is forced to do this change because of the lack of definition of the SD policies delegated to them from the national level.

The formalism that is suggested in the 'ideal type' is also not so apparent when the Region is applying the SYNAPS tool. The change can be identified through the communication between the sections that is informal and is designed to find hidden assumptions and argument. These discussions have decreased the formal communication paths that the 'ideal type' suggests.

Absolute rules and objectivity

The 'ideal type' definition is that an organisation that follows a set of absolute rules and regulations to ensure uniformity and regulation of jobholders. Based on the conception of absolute rules and regulation SYNAPS has some impact on the absolute set of rules. SYNAPS as a tool does not change the objectivity measures taken in within the bureaucratic organisation, though based on the concept of goal oriented policies as SD is originating in the 16 environmental goals and the 8 key areas, that were defined both nationally and locally the objectivity is some what subjective as a majority of the goals are locally defined and the measures to reach the goal are then later locally also identified. Based on that the SYNAPS tool makes the organisation itself develop and operationalise the sometimes vague goals, leads to that the objectivity concept is compromised based on the 'ideal type' construction. This could be seen as problematic as the process is often based on the actor's own perception of important priorities. However the construction and identification is based on a process that includes all areas of the organisation and one could therefore argue that the objectivity levels increase, though this process. The participants them selves during the use of SYNAPS and the development of policies cannot see how the conclusion will be and can therefore not apply any bias in comparison to the section of the organisation from which the participant originates.

7.3 Conclusion:

In conclusion one can based on the theoretical discussion see differences in the 'ideal type' organisation and the SYNAPS tool and its objectives when working with an organisation. The major differences one finds in the bridging of specialised sectors and sector integration. One finds that there is no actual reorganisation of the organisational structure on a macro level, the specialisation and fragmentation as well as formalisation is still intact in the case. The SYNAPS tool when implemented and used has therefore has little impact on the organisation in the structural way according to the structure of the tool. Instead of changing the structure that many have criticised, SYNAPS uses the organisational structure based on the division of profession and uses the specialisation as a way to find the tipping points in between the different sectors. The case shows that the current organisational structure is still present in the organisational setting. However, how this affects the individual within the organisation the next section will analyse based on Lundquist model of the rational actor. One can see in the example below that the sectionalised departments based on a structure approach are still current in the Region. This leads one to conclude that the current structure of the organisation does not have to go through a revolutionary reform

to ensure that the complexity of SD policies are defined within the bureaucratic organisation. Below figure gives an overview of the impacts on the organisation using the SYNAPS tool. The model should serve as a mind abstraction to help the reader to be able to visualise the SYNPAS tool and its impacts upon the organisational structure in regards to SD policy implementation.
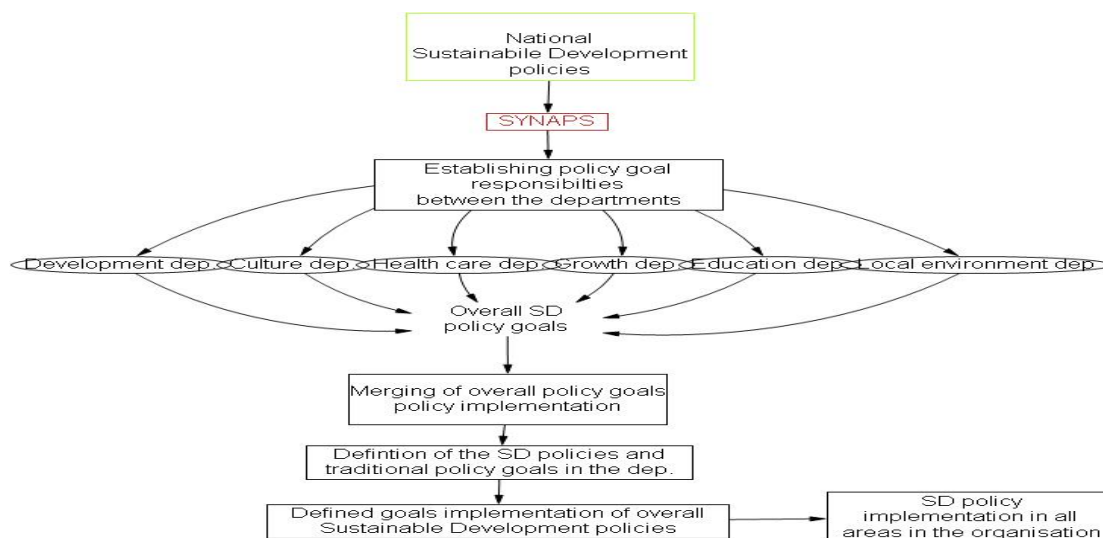

Figure 5. General picture of Region Skåne SD policy implementation using SYNAPS
The model shows a generalised picture of the changes in the use of the national policy in comparison to the traditional version of policy implementation. The SYNAPS approach provides a different version of implementing complex policies such as SD one can see in comparison to the other model that SYNAPS tool starts the process of policy implementation based on an initial process. This leads to that the establishments of local policy goals are defined and based in all sectors of the organisation. When the definition of the different policies are constructed all sections have been addressed and taken part in the policy construction and have therefore increased their knowledge around the complexity of SD. The tool includes all sections and therefore the impact of it leads towards a merging of all the areas recommendations within reaching SD. No area is excluded in the policy construction and therefore all areas are included in the policy definition. In comparison to the traditional model where the environmental department formulates the goals and has to impose it on all other areas, the SYNAPS tool integrates all areas and therefore decreases the marginalisation of the policy within the whole of the organisation. SD polices becomes the responsibility of all areas and not only the environmental department.

8. Implementation based on Region Skåne an actor approach

SYNAPS has shown that it can through communication avoid issues that the Weberian organisational theory meet in regards to implementing Sustainable Development on a structural level. However this has, as the above section has shown not led to a change in the organisational structure. We have found that the 'ideal type' version of bureaucratic organisation faces problems regarding implementing SD strategies in the organisation, yet Region Skåne have approached this based on an actor level. The major obstacles that were found are the variables of differentiation between the different sections of the organisation as well as the specialisation that occurs in the 'ideal type' organisation. One also finds problems regarding the Lundquist model on an actor level based on the fact that SD policies lead to problems in regards to *knowledge* about what to implement and *ability* as well as the *will* to implement, as the aspects of SD many times is not a prioritised concept for the actor within the organisation. This perspective poses another angle at the policy implementation policies as it is not so much addressed on the holistic construction of the SD policy paradigm but rather on the fuzziness of the policy construction, that leads to implementation problems. SYNAPS have concentrated on the actors as agents of change to be able to merge the sections but still maintaining the differentiation between the organisational structure. The case shows that instead of organisational restructuring SYNAPS emphasises on restructuring the actor approach to create a setting of overall goals for the organisation. The next section will analyse SYNAPS and the implications on the actor approach based on Lundquists model.

8.1 Analysis of will, knowledge and ability to implement policies

For an organisation, the issue of dealing with goals that are not identified based on the current role of the bureaucrat is of importance to bring up, as it has implications on the implementation of SD policies. To be able to have the will, knowledge and the ability based on Lundquists model, the goals must be operationalized in a way where the bureaucrat is able to implement it. In the case of several key areas in the Swedish SD policies a number of those goals are non explicit. Meaning the bureaucrat does not know what and how to implement the policy, this leads to complications and implementation deficits according to Lundquists actor model.

The SYNAPS tool works as a definition tool, where the bureaucrat itself can find how to operationalise the sometimes vague goals. This according to participants has led to heated discussions (Interview B 27/04-07). But at the same time it has generated fruitful discussions that led to that the vague goals became concrete and defined (Interview C 14/05-07). The discussions and the results of using the tool have also led to that an overview of the impacts in different sectors have been able to be analysed in a way that previously has not happened within the bureaucratic organisation (Interview C 14/5-07). "One did not know what to think in regards to the impact on the result" one participant said and claimed that this led to very interesting positioning in regards to decision making as the rules were not set, during the discussions. The bias towards ones own department was hard to distinguish during the process and one could therefore not defend their own department's goals explicitly. This means that decisions have been weighed against each other to ensure the most sustainable outcome of the decision-making. The different sectors have to, based on their professional roles meet and explain their perspective on different issues. The process has led to that discussions that would traditionally not take place did occur, and that the organisation found better foundation for their decision making by these discussions "many hidden arguments came to the surface" one interviewee said (Interview C 14/5-07). This guides towards that some sectors that usually are not prioritised are provided with an arena where they can formulate their perspective in reference to the other sectors in the organisation, however the more traditionally prioritised sectors have to defend their perspective in a manner that they are not used to either (Interview B 27/04-07). During the process of making the policies defined, many public officials used subjective arguments for not implementing some of the defined goals. One interviewee defined it "as pulling down the pants" of some officials as they noticed that their sectors have been using hidden arguments that have interfered with other sectors and there policy goals (Interview B 27/04-07). The sector for social sustainability and the sector for urban planning is one example that was raised (Interview C 14/05-07).

This leads to a shift in the traditional prioritisation within the organisation, something that can lead to a change regarding the implementation of Sustainable Development. This process leads to a holistic approach within the organisation that increases the understanding of the complexity of implementing SD policies without changing the actual character of the organisation. However, some claimed after the process was complete, that they thought life, as a public official was easier in "the blissful ignorance" that they were in before they understood how complex the issue of SD was (Interview B 27/04-07). For example several complications were met through that some sectors traditionally were not used to explaining and communicating the overall policy goals that their sector was striving towards as their professional background traditionally did not include that their goals were questioned (Interview B 27/04-07).

The specialised sectors are still intact though the discussion regarding defining the policy goals are merged and defined based on all sectors of the organisation. The will to implement the policies have according to participants increased through the increased knowledge of the complexity (Interview C 14/05-07). One interviewee said that the typical differentiation between the sections of black and white perception became differentiated and that the bureaucrats found that the decision-making was rather grey in its perception, something that usually had not been occurring during the traditional sectionalised decision-making. Meaning that the diverged sectors found that one policy could lead to negative impacts on another sections, creating the decision-making to be neither good nor bad. The decision making therefore could be outweighed towards the best option or as one said "the less bad option" (Interview C 14/5-07).

Two variables of Lundquist's model are created by communication between the different sectors. The actual outcome cannot be analysed as SYNAPS have just been introduced but according to the participants there is an increased understanding of the complexity of the concept of SD however a consensus is not established (Interview B 27/04-07). The overall impact is that the sectors especially the environmental sector is provided with a larger arena through the use of SYNAPS. Furthermore, as SD policies are traditionally a marginalized sector, it becomes further central positioned in the organisation through the discussions. As a result the professionals in the marginalized sectors find SYNAPS being a beneficial tool, while the traditionally prioritised sectors are more reluctant to use the tool (Interview B 27/04-07). One can, based on the use of SYNAPS, conclude that the increased understanding and knowledge has led to that the will to implement SD has increased in some sectors, and based on Lundquist's model this theoretically should lead to an increase in implementation of the SD policies.

On an actor level, one finds through the interviews that the SYNAPS program has increased the will to implement Sustainable Development, and the knowledge about the system perspective. This is an area that needs to be addressed when it comes to increasing the success of implementing Sustainable Development. After using SYNAPS the officials have found that no one group have their own arena or secluded sector of responsibility in regards to ensuring SD policy implementation (Interview A 12/01-07). The current structures that have been the foundation of the bureaucratic organisation also became highlighted and the participants became more aware of that the organisation itself posed as an obstacle for successful implementation of the SD policies. The bureaucrats found that their knowledge regarding the issue of SD and the 16 environmental goals and the goal of creating a more SD in the Region increased. One can see that the knowledge about the concept and the procedures, as well as their knowledge about the competing goals, increased after applying SYNAPS into their organisation (Interview A 12/01-07). This increased the will to implement the policies on basis that the prioritisation became a part of every department's goals, in a way it had not been before where it had its major prioritisation within the environmental section of the organisation.

One deficit is found in the SYNAPS system in regards to the ability of implementation, as there has been no increase in economic or workforce levels to make the implementation possible. Based on Lundquist's model there is therefore a lack of the actors' ability to implement based on economical support as the SYNAPS tool is only a communicative tool and does not give financial incentives. The interviewees also raised the fact that the process would not have been implemented if there were not some key actors working hard with trying to find a meeting point within the organisation. Therefore changing the actor approach includes not only using SYNAPS it includes either legislative measures from above, or key actors in the organisation that pushes the work of SD in the bureaucratic organisation. Based on the interviews one can also see that the bureaucratic organisation itself was not capable of a voluntary change, and that the change in attitudes need to be a formal demand and not a chosen concept as the motivation did not exist in the organisation on actor level before it was imposed on them to use SYNAPS tool.

To address the aforementioned thesis questions, this thesis would conclude based on an actor approach, that the bureaucratic organisation is able to change in regards to being better at handling SD policy implementation. However this process seems far from being a voluntary process and that further measures to increase the bureaucratic organisation ability to implement SD policies could be followed by higher levels of legislative measures to push this process further. Based on similar approaches to increase the ability of SD policy implementation.

8.2 Conclusion: Is the 'ideal' type - not so ideal for SD policies?

The rational goal is a policy goal that can be implemented in the rational organisation, SD is not a traditional rational goal and therefore the 'ideal' organisation is not so ideal for implementing Sustainable Development. The question raised is therefore if the organisation should be re-organised in comparison to the 'ideal model' or if the goals should be redesigned to fit this organisation. Neither suggestion is desirable, as the organisation is formed to be as rational and efficient as possible in other areas within society as defined during the analysis of the current structure. SD policies are designed in a way that are horizontal and must be inter-sectoral as the environmental problems are interlinked. Therefore the 'ideal

type' is not ideal but the ideal, however the SD policy is also not ideal. Therefore SYNAPS presents a merge of these perspectives, where it presents slight changes in comparison to the 'ideal type' organisation but it also presents some changes in the process of goals definitions of the SD policy. The SYNAPS tool directs the emphasis on the actor approach and instead of changing the structure it changes the perceptions of the actors that uphold the structure. The critical points that have been brought up, based on the specialisation that is still inherent in the organisation is a major issue. However by using the specialisation to pin point the clashing points SYNAPS and Region Skåne has utilised the current structure of the organisation in a positive way in regards to SD policy implementation. The extreme division of responsibilities makes the issues and problems with SD more apparent in a discursive process and Region Skåne has through their perspective given this traditional obstacle a new light as a tool to increase the understanding of the complexity and the clashing positions within the organisation as well as in the society.

One can see that the organisational restructuring and the change in methods of communicating within the organisation away from the 'ideal type' organisational system leads to an increase of ability to implement SD in a system-level bureaucratic setting. One can argue that the 'ideal type' might be the most efficient way of implementing old policies but in the new environment of implementing SD the 'ideal type' shows as lacking in capability of implementation of policies of this type. Based on this perspective the critique towards the bureaucratic organisations deficiency in being able to implement SD policies seems to be valid. However, the case study implies that there can be bridging between the specialised sectors through the communicative approach, where the generally non-defined goals can be defined and prioritised in all sectors meaning that the bureaucracy can implement the policies within the current structure. Therefore leading to the argument where SD policy implementation can occur without major restructuring of the structural construction of the organisation, but with emphasis on the actors within the structure on can change the bureaucratic organisation ability to grasp the notion of SD policy. Ensuring understanding knowledge and will to implement the SD polices on an actor level.

Moreover, the 'ideal type' division instead highlights through communication the differences that make the understanding of the complexity and the need for change in society clear, through the division that currently exists in the Swedish bureaucratic organisation. One can still claim that the concept of specialisation still exists while using the SYNAPS tool though, the specialisation is now based on a common understanding on what every departments actions impact upon another department in regards to the overall goals of SD. The organisation has not changed but the communication and the establishment of an overall goal has been created. The structure is intact however the actors within the organisation have changed in their communication, hence leading to an increase in the organisational ability to implement SD polices.

The formalisation with set rules can be seen as compromised as there are communications between different sectors implying that the set rules by the bureaucrat are reconstructed as the overall perspective and the sectoral integration leads to a change in the set and formal communicative rules. In some cases as described the communication during the process of using SYNAPS can be less then formal, and in some cases even provocative. The formalisation concept based on rules and codes of conduct, becomes compromised in the SYNAPS approach as the process leads to that the issues of the actors in the organisation must reflect over their own perspective on their sector and associated actions.

By avoiding the construction based on the 'ideal type' that one can identify in the Swedish bureaucracy one can see that SYNAPS takes a very different approach, though, it is still based on the same organisation. The major differences are in the integration of all sectors, the communication between the different sectors the lack of hierarchy and the more horizontal and decentralised approach of implementation. The lack of formal communication, the integration of issues between sections that previously had not been previously integrated. At a general look one finds the system perspectives as the major force that diverge the SYNAPS tool in comparison to the 'ideal type' structure. SYNAPS program has distinct features that distinguish away from the 'ideal type'. As the implementation of the program has been this low, one can still see that it avoids some of the obstacles that the critique towards the 'ideal type' and the Lundquist model identifies. On an actor level one finds that the increase of communication leads to an increase in *will* to implement and *knowledge* about what to implement and how, though there is a lack in ability to implement as the process is taking place without financial back up.

Based on the aforementioned thesis questions that one can conclude based on the evaluation of SYNAPS from the two levels, system approach and actor level that the organisation, has not so much changed in its construction based on specialisation, formalism and objectivity. Nevertheless it has changed its communicative channels within this structure. Leading to a better understanding of the complexity of implementing SD policies in the overall society. The current bureaucratic organisation has many similarities with the 'ideal type' and that has had implications when it comes to the implementation of SD policies based on that they are holistic instead of a divided policy construction. The bureaucratic organisation has, based on the current settings met problems in regards to policy implementation, however according to the case study there is certain ability to be an actor of ensuring implementation of SD policies leading to a more sustainable society in Sweden. Using the 'ideal type' and identifying the current structure in the Swedish bureaucracy, and the implications this structure has on the actors ability to implement SD polices, this thesis present the findings that the structure of the bureaucratic organisation impose problems on SD policy implementation. However it is on an actor level on should address restructuring to increase the SD policy implementation.

The case study shows that the one can increase the ability of SD policy implementation without changing the structure of the organisation. However, based on the communicative approach the perceptions of the actors through discussions between the sections that have not been a part of the current setting, of sector division, increases the understanding and will of the actors to implement SD policies. The findings showed that my case proves that SD policy implementation can occur without major restructuring of the bureaucracy on a structural level, however the majority of the change has to happen on an actor structure. One can argue that bureaucracy is not dead and the critique towards it needs a more nuance, as there is apparent potential within the current setting of bureaucracy to handle SD policies. The bureaucratic organisation does not have to bee seen grey and dull as it is usually described, it can based on changing the actor actions within it be green and progressive. The bureaucratic structure is well able to be 'green' however it is the actors within this system that has to be given the tool to be enabled to act 'green' and using tools enabling with the ability to implement SD policies.

Webers model identifies the key areas of the structural obstacle of SD policy implementation; Lundquists model identifies the actor problems in regards to SD policy implementation. Based on the case study the case shows that one can by changing the actor communication change the bureaucratic ability to implement SD policies while still keeping the structure intact. This gives good hope for and increase in the bureaucratic organisational ability to implement SD policies.

8.3 Discussion of Institutional Sustainability and the case study.

The result of this thesis shows that there are areas where the traditional organisation is unable to grasp the idea of SD policies based on the concepts on how it is structured. The structure of the organisation plays therefore a great role in the understanding of why SD has been problematic to implement within a western bureaucratic settings. This means that there are several levels of explanations that can explain why SD in many cases has only been seen as a 'lip service' type of document so called "green wash" of public policy. This thesis brings up one issue, of many, in regards to problems with policy implementation. Of course there are other issues such as the power structures in society, the prioritisation of economic growth, and other explanatory variables. This thesis has brought up one issue and tried to increase the understanding around the issue of policy implementation in a bureaucratic setting. But is has also presented a case analysis that has shown that bureaucracy is not dead, and can still be seen as an actor of change in regards to SD policy implementation. Further on, before one claim that the bureaucracy is not able to deal with the complex issues, one can claim that there are several obstacles that the bureaucracy must deal with in realizing the vague policies that are given to them from the national level. The fact that SYNAPS has shown that there can be operationalisation of the goals within the bureaucracy, it could be argued that the bureaucracy has shown to be capable of construction and identification of so called 'fuzzy' goals. This on the other hand could be based on several principles being problematic as it leads to self-governing not based on democratic mandate. The question one must then pose is what values one prefers, a democratic or efficient public administration? This is another discussion that must be based on a value evaluation of the outcomes of this process, and would be interesting in further investigation of the process in Region Skåne.

However, the discussion if the state is the right actor to ensure a SD is a discussion that many have brought up, the case of the tragedy of the commons and the competitiveness between states are seen as a critique towards the state as an actor in ensuring a Sustainable Development. However in the current setting the state is the major authority in regards to society changes, especially in Western bureaucratic setting, media and industry as well as NGO's, which also play a role within the current structure. Still, criticising the state, and ruling out the state, as an engine of change is not a fruitful discussion in many cases, as the state and the bureaucracy are the major actors of change in the rest of the societal setting. Therefore not seeing the bureaucracy as an actor of change in regards to SD is unproductive. Moreover, understanding why the bureaucracy are facing problems and finding these tipping points where the bureaucracy fails to implement SD is of great importance, so that the bureaucracy can take a leap forward and reconstruct itself to fit the current setting it is in. Today, the bureaucracy is struggling with adapting to this new environment, but the case study shows that there are capabilities within this structure that can lead to making the bureaucracy a useful tool for creating Sustainable Development. Bureaucracy, as a construction and organisation, should not be seen as an inefficient actor of change; instead one should highlight the possibilities that the bureaucracy can give in regards to changing the society. Bureaucracy and its construction is not the ultimate tool for dealing with complex issues, but there is a explicit room for such improvements and that room can be created with several tools increasing the capability for the organisation within its own setting. The bureaucracy can, however reluctantly, be an actor of change within the current organisational structure. This thesis presents a perspective on the bureaucracy that provides with future optimism that there will be an increase in the implementation of SD policies within these organisations.

Institutional sustainability is sometimes hard to define, however an organisation within the bureaucracy is a part of the state institution, increasing the capability of the bureaucracy to implement SD can indeed lead to an increase in the type of institutional sustainability that is defined in this thesis. The case study has shown that there is room for such improvements within the bureaucracy, and that the bureaucracy can implement and grasp the concept of SD, and should therefore be seen as an agent of change in regards to increasing and implementing Sustainable Development. To ensure the fourth pillar of Sustainability one must see the capabilities of the bureaucracy, and the case shows that there is room for SD within the institutional structure. Enabling this structure to grasp the concept is one way to increase the institutional sustainability. One can argue that bureaucracy with its division shows how society is constructed. The division can also be seen as a positive construction as one can easily highlight the issues in the construction of society that has such a great impact on the un-sustainability in society. An argument can be raised that the construction of the bureaucratic organisation is a beneficial construction to be able to find that clashes between different sections in society. Bureaucracy can therefore serve as an agent of change in creating a sustainable society; however the will and knowledge about how to create this society must also be a part of the organisation. To conclude one can argue that increasing the bureaucratic organisations ability to implement SD policies can be one definition of Institutional Sustainability and could be included in the discussion of defining the fourth pillar of Sustainable Development. One can therefore claim that the case study shows an increase in institutional sustainability through the development and use of the SYNAPS tool. The issue of dealing with policy implementation is of great importance to ensure society change, if policy implementation does not occur SD will only stay as words on paper and never be realised in practice. The case shows that bureaucracy can handle SD policy implementation, through changes on an actor level based on an increase of communication and therefore establishment of a holistic perspective to policy implementation. The organisational structure does not need major restructuring, however that actors within these structures can through communication establish both will and understanding of the complex issues that are the foundation of SD policy. The bureaucracy can therefore, through theses changes on actor level, be an actor in creating and steering the future towards a more Sustainable Society.

10 References

- Abrahamsson,Bengt.2000.*Organisationsteori: Moderna och klassiska perspektiv.*Studentlitteratur.Lund.
- Ahrne,Goran - Hedstrom,Peter.1999.*Organisationer och samhalle:Analytiska perspektiv.*Studentlitteratur.Lund
- Andersen, Skou, Mikael-Liefferink,Duncan. 2002.Strategies of the 'Green' Member States in EU Environmental policy making. (Edt) Jordan, Andrew. *Environmental Policy in the European Union: actors institutions and processes.* Eathscan Publications. UK.
- Kronsell.Annica.1997. (Edt) Andersen Skou.Mikael- Liefferink..Duncan. *European Environmental Policy: The pioneers.* Manchester University Press.UK
- Andreski, Stanislaw (Edt).1983. *Max Weber on Capitalism, Bureaucracy and Religion a selections of text.* George Allen & Unwin. London
- Back,Henry-Larsson,Bjorn.2006.*Den svenska politiken: Struktur,processer och resultat.*Liber AB.Malmo.
- Baylis.John-Smith.Steve. *The globalization of World politics: an introduction to international relations.*Oxford University Press.UK.
- Bell,Judith.1999.*Introduktion till Forskningsmetodik.*Studentlitteratur.Lund
- Bennulf,Martin-Johnsson,Lisbeth.1993.*Miljöpolitik.*Studentlitteratur.Lund
- Bennulf, Martin.1994.*Miljö opinionen i Sverige.*Dialogos.Lund
- Bro,Anders-Edlund,Anders-Jakobsson,Erik-Persson,Gunnar.1998.*Grön Demokrati-Om implementering av Agenda 21 i åtta svenska kommuner.*Rapport 1998:5. Novemus. Örebro.
- Bäckstrand,Karin-Kronsell Annica-Söderholm Peter.Den Hållbara utveklingens Organisatoriska Utmaningar.(Red) Wickenberg, Per-Nilsson Annika-Steneroth Sillen Marianne.*Miljö och Hållbar utveckling - Samhällsvetenskapliga perspektiv från en lundahorisont.*2004.Studentlitteratur.Lund.
- Callinicos.Alex.1999. *Social Theory: a historical introduction.*Polity Press.UK
- Carson.Rachel.1963.*Tyst vår.* Tidens Förlag.Stockholm
- Carter, Neil.2001.*The politics of the Environment: Ideas, Activism, Policy.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Clapp.Jennifer-Dauvergne.Peter. *Paths to a Green World: The political economy of the global environment.* The MIT Press.UK
- Dobers,Peter.1997.*Organising Strategies of Environmental Control-Towards a decentralisation of the Swedish Environmental Control Repertoire.* Nerenius & Santerus Publishers. Stockholm.
- Dryzek. J.S.1987.*Rational ecology: Environment and Political Economy.* Blackwell.Oxford.
- Duit.Andreas.2002.*Tragedins intitutioner:Svenskt offentligt miljöskydd under 30 år.*Stockholm studies in Politics 89. Akademi tryck AB. Stockholm.
- Eckersley.Robyn.1992.*Environmentalism and Political theory: Towards an ecocentric approach.* UCL Press. London.
- Edvardsson,Karin.2006a. Fyller miljömålen sitt syfte?.(Red)Edvardsson,Karin Hansson,Sven, Ove.*Vägar till ett effektivt miljöarbete.*Borea.Umeå.
- Edvardsson,Karin.2006b. Rational goals and Sustainable development: An Example from the Swedish System of Environmental Objectives.(ed) Frostell,Björn.*Science for Sustainable Development-Starting points and Critical Reflections.* Swedish Society for Sustainable Development. Uppsala.
- Elliott.Lorraine.2004.*The global Politics of the Environment.*Palgrave.N.Y
- Flaa,Paul-Hofoss,Dag-Holmer-Hoven,Finn-Medhus,Thorstein-Ronning,Rolf.1998.*Introduction till organisations teori.* Studentlitteratur.Lund
- Hajer, Maarten.1997.*The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process.* Oxford University Press. Oxford.
- Hague.Rod-Harrop,Martin.2001.*Comparative Government and Politics: An introduction.*Palgrave.UK
- Hansson,Sven,Ove-Edvardsson,Karin-Hyden,Håkan-Johansson,Karin-Lööv,Anna-Pettersson,Carina-Johansson,Vedin,Maria.2006.Policycykeln-en modell för beslutsprocessen i miljöfrågor.(Red) Edvardsson,Karin-Hansson,Sven,Ove.*Vägar till ett affektivt miljöarbete.*Borea Bokförlag.Umeå.
- Hermele.Kenneth.2002.*Vad kostar framtiden? Globaliseringen, miljö och Sverige.* Ordfront. Stockholm.
- Johansson,Vicki.2006.*Tillsyn och effektivitet. Statliga inspektörers yrkesroller och strategival.*Borea.Umeå.

- Jörgensen, Erika. 2004. *Hållbar utveckling, samhällsstruktur och kommunal identitet- En jämförelse mellan Västervik och Varberg* .Lund dissertations in Sociology 57. Lund.
- Kriström,Bengt-Brännlund,Runar-Nordström,Jonas-Wibe,Sören.2003. *Fördelningseffekten av miljöpolitik.* Statens Offentliga Utredningar 2003:2. Bilaga 11.Regeringskansliet. Stockholm.
- Lundqvist.Lennart.1980.*The hare and the tortoise: Clean air policies in the United States and Sweden.* University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor
- Lundquist.Lennart.1982.*Förvaltningen i det politiska systemet.*Studentlitteratur.Lund.
- Lundquist,Lennart.1987. *Implementation Steering Actor-Structure Approach.* Studentlitteratur.Lund.
- Lundquist.Lennart.1993.*Det vetenskapliga studiet av politik.* Studentlitteratur.Lund.
- Lundquist.Lennart.1998.*Demokratins väktare.*Studentlitteratur.Lund
- Matti,Simon.2006.*The imagined Environmental citizen: Exploring the State-Individual Relationship in Swedish environmental policy.* Luleå University of Technology.
- Marmgren, Lars-Ragnarsson,Mats.2001. *Organizing Projects: From a mechanical to an organic perspective.* Fakta Info Direct Sweden AB.Stockholm
- Melin,Anders.2000.''Reflective equilibrium'' as a method for Analyzing the Dilemma of Assessing Environmental Impacts-an analysis of EIAs in the catchment area of Emån.(Edt) Holmfridur Bjarnadottir.*Environmental Assessment in the Nordic Countries-Experiences and prospects.* Nordregio.Stockholm
- Mommsen, Wolfgang, J.1974.*The age of bureaucracy: Perspectives on the Political Sociology of Marx Weber.* Basil Blackwell. Oxford.
- Persson,Torsten-Persson,Christel-Nihlgård,Bengt-Bramryd,Torleif.2005.*Miljöstrategi och hållbartledarskap-ekologi och ekonomi i samverkan.*Studentlitteratur.Lund.
- Peters.Buy.B. *Comparative Politics: Theory and Methods.*Palgrave.UK
- Pierre, Jon.2001.Decentralisering, governance och institutionell förändring. (Pages 105-126).(Red)
- Premfors,Rune-Ehn,Peter-Halden,Eva-Sundstrom,Goran.2003. *Demokrati och Byrakrati.*Studentlitteratur.Lund
- Pridham, Geoffrey.2002.National Environmental Policy-making in the European Framework: Spain Greece and Italy in Comparison.(Edt) Jordan, Andrew. *Environmental Policy in the European Union: actors institutions and processes.* Eathscan Publications. UK.
- Robbins, Stephen,P-Branwell, Neil.2002. *Organisation theory: concepts and cases.* Pearson education. Australia.
- Rothstein, Bo.2001.Den fungerande orgnasiationen. (Pages 306-322).(Red)Rothstein.Bo. *Politik som organisation* : *Förvaltningspolitikens grundproblem.*2001. SNS förlag. Stockholm.
- Sandstedt.Eva.2004.Hållbar stadsutveckling-Den svårbedömda hållbarheten i ord och handling.(Red) Boström, Magnus-Sandstedt,Eva. *Är vi på rätt väg-Studier om Miljöfrågans lösning.*Katarina Tryck AB.Stockholm.
- Sannerstedt, Anders.2001.Implementering –hur politiska beslut genomförs i praktiken.(Pages 18-48). (Red) Rothstein.Bo. *Politik som organisation* : *Förvaltningspolitikens grundproblem.*2001. SNS förlag. Stockholm.
- Selznick,Philip.1968.*Modern organisations teori.*Prisma.Stockholm
- Sjkaerseth.Jon.Birger.1999.*The making and implementation of North Sea pollution commitments: institutions, rationality and norms.* Department of Political Science. University of Oslo.
- Sundquist,Gunnar.2003. *Uthållig Utveckling- mänsklighetens framtid.* Studentlitteratur. Lund
- Thompson,Dennis,F.1987. *Political ethics and public office.* Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Weale.Albert.1992. *New politics of Pollution.* Manchester University Press. Manchester
- Yin,Robert,K.2003. *Case study research: design and methods.* Sage publications. Thousand Oaks.

Articles
- Göteborgs-Posten. 2003. *Fortfarande grön visionär—men Persson medger att han inte gått från ord till handling* "Still a green visionary—but Persson admits not matching his words with deeds", 5 August.
- Lundqvist. Lennart .J.2004. *'Greening the People's Home': The Formative Power of Sustainable Development Discourse in Swedish Housing.* Urban Studies, Vol. 41, No. 7, Pages 1283–1301.Carfax Publishing.
- March.J.G.-Olsen.J.P.1984.Organizing factors if political life. *The American Political Science Review.*Vol 78.

Official governmental reports

- Svenska Miljömål. *Miljö politik för ett hållbart Sverige (*Proposition 1997-98:145)
- Svenska Miljömål- delmål och åtgärdsstrategier (Proposition 2000-01:130)
- Svenska miljömål- ett gemensamt uppdrag (Proposition 2004-05:150)
- *Strategiska utmaningar- En vidareutveckling av svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling* Skrivelse Regeringen 2005/06:126
- *En svensk strategi för hållbar utveckling* Skrivelse Regeringen 2003/04:129
- *Nationell strategi för hållbar utveckling* Skrivelse Regeringen *2001/02:172*
- *Skånes miljömål och miljöhandlingsprogram-* Skåne i utveckling, Länsstyrelsen Skåne län *2003:62*
- *Miljötillståndet i Skåne, Årsrapport 2001 – Att bygga Skånes framtid*
- *Svenska miljömål* (proposition 1997/98:145)
- *Svenska miljömål – delmål och åtgärdsstrategier* (proposition 2000/01:130)
- *Svensk klimatstrategi* (proposition 2001/02:55)
- *Kemikaliestrategi för Giftfri miljö* (proposition 2000/01:65)
- *Vissa inomhusmiljöfrågor* (proposition 2001/02:128)
- *Ett samhälle med giftfria och resurssnåla kretslopp* (proposition 2002/03:117).
- SOU (Statens Offentliga utredningar) 1996:112.*Intergering av miljöhänsyn inom den statliga förvaltningen.*Miljövårds förvaltningen. Regeringskansliet. Stockholm.
- SYNAPS.2006. *SYNAPS som underlag för Miljöstrategiskt program för Skåne.*Region Skåne.
- 1600/2002/EG European council decision regarding the Sixth environmental action program.#
- WCED (1987). *Our Common Future*. World Commission on Environment and Development. Oxford University Press, Oxford

Web pages

- Milömåls portalen: http://miljomal.nu/om_miljomalen/alla_mal.php 03-04-07
- SYNAPS http://synaps-test.temp1.wbsab.info /synaps2/Synapsinfo.html 07-04-16
- http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/5400/a/43490 10/05-07
- http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/7023 10/05-07

Interviews

- Book. Charlotte. SYNAPS coordinator. Deep interview conducted 12/01-07.
- Interview A. Regional official 12/01-07
- Interview B. Official participant in the development and use of SYNAPS 27/04-07
- Interview C. Public servant participant in the development and use of SYNAPS 14/05-07

Appendix I.Semi structured questionnaire:

1. What is your role in the organisation?
2. What is your work in the organisation?
3. Is the organisation structured or open?
4. When did U take part in the Synaps program?
5. Why did you take part in the Synaps program?
6. What were your expectations of the program?
7. How important would you say sustainable development is?
8. Has that changed since taking part in the Synaps program?
9. Has your organisation changed since taking part in the Synaps program?

Regarding structure of the organisation, codes of conduct, communication?

10. If so what does you find being the most major change that has taken place?
11. What are your personal views of the importance of Sustainable development?
12. Have your perception changed in regards to your work and sustainable development since taking part in Synaps?
13. The knowledge regarding SD in your organisation has that changed in comparison to before?

1-5 On a personal level in comparison to the organisations other goals, where would you rank SD.