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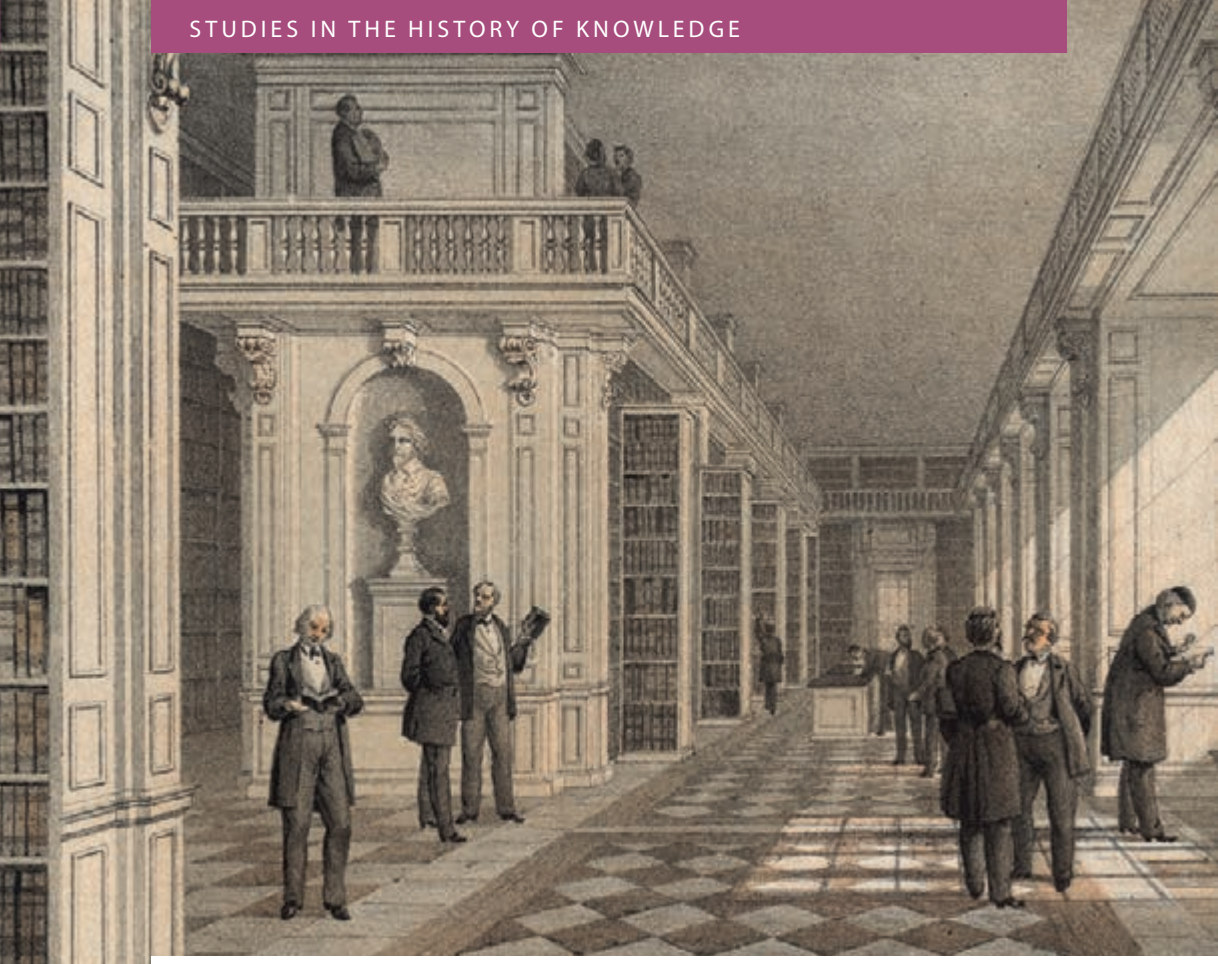

Edited by Anders Ekström and Hampus Östh Gustafsson

The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge

The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850-2020

Amsterdam University Press

The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge

Studies in the History of Knowledge

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1 Introduction

Politics of Knowledge and the Modern History of the Humanities

Anders Ekström and Hampus Östh Gustafsson

Abstract
The history of the humanities needs to move beyond the focus on traditional disciplines and historicize notions regarding the impact and organization of the humanities in a long historical perspective. The present edited volume, based on case studies of Sweden in the modern period, provides an important contribution to such an endeavor. This introduction proposes an analytical framework by special reference to "knowledge politics," a concept that allows a flexible and aggregated examination of how societies have valued and politicized the organization, balancing, and circulation of knowledge on a broad scale. The national case in point provides illuminating insights into how the humanities over time had to relate to various regimes of legitimacy and enables comparisons on an international scale.

Keywords: history of humanities, politics of knowledge, modern society, impact, organization, boundaries, regime of legitimacy

The Shifting Roles of the Humanities in Modern Society

The modern history of the humanities displays a multitude of legitimizing claims for the value and societal impact of humanistic knowledge. Sometimes, these claims have conflicted, reflecting a fundamental tension between reactive and generative strategies employed for the use – and defense – of humanities research and education. It may be asked whether humanities scholars have been associated with tradition or progress, elites

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or outsiders, ivory towers or public intellectuals, the past or the future, and thus critique or construction of present and future societies. The societal roles, positions, and identities of the humanities have, indeed, been of a complex and often ambiguous character, indicating that the humanities may be particularly sensitive to the emergence of new political constellations and regimes of legitimacy. The very need of defining disciplines and their boundaries signals uncertainty about their institutional and societal value, and intensifies in periods of epistemological change. However, in the case of the humanities, such normative claims are regularly made on an aggregated level – speaking not of individual disciplinary formations but of *the humanities*, thus referring not only to their relation to the social or natural sciences but to fundamental issues about the necessary bases of knowledge in modern society.

In this book, we address the shifting status of the humanities through a national case study spanning two centuries, starting in the mid-nineteenth century. The empirical focus on Sweden as a case where the humanities eventually got heavily questioned as a part of the modern project enables us to develop an extended but still coherent historical analysis, inviting critical comparisons with the growing literature on the *history of the humanities* from around the world. Given its polemical context, it is no surprise that much of this literature has been selective and even anecdotal. This is now changing with the emergence of a new orientation of this historiographic field, which also promises to transcend the tradition of disciplinary history and approach the humanities from the perspective of a broader history of knowledge, thus paving the way for more thorough historicizations.

This perspective also points to important differences. For instance, a common claim in normative debates has argued for the formative role of humanities knowledge and education in democratic political systems.[1] While this certainly makes sense in the American context with its strong tradition of liberal education and political republicanism, the claim is misleading when applied to European sites where German notions of *Geisteswissenschaften* and *Bildung* have had a longstanding influence on how "the humanities" are being perceived. In such cases, it might be more relevant to ask why the humanities maintained a stronger legitimacy in pre-democratic and elitist contexts while the emerging social sciences seemed to flourish with the breakthrough of political democracy in the twentieth century. A fine-grained historical perspective is required in

1 Nussbaum, *Not for Profit*.

order to note and make sense of such shifting conditions for the legitimacy of various forms of knowledge in modern societies.

In this book, we conceive of such negotiations and long-term changes as key to the politics of knowledge. The Swedish case, which in this respect was anything but an exception in comparison to other Scandinavian and continental European countries, shows how the humanities were instrumental to the building of modern societal institutions, political movements, and comprehensive areas of professional education in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, however, the sense of future-making rapidly shifted toward science and medicine, and later technology and economy. In the postwar period, it became increasingly unclear whether democratic society – in its (Social Democratic) welfare appearance – really was capable of absorbing subjects like history, philology, and literature. The very rationale of the humanities was thus put under pressure.

This renegotiation – and contest – of their social contract is approached from several angles in this edited volume, focusing on the shifting roles and societal applications of the humanities over time by posing the following questions: How have the humanities been defined and delineated? What has it meant, at specific times and in specific contexts, to mobilize the humanities for engaging with societal problems? In which ways has the production of humanistic knowledge been organized in order to meet such ends? These investigations will hopefully stimulate a reflection on the conditions for the impact and organization of the humanities today, at a time characterized by changing epistemological boundaries, complex global emergencies, and mounting pressure on academic knowledge to demonstrate its societal value.

Writing New Histories of the Humanities

The above questions have attracted increasing attention in recent years from scholars active in a wide range of historically oriented academic fields. Inquiries have been made into the validity of common claims in defense of the humanities and how they have been formed historically.[2] Rightly, it has also been pointed out that it is no coincidence – and not the first time – that we see a turn to historiographical queries and narratives when a branch

2 See e.g., Bate, ed., *The Public Value*; Belfiore and Upchurch, eds., *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century*; Bérubé and Ruth, *The Humanities*; Bulaitis, *Value and the Humanities*; Small, *The Value of the Humanities*.

of knowledge finds itself under threat. Indeed, the history of individual disciplines, and various reorientations and turns within disciplines, is a pervasive genre for making normative claims about the identity and preferred future of particular fields of academic knowledge production.[3] The politics of canon making and the delineation of "classical" theory has also been the focus of important work in the history of the social sciences.[4] In a related fashion, the advocates of the new history of the humanities have depicted current historiographic initiatives as an active effort to strengthen the humanities in the face of present challenges.[5] While the global discourse of the so-called "crisis" in the humanities is, by no means, a new topic, current efforts to legitimize these disciplines are supported by an increasing number of attempts in recent years to examine the historical development and present state of the humanities and adjacent branches of knowledge in more systematic and ambitious ways.[6]

The field of history of humanities is currently going through a characteristic disciplinary formation through the creation of independent institutional platforms, networks, and canons.[7] Launched by computational linguist Rens Bod with Dutch colleagues, the field has been formed at the intersection of history of science, history of knowledge, and history of education and universities.[8] As a consequence, previously heterogeneous fields of research have been integrated in promising ways, opening up new alleys of investigation and re-interpretation of classical questions. Obviously, histories of the humanities have been written before, *avant la lettre*, but not with the same concentration and confidence as displayed by history of science and medicine.[9] Useful parallels might also be drawn to the more advanced

3 The historical dynamic and politics of the disciplinary formation of a "cultural turn" in the human (or "cultural") sciences in the 1980s and 90s is discussed in Ekström, "Den falska återkomsten."

4 Connell, "Why is Classical," pp. 1511–1557.

5 Bod et al., "A New Field," pp. 1–2.

6 Recent examples of global investigations include Ahlburg, ed., *The Changing Face*; Holm, Jarrick and Scott, *Humanities World Report*. For historical examinations of the crisis discourse, see Östh Gustafsson, "The Humanities in Crisis"; Reitter and Wellmon, *Permanent Crisis*.

7 The field is primarily represented by the conference series Making of the Humanities, running since 2008, and since 2016, the journal *History of Humanities*. One recent issue, 4, no. 2 (2019), included a theme section on "Classics of the Humanities," indicating an aspiration to create a canon of a new field.

8 See e.g., Bod and Kursell "Introduction," p. 337; Daston and Most, "History of Science," pp. 378–390; Dupré and Somsen, "The History of Knowledge"; Marchand, "Weighing Context."

9 Here, one can mention relevant journals such as *History of the Human Sciences* as well as broader publications outside of the English language area, such as *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeshichte*. Apart from the journal *History of Humanities*, recent years have also seen the

versions of the history and sociology of the social sciences that have been developed in recent years, occasionally categorized as SSH (Social Sciences and Humanities) in order to correspond to the well-established STS (Science and Technology Studies) and display fundamental mechanisms involved in the shaping of the human sciences as we know them today.[10] Historical research on the social and human sciences has, moreover, converged in discussions about public intellectuals and the history of academics and public spheres.[11] Obviously, there is much to gain from anthropological and sociological perspectives and methods that have been commonly employed within the historiography of other branches but only rarely applied in cases where the humanities constitute the primary object of study.[12] History of the humanities has thus been described as a missing piece in a wider puzzle of the history of knowledge.[13] Hopefully, the present volume will provide an impetus for a more multifaceted understanding of the function of humanistic knowledge in modern society.

Collecting eleven case studies ranging from the nineteenth century up until the present situation, this volume explores arenas where the value of the humanities was manifested and challenged, such as cultural, educational, and research policy, and also emphasizes the relationships between and public attitudes toward specific disciplines, such as philology and pedagogy. The societal function of the humanities is thus considered from a wider perspective of knowledge politics in order to thoroughly historicize notions of impact and organization that tend to be taken for granted. A number of key concepts that regularly have been used in the history and sociology of science, such as boundary work, co-production, and impact, will be introduced and employed in order to illuminate the historical function of the humanities in a multifaceted way.[14]

inauguration of new book series, such as Palgrave Macmillan's "Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences." These are some examples indicating the new energy that has been injected into history of the humanities and adjacent fields of research.

10 See e.g., Fleck, Duller and Karády, eds., *Shaping Human*, and also Larsson and Magdalenić, *Sociology in Sweden*; Thue, *In Quest of a Democratic*; Wisselgren, *The Social Scientific Gaze*.

11 See e.g., Eliaeson and Kalleberg, eds., *Academics as Public Intellectuals*; Fleck, Hess and Lyon, eds., *Intellectuals and their Publics*; Small, ed., *Public Intellectual*.

12 Cf., Leezenberg, *History and Philosophy*, pp. 128, 250.

13 Bod et al., "A New Field," p. 6. The potential cross-sections of history of humanities and history of knowledge are for instance illustrated in a recent forum section of *History of Humanities* focusing on circulation of knowledge. See Hammar and Östling, "Introduction."

14 These and related concepts play increasingly important parts in studies on knowledge politics and the history of the humanities, as illustrated by the emphases of a number of recent special sections in relevant journals. See e.g., "The Two Cultures Revisited: The Sciences and

Historicizing the Humanities and Their Boundaries

"The humanities" is a term in the plural. The historical and heterogeneous character of the included disciplines should not be overlooked. Still, such an awareness needs to be balanced with an interpretation of these disciplines as constituting one more or less – although unstable and shifting – integrated area of knowledge, or as a specific discursive formation. In this book, we argue that this is especially important in contexts where the humanities have been conceived of as a unity and delineated in relation to other umbrella concepts such as the social, medical, or technical sciences. Indeed, the administrative use of such categorizations permeates the management and organization of modern universities. They come alive in complex processes of institutional decision making, long-term priorities, and traveling templates for resource allocation. The aggregation of disciplines is equally important in the history of research and educational policy, and increasingly so when the politics of knowledge took on a systemic character in the twentieth century. Contemporary impact definitions, institutional innovation, and calls for interdisciplinarity also tend to activate a notion of the humanities that emphasize their internal coherence.

Since the humanities have been conceived that way in practice, historical inquiries must pay attention to the implications of this use of terminology while still not reducing the humanities into a monolith. By encouraging a balanced view of this broad spectrum of definitions, the present volume strives to go beyond the standard history of disciplinary formations, epistemological turns, and the long-standing tradition of approaching the past of the humanities through the lens of reactive critique. The general lack of detailed and systematic empirical investigations into the shifting legitimacy of the humanities has limited the perspectives of current discussions on their relevance and prospects.[15] In particular, the recurring discourse on the so-called "crisis in the humanities," which itself became a decisive force in the homogenization of the humanities in postwar societies, would benefit from a more nuanced and historically sensitive understanding of the mechanisms that altered the role of the humanities in the past. This

the Humanities in a Longue Durée Perspective," *History of Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2018); "Societal Impact in the Social Sciences and Humanities," *Research Evaluation* 29, no. 1 (2020). For recent studies on the historical impact of the humanities in Sweden, see Salö, ed., *Humanvetenskapernas verkningar*.

15 Obviously, a few comprehensive empirical studies have been conducted, focusing on the development of the humanities in particular national contexts. See e.g., Eckel, *Geist der Zeit*; Mandler, "The Humanities in British Universities."

is an argument about avoiding anachronisms and nostalgic narratives, but it is also an attempt at grasping the problems of the present through a better understanding of the past. In order to articulate the impact of the humanities with respect to their position in a wider hierarchy of knowledge and shifting political alliances, they need to be historicized beyond the trajectory of individual disciplines.[16]

The boundaries of the humanities obviously have not been of a static character. Several contributions to this volume emphasize this aspect by addressing how the humanities were (or were not) demarcated as a specific area of scholarship, and as such defined and organized in different ways. Here, it is essential to clarify the conceptual history of the humanities and outline the specific connotations of the Swedish use of terms. As the Swedish term *humaniora* has been closely associated with the German *Geisteswissenschaften*, the juxtaposition between the humanities and science has not been as obvious as within the English language area.[17] Furthermore, the distinction between the humanities and the ideological concept of humanism has been highlighted as particularly blurry.[18] Throughout the book, we demonstrate how investigations of historical examples of ongoing conceptual and institutional boundary work are fundamental for understanding what the humanities are and do – and how this has far-reaching consequences for how the identities of humanities scholars are being shaped.[19] This includes examples of how humanities scholars have attempted to escape the infamous "ivory tower" as well as detailed case studies of the co-production of humanistic knowledge between academic and public spheres.[20] The book also highlights the "invisible" humanists that were embedded in alternative infrastructures outside of the university, investigating how they contributed to the impact and circulation of the humanities in institutional and societal

16 Our argument thus supports a recent trend that emphasizes the need to *articulate* rather than *justify* the value of the humanities. See e.g., Bulaitis, *Value and the Humanities*, pp. 3, 229, 245; Collini, "On Not 'Justifying'," pp. 24–53; Emmeche, Pedersen and Stjernfelt, eds., *Mapping Frontier*.

17 It should be noted that the Swedish term for the humanities, *humaniora* (apart from Scandinavia, this term also surfaces in Germany and the Netherlands), is still somewhat narrower than the English arts and humanities (or French *les sciences humaines*/*humanités* or German *Geisteswissenschaften*). Primarily, it served the function of gathering a specific set of disciplines at the so-called faculties of philosophy.

18 See Elzinga, "Humanioras roll," p. 239, and cf. Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, xvi.

19 For an introduction to the concept of boundary work, see Gieryn, *Cultural Boundaries*, and also Abbott, "Things of Boundaries."

20 Jasanoff, "The Idiom of Co-Production"; Shapin, "The Ivory Tower."

contexts where other forms of knowledge have been seen as dominant, for instance on the paperback book market, in a Christian *Teilöffentlichkeit*, and in Swedish defense research.

By pointing to the diversity of strategies of legitimization and contexts of relevance for the humanities, this book uncovers the humanities as a dynamic concept dependent on a wide range of interconnections. Hopefully, this will transcend reductive interpretations of their history that habitually rely on binary models such as the notion of "the two cultures."[21] Despite the influence of the wider concept of *Geisteswissenschaften*, the concept of the humanities as a specific category of knowledge was actively contrasted with natural science in a characteristic dichotomic fashion, in particular after a reform in 1876 that split the faculty of philosophy in Swedish universities in two parts. It should be noted, however, that throughout the modern era, the humanities themselves consisted in many sub-cultures. The very meaning of humanistic inquiry was indeed dependent on competition and collaboration between various cultures of knowledge throughout the modern era.

The definitions and interpretations of the humanities were also conditioned by the spectacular expansion of knowledge and its institutions in Western societies. What in the late twentieth century was alternatively labeled the *knowledge society, knowledge sector*, or *knowledge economy*, was a very different environment from the family-like and aristocratic culture of erudition that shaped the emergence of the humanities disciplines in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To understand the shifting roles and impact of the humanities it is therefore crucial to appreciate the changing environments and scales of academic knowledge production in the modern era.

Marginalization in a Context of Expansion

The marginalization of the humanities has typically been represented by critique from within, defending a particular version of the tradition of the humanities, and typically lamenting poor funding, disciplinary decline, and loss of status in the public mind. Even today, there is an anecdotal and nostalgic tendency in the reactive defense of the humanities, which builds on the preconception of humanities education and research as carriers of

21 Snow, *The Two Cultures*. See also Bouterse and Karstens, "A Diversity of Divisions"; Hamann, "Boundary Work," pp. 27–38; Krämer, "Shifting Demarcations," pp. 5–14; O'Neill, "The Humanities beyond Interpretation," p. 71; Ortolano, *The Two Cultures*.

lofty ideals that were better understood and supposedly more fully practiced in less democratic societies. This form of critique has little to offer if the goal is to understand the role of knowledge in modern societies. Indeed, the remarkable expansion of research and higher education in postwar industrial societies makes any comparison with the small-scale and elite-oriented structure of nineteenth-century European universities difficult and even awkward.[22]

The shift of volumes and balances in the orientation of higher education and research in the twentieth century, especially after World War II, did nevertheless involve a process of marginalization of the humanities as compared to their societal role and impact in earlier periods.[23] But this development did not consist in a diminishing number of humanities programs and disciplines, or decreasing funding. For example, in Sweden the number of professors, students, and departments in the arts and humanities grew rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s. The expansion continued with the establishment of a number of new universities and university colleges in the 1970s and 1980s. The increase in humanities education and research in Western universities in the second half of the twentieth century was also fueled by the incorporation of vocational education into the university system. The professional focus of humanities studies eventually shifted toward journalism and media, the public sector, heritage institutions, the culture industries, and the ever-expanding education system. In Sweden as in many other countries, this development coincided with an alleged feminization of the humanities, and higher education more generally, which was accompanied by a familiar pattern of shifting social status of the professions and areas of study that women entered.[24]

The marginalization of the humanities in the second half of the twentieth century was thus not a matter of downsizing; it was an effect of the introduction and much more rapid growth of other areas of knowledge, especially economics, medicine, and technology.[25] According to some commentators, this was the advent of the "mass university" with increasing proportions of higher education, and eventually research, being devoted to the academization of vocational training and applied knowledge.[26] However,

22 Cf. Ekström, "A Failed Response?"

23 Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization"; Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*.

24 Cf. Rosenberg, "Women in the Humanities."

25 Comparative perspectives on this development can be drawn from Collini, *What Are Universities For?*; Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*.

26 See e.g., Trow, *Twentieth-Century Higher Education*.

as others have pointed out, it was also one of the major and most successful reforms of "old school" welfare politics, which emphasized the importance not only of social but epistemological inclusion in the democratization of knowledge.[27]

In contemporary Sweden, this history of expansion is currently visible in a staggering number of approximately forty universities and university colleges, which compares to the number of cities in the country with over 30,000 inhabitants. In 2019, 44 % of the population between the age of 25–64 had taken post-secondary education with 28 % of the same category having three or more years of higher education, which represents almost a two-fold increase in less than two decades.[28] Today, it has become apparent that the growing number of institutions for higher education drives a process of diversification that makes it increasingly difficult for policy makers to approach universities as one "sector" or "national system." As a result, several smaller institutions tend to seek legitimacy through specialization. This creates different conditions and possibilities for humanities research and education on local grounds.

One response to increasing diversity and changing institutional and societal incentives is reflected in the rise of humanities-driven forms of integrated knowledge production. On the one hand, new research orientations and institutional niches have formed around, for instance, the digital, medical, and green humanities, with new expectations being attached to the integrated role of the humanities in research agendas that address transformative processes of social, political, and environmental change in contemporary societies.[29] On the other hand, the language of interdisciplinarity has been favored by local managerial schemes of shifting priorities, down-sizing through mergers, and reallocation of resources to large scale technical infrastructures and financially more profitable areas of education. To work on these tensions, and how they play out in local contexts and national systems, we need to approach the history of the humanities not only through their disciplinary formation and traditions of critique, but from the broader perspective of a history of the entire apparatus of knowledge politics.

27 Cf. Ekström, "A Failed Reponse?"

28 https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/sverige-i-siffror/utbildning-jobb-och-pengar/utbildningsnivan-i-sverige/, September 1 (2020) [accessed November 17 (2020)].

29 This development is further traced and discussed in Ekström, ed., *Tvärgående kulturforskning*; Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*, ch. 10; Ekström and Sörlin, *Integrativa kunskapsmiljöer*; Sörlin, "Humanities of Transformation," pp. 287–297.

Three Layers of Historical Analysis

For a genuinely historical analysis of the development and shifting balances of the humanities in any country it is crucial to get the proportions of expansion and marginalization right. Indeed, this is also key to any form of normative critique that strive to identify the potentials for a different role of the humanities in the future. In this book we tentatively suggest and develop a conceptual scheme that distinguishes between three different time spans and levels of analysis.

The first is the long-term development of the humanities as distinct from the natural and social sciences in the broad framework of the history of the *modern organization of knowledge*. By this we refer to the period in European history of knowledge from the late eighteenth century to the present, and the emerging institutional arrangements, disciplinary formations, and continuous construction of boundaries between the objects and practices of the natural, social, and cultural sciences. This historical layer, which invites analyses of the institutional and infrastructural framework of scientific knowledge production, and how its volumes and dimensions shifted over time, is crucial for understanding how the idea of the administrative and epistemological coherence of the humanities was shaped and defined in the modern era.

In order to approach the humanities' complex embeddedness in and connections to other parts of society, we propose a second, and flexible, perspective of *knowledge politics*. When we speak of knowledge politics, we refer to how societies have valued and politicized the organization and division of different branches of knowledge, for example in debates and reforms both inside and outside of universities about priorities between different areas of knowledge. In Sweden, this aspect became increasingly important from the mid-nineteenth century with the formation of a public system of education, and the conflicting visions of the role of knowledge in modern society that were articulated in the context of emerging political movements around the turn of the twentieth century.

Likewise, the term knowledge politics is used to capture broader aspects of the shifting knowledge bases and coalitions in twentieth-century societies. The relative status of the humanities was not only reflected in the changing history of professions, disciplines, and the orientation of higher education and research policies. It was also foregrounded in the shifting understanding of the cultural and political impact and expectations of different forms of knowledge in the future. In nineteenth-century Sweden, humanities knowledge was closely associated with the formation

of new social and political institutions and elaborate ideas about the progressive function of education in society with a special emphasis on the moral elevation of citizens. The humanities (classical studies in particular) acquired a normative position in politico-administrative as well as educational milieus, defining the concept of *Bildung* and dictating a general conception of the societal value of knowledge that the natural sciences sought to match.[30] In the twentieth century, and especially from the 1950s onward, this authoritative role was adopted by the expanding social and engineering sciences while the humanities were increasingly construed as reactive and backward-looking. Our concept of knowledge politics attempts to delineate such long-term and ongoing shifts in the composition of modern knowledge in order to explore how they influence the present.

A third layer of analysis concerns *knowledge policy regimes*, which form the basis for the legitimacy of various forms of knowledge in society during certain periods.[31] The concept of regime obviously calls for some caution. Here, it is used to refer to dominant but not exclusive ideas about the preferred development and priorities of research and higher education as they are explicitly stated in, for example, public policies, university strategies, steering and incentive schemes, managerial practices, and funding programs. It is essential to perceive such regimes in a reciprocal and interconnected way, and not as policies having a one-directed influence on the direction and organization of knowledge, or conversely.[32] We thus interpret intellectual and societal legitimacy as being co-produced.[33]

In contrast to the long-term institutional and infrastructural history of knowledge and broader shifts in knowledge politics, the third level of analysis operates in a time frame of decades rather than centuries. We further argue that to speak of regimes, it is necessary to inquire how such regimes translate into particular modes of knowledge production. This level of analysis therefore brings a particular emphasis on the institutionalization of a modern politics of higher education and research in the twentieth century, and especially the establishment of policy-making frameworks

30 Hammar, "Classical Nature."

31 The term politics of knowledge is employed in connection to regimes in a similar way in Domínguez Rubio and Baert, "The *Politics of Knowledge*," p. 3.

32 See e.g., Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger*, who used *kunnskapsregim* as a concept in order to identify various constellations of power, knowledge, and values in modern Norway, but with an emphasis on how such regimes were characterized by specific types of knowledge dominating political institutions.

33 Jasanoff, "The Idiom of Co-Production."

and procedures after World War II.[34] In the Swedish case, contributions to this volume distinguish and relate to a series of overlapping policy regimes in postwar society, from the nationalistic and future-oriented policies developed in the context of emerging institutions of the welfare state in the 1950s and 1960s, to the no less futuristic focus on societal challenges and sustainable development in the 2010s and 2020s.

A National Trajectory of Disputed Legitimacy

Many examples of histories of the humanities have focused on specific national trajectories of particular disciplines. It is therefore promising that new research within this emerging field explicitly encourages comparative transnational approaches, not least in order to decentralize the traditional Western conception of the humanities.[35] But to enable comparisons on an integrated level of the history of *the humanities*, empirical studies of national contexts are still crucial, especially if the purpose is to develop a coherent theoretical analysis as outlined in the previous section. Sweden has indeed provided a stage for a large number of heated debates on the societal legitimacy of the humanities – in the past as well as in recent decades. The national orientation of this volume thus provides a rich material for investigations into the relationship between the humanities and shifting policy discourses and regimes in a comparatively long historical perspective.

Starting out in the mid-nineteenth century, when the national university system was still small scale and humanities disciplines were generally embodied by a single (male) chair professor at the specific universities (that is, Uppsala and Lund), contributions to the present volume (Hammar; Jansson) demonstrate how knowledge in the humanities was the object of a wide-ranging societal circulation and broad appreciation. To a large extent, this impact was guaranteed through the characteristic Swedish

34 We thus use the regime concept in a slightly different way from recent literature on temporal regimes, e.g., Assmann, *Ist die Zeit aus den Fugen?*; Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity*; Jansen, *Hidden in Historicism*. Cf. Pestre, "Regimes of Knowledge," pp. 246–250, who claimed that 'the past four of five centuries have witnessed successive and heterogeneous *regimes* of knowledge production connected to particular social institutions and values; and that the problem now at hand is principally one of trying faithfully to characterize those regimes in their complexity and contradictions.' For previous attempts to analyze the shifting roles of the twentieth-century humanities in Scandinavia in terms of consecutive regimes, each spanning over a couple of decades, see Larsen, "Holistic Philological," p. 143; Sörlin, "Humanities of Transformation," p. 291.

35 Bod, *A New History*. See also Denecke, "Comparative Global."

system based on education of civil servants, which for a long time solidified a close relationship between the humanities and education/pedagogy (see Landahl and Larsson's chapter). By adopting such a professional identity, graduates in the humanities took on influential roles in various domains of the public sector, most importantly as secondary school teachers (often holding doctoral degrees). As Isak Hammar's chapter displays, teaching in the humanities was for a long time closely tied to an ideal of classical humanism – in some cases the humanities were basically equated with classical languages and learning. With several reforms of education, however, the classical paradigm within the humanities was overthrown as new orientations emerged that were increasingly central to the humanistic curriculum, for instance, modern languages.[36]

Ambitions to modernize the humanities were eventually taken to the extreme in the second half of the twentieth century as several disciplines changed names by replacing the suffix "history" (e.g., *konsthistoria* or *litteraturhistoria*) with "science" or "scholarship" (*konstvetenskap* or *litteraturvetenskap*) – a process analyzed in Johannes Siapkas' chapter. The Swedish government successively aimed to expand its control of the university sector, ultimately creating incentives for a professionalization and reformed organization of humanities education and research. This process was also fueled by the expansion and increasing societal application of the sciences, for instance reflected in the creation of an alternative program (*realia*) in secondary schools. Pressure from positivist ideals forced humanities scholars to rethink their epistemological foundations. Should they strive to legitimize themselves in the same vein as their counterparts in the sciences, or should they instead demarcate the humanities as a separate realm of inquiry?

Ongoing scholarly specialization materialized as the traditional faculty of philosophy at Swedish universities was split into two sections in 1876, for the humanities and the sciences (and mathematics), respectively. This separation was judged necessary in order to administratively handle the expanding university system, and was eventually permanented in the twentieth century. Another decisive reform was then implemented in 1964, creating a faculty for social sciences independent from the faculty of the humanities. This parting had been preceded, however, by the foundation of a separate research council for the social sciences in the 1940s. Research in the humanities, in its turn, was financially supported by an alternative and allegedly old-fashioned fund (Humanistiska fonden) since the late 1920s,

36 See e.g., Hammar and Östh Gustafsson, "Unity Lost."

but it was not until the 1950s that the humanities got a "proper" research council of their own (see Ekström's chapter).[37] The overall impression is that the humanities struggled to keep up with other branches of knowledge that were more directly embraced by politicians and administrators for fulfilling the long-term, progressive visions of the welfare project as these were launched by liberals and social democrats from the early twentieth century onward, as well as with large-scale international initiatives for mobilizing scholarship in the postwar period (see the chapters by Östh Gustafsson and Widmalm).

In spite of becoming much more diverse with the foundation of new universities, and by hosting a substantial part of the so-called student expansion in the postwar years, humanities faculties were in general not regarded as key to the transformation of Swedish society in the twentieth century. Instead, they were frequently associated with traditionalism and an outdated concept of *Bildung* [bildning]. This long-term trajectory toward a position of outdatedness was immensely complex, however, and, as proven by several chapters in this book (Östling, Jansson and Svensson; Andersson and Larsson Heidenblad; Bertilsson), needs to be nuanced and challenged. Just like in several other Western countries, the humanities were promoted as indispensable for compensating for the deficits of technology in modern society.[38] For instance, the fact that the research councils for the humanities and the social sciences merged in 1977 indicates how new currents began to alter the politics of knowledge by the end of the twentieth century through an increasing focus on interdisciplinarity or integrative research collaborations, as is highlighted in Ekström's concluding chapter. The broader attempts to mobilize human sciences paved the way for a more holistic understanding of the challenges faced by modern societies.

By focusing on the Swedish humanities in their shifting intellectual and political context from the nineteenth century until today, the contributions to this volume generate a concentrated exposition of the dynamics that shape the societal legitimacy of knowledge. This enables chronological comparisons and more elaborated considerations regarding the interplay of local circumstances and more general contexts of knowledge production in the humanities. Recent studies on the twentieth-century transformations of the humanities, like Vidar Grøtta's systems-theoretical analysis of postwar humanities education in Norway, demonstrate the value of national case

37 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, p. 126–127.

38 Cf., Marquard, *Transzendentaler Idealismus*. See also Kampits, "Geisteswissenschaften wozu?," p. 65; Weingart et al., *Die sog. Geisteswissenschaften*, p. 13.

studies as long as they are informed by a sophisticated use of theory.[39] Local and national trajectories of knowledge politics cannot simply be reduced to effects of general international currents, even if the overall ambition is to contribute to a wider transnational or global understanding of the history of the humanities. Furthermore, the dichotomy between the national and the international in many cases proves to be false.[40]

The national context probably has been the most important level for the organization of knowledge in the modern period.[41] For a long time, the humanities were perceived of as a national concern, and according to the common view of their history, these disciplines were intimately bound to the construction and preservation of national communities and identities. It is therefore not uncommon that their challenges today are interpreted as consequences of the ongoing process of globalization. Nationalistic claims, however, have continued to form an integral part of the legitimizing discourse of the humanities. In recent decades, several countries have begun to adopt a kind of neo-national or nativist politics of knowledge. Late capitalist policies in the 1980s and 1990s, which claimed to address the emerging "knowledge economy" of a globalized world, were also surprisingly nationalistic in its rhetoric and practical outlook, a seeming paradox which is further discussed in Ekström's chapter. More generally, rather than focusing on cultural impact in a traditional sense, the postwar period saw an increase of economically oriented claims that were not always compatible with the elitist and traditional strategies of legitimization in the humanities.

The case studies on the impact and organization of the humanities included in this volume illuminate such general patterns of change that may be identified in most Western countries. This is also the case when it comes to reactions from the humanities against an experienced need of adapting to new policy regimes. In line with perspectives that emphasize the increasingly integrative character of knowledge in society, demands on scholarship to explicitly demonstrate their societal value seem to have gained currency during the twentieth century.[42] Most literature agree that the humanities used to enjoy a more solid societal legitimacy during the

39 Grøtta, *The Transformation of Humanities*.

40 Not least, this proved to be the case in the context of the polarized atmosphere of the Cold War that stimulated internationalization of research as well as national competition. See e.g., Franzmann, Jansen and Münte, "Legitimizing Science," p. 22.

41 See e.g., Jordanova, "Science and Nationhood," p. 195; Shumway, "Nationalist Knowledges."

42 See, for example, the debate in the early 2000s regarding so-called "mode 2" production of knowledge: Gibbons et al., *The New Production*; Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons, *Re-Thinking Science*.

nineteenth and early twentieth century. In Sweden, humanities scholars at that point regularly took on influential positions in national politics and other central institutional contexts. Even if recent scholarship strives to demonstrate how knowledge in the humanities still played an important part for different sectors of society in the postwar era, this impact was not always publicly acknowledged and sanctioned. In this respect, the histories of the humanities presented in this volume might be read as exemplifying fundamental changes of relevance to the humanities in various geographical contexts. But there are also aspects that might seem counterintuitive and make the Swedish case stand out.

Sweden as Exception or Exemplum?

Almost as a general rule, Sweden is portrayed as an exception on international arenas of knowledge as well as politics – not least by Swedes themselves, as they often voice the notion of their own country as being the most "modern" in the entire world. Very recently, international media have noted Sweden's (at least allegedly) distinctive way of dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. This is just one example of the country's seemingly long history of entering a special route and thus being conceived of either as an exemplary "model" or a discouraging example by the international community – in latter decades seemingly turning from utopia to a "dystopian vision of the future" in the eyes of its neighbor countries.[43]

Notions of national exceptionalism have been embraced many times before, not least in terms of a self-asserted neutral role on the geopolitical arena in the context of the Cold War, offering a so-called "Third Way" between Capitalism and Communism. In terms of intellectual influence, Sweden's longstanding dependence on the German academic community shifted toward an Anglo-American orientation during the interwar period. Immediately after World War II, English was introduced as the primary foreign language in Swedish school curricula as the US turned into a role model and symbol of a future tied to the advance of liberal democracy.[44] This Americanization had a clear influence on the postwar politics of knowledge in Sweden as it generally supported the rise of social sciences and implied a turn away from the characteristic German tradition of humanistic inquiry. The oscillation between the German and American models of scholarship

43 Strang, Marjanen and Hilson, "A Rhetorical Perspective," pp. 13–14.

44 E.g., Östling, *Nazismens sensmoral*, pp. 212–213.

makes the Swedish in between-case illuminating, not least as previous literature has tended to focus, somewhat insularly, on Anglo-American or German contexts separately. Here, the history of the humanities in Sweden may function as a bridge, enabling new dialogue between otherwise detached strands of historiography.

The postwar era did also see a fascinating development of an influential narrative of Swedish exceptionalism regarding the state of the humanities. In the 1970s, it was claimed that these subjects were set aside in Swedish society to such an extent that it was asked, in a report published by the national research council for the humanities in 1973, whether "Sweden was the only country in the world to have discovered that scholarship in the humanities and theology no longer had any real value for the cultural and societal development."[45] A discourse of marginalization, and eventually of profound crisis, emerged relatively early in this national context – up until then often regarded as a social democratic haven. The negative narrative of exceptionalism regarding the humanities thus functioned as a forceful contrast to the common narratives about Sweden as an international exception in positive terms, marking the beginning of a widespread critique of welfare state-systems in general. Still, it must be asked why the humanities did not feel at home in this progressive welfare state *par excellence* that held such wide acclaim on the international stage?[46]

In domestic debates Sweden was even described as a "developing country" regarding the state of the humanities, as noted by Anna Tunlid in this volume. Looking at sheer numbers, the public support for research and education lingered far behind comparable countries in Scandinavia and North-Western Europe in the 1970s.[47] In contrast to countries like the United States, where the humanities seemed to experience a golden era of public democratic prosperity in the years immediately following World War II, the humanities did not seem to be of any central concern to Swedes in their everyday lives.[48] This interpretation of a unique lack of legitimacy for the Swedish humanities was not solely developed in the postwar era, however. Even previously, it had been suggested that there existed a specific kind of progressive Swedish modernism, inclined to promote and romanticize

45 *Humanistisk och teologisk forskning*, p. 18. In original, the quote reads: "att Sverige som enda land i världen skulle ha upptäckt, att humanistisk och teologisk vetenskap inte längre skulle ha någon verklig betydelse för den kulturella och samhälleliga utvecklingen."

46 Musial, *Roots of the Scandinavian Model*, pp. 9–10, 14–15, 233; Pierre, "Introduction."

47 *Humanistisk och teologisk forskning*, pp. 15–18.

48 Lönnroth, "Är kulturvetenskap obehövlig?"

ideals of (social) engineering rather than fields oriented toward the study of moral and cultural aspects of existence.[49]

Is it perhaps so, then, that Swedish society has been particularly hostile to the humanities? While it is essential to not reproduce this historical self-conception straight off, the fact that the Swedish humanities have struggled for such a long time to justify themselves indicates that this national case might be of general interest for inquiries into the shifting societal roles of the humanities. By looking at particular instances where the function and value of the humanities were put at stake, this volume sheds light upon central mechanisms to the development of the modern humanities that may be readily put in transnational comparison with other, probably more well-known (e.g., American, British, or German) histories of the humanities. The unstable legitimacy of knowledge is not only examined from an intellectual point of view, but necessarily analyzed in the context of specific societal conditions and political constellations at certain points in time. This approach toward the humanities as fundamentally embedded in society provides an important contribution to the history of the humanities – hitherto dominated by an introverted and disciplinary focus. Long-term changes to the legitimacy of the humanities, we argue, will not be properly grasped if the wider context sketched in this introduction is lost out of sight.

Contributions and Outline

Taken together, the chapters of this volume – authored by scholars from various fields such as history, intellectual history, history of science, history of education, economic history, book history, classical studies – richly demonstrate the interconnections and overlaps between the different levels of analysis outlined above. The national scale enables us to discuss the development of the humanities over a long time span without losing empirical coherence, focusing both on discursive continuities, individual actors, and institutional change. The book is divided into three sections, following a general chronological structure, but also with the aim of emphasizing some of the major themes that have influenced the modern trajectory of the Swedish humanities.

The first section on emerging disciplinary divides dwells into the history and shifting constellations of the humanities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It might seem a paradox that the volume

49 Cf., Hansson, *Humanismens kris*, pp. 76, 160–161, 170.

starts out with a chapter on efforts to legitimize the natural sciences in the nineteenth century as Isak Hammar highlights a number of journal debates on the relationship between different cultures of knowledge and how epistemological hierarchies were discussed. The scholarly periodicals he examines clearly were of an inclusive and collaborative character. While an educational ideal of "classical humanism" had been at the center, reflecting a general prioritization of disciplines such as classical languages within the existing knowledge regime, the journal eventually turned into an arena for questioning the dominance of classical languages and humanistic *Bildung*. It is thus important to nuance golden age narratives of the nineteenth century, but at the same time, Hammar's study exhibits how humanistic knowledge was broadly mobilized on a national level and thus filled an intrinsically generative function in a political as well as cultural context. A similar aspect is underlined in Martin Jansson's chapter on how philological knowledge was applied in the context of a major Swedish Bible translation that was motivated by a series of institutional reforms around the turn of the century, clearly working as a temporalizing agent, or a force of change, rather than being associated with preservation and tradition. This complex process, which saw the Bible treated as a boundary object, can thus be interpreted as an – perhaps counterintuitive – example of philology functioning as a co-producer of modernity, displaying how a generative mode of the humanities could materialize.

At the same time, the humanities were dissociated from other forces held as indicative of the modern project. This is pointed out by Joakim Landahl and Anna Larsson as they ambitiously map the changing and historically contingent relationship between the humanities and pedagogy from the 1860s to the 1960s. Emphasizing the shifting nature of academic boundaries, they point out how pedagogy was institutionalized and separated from humanistic disciplines and rather formed coalition with the emerging social sciences. This process of reorganization had grave consequences as the humanities lost a crucial link to education, diminishing their impact on future mass-markets of teaching activities. This finding indicates how the societal legitimacy of the humanities was exposed to new challenges in the twentieth century. One such challenge is addressed in Johannes Siapkas' chapter as he elaborates the contested position of classical studies in the context of twentieth-century Sweden and the social democratic welfare politics. Through the combination of two cases studies, Siapkas directs our attention to, first, the actions of classicist Erik Hedén who sought to bridge the ideals of classicism and social democratic ideology, and, secondly, the characteristic renaming of several humanities disciplines in order to

reconcile them with the new requirements of the postwar welfare state. Siapkas' example of this peculiar pattern of relabeling disciplines is the switching of names from Classical archaeology and ancient history [*klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia*] to Ancient culture and societal life [*antikens kultur och samhällsliv*], with the purpose of making the discipline seem more up to date.

Numerous scholars in the humanities apparently felt a pressure to revise their time-honored strategies of legitimization as emerging ideals of knowledge politics in the 1950s and 1960s seemed to reject claims to any possession of superior moral authority, which had been common in more elitist, bourgeois contexts. In the second section, centering on the legitimacy and contested places of the humanities in postwar Sweden, Hampus Östh Gustafsson illuminates tensions marking the relationship between the humanities and democracy. This scrutiny has direct bearing on current debates on the role of the humanities in society, as it has become popular to claim that these disciplines have a special importance for the safeguarding of democratic values (in the shape of a Socratic "gadfly"). Contrary to some of the assumptions of this discourse, Östh Gustafsson's chapter manifests how the humanities struggled to develop new strategies in order to establish their legitimacy in more horizontal terms, compatible with the strong egalitarian ideals of the welfare state.

At the same time, it is essential not to reduce the knowledge politics of "the welfare state" into a monolith. Even if ideals of rational planning and egalitarianism were characteristic elements, it is imperative to track the complex expressions of welfare knowledge politics over multiple institutions and arenas. Accordingly, Johan Östling, Anton Jansson, and Ragni Svensson consider the presence of the humanities in the postwar society through an analysis of specific types of public arenas, exemplified via the emergence of new paperback series and the activities within a Christian *Teilöffentlichkeit* that enabled a broad societal circulation of knowledge in the humanities. The perspective they provide brings well-needed nuances to the common-place (though discursively real and immanent) narratives of postwar decline and crisis regarding the humanities.

The endeavors to highlight generative contributions of humanistic knowledge during the second half of the twentieth century should not make us overlook that the humanities were put under severe pressure at the time, on a national as well as international level. Sven Widmalm brings attention to a grand Nobel Symposium organized in Stockholm in 1969 in order to tackle acute problems from a global perspective. Despite invitations to and the cross-cultural ambitions at this occasion, the humanities clearly

did not make an impact in this case – something that Widmalm interprets in the light of the emergent crisis discourse, the rise of radical ideological movements, and the formation of critical theory at the time.

However, a number of humanities disciplines were simultaneously mobilized and found practical applications in contexts that saw pressing societal issues being addressed. This is demonstrated in the volume's third section. Jenny Andersson and David Larsson Heidenblad's chapter eventually addresses the role of humanities and social science reasoning in the postwar construction of Swedish future studies. The idea that human knowledge and knowledge about a "human system" could be brought to bear on societal problems and used to forge a new approach to the future is illustrated through case studies of two influential scholars, historian Birgitta Odén and geographer Torsten Hägerstrand. Their work reflects how new conceptualizations were made regarding the role played by the human sciences, for instance as issues of value in (and for) human development were emphasized. This indicates the importance of looking at broader postwar ambitions to develop cross-disciplinary approaches of relevance to planning and policy.

In the context of more recent impact and policy regimes, Fredrik Bertilsson's case study reveals how knowledge associated with the humanities was developed and applied in contexts outside of the university, which have been regularly overlooked as sites for knowledge production in the human and cultural sciences. Bertilsson's example is Swedish defense research, arguing that this type of practice-oriented research did not abide to academic distinctions between the human, social, and natural sciences. The case study should be read as a reminder that the impact of the humanities may very well be re-evaluated once focus is shifted from the traditional academic sphere to more unexpected arenas in society.

In a subsequent chapter on legitimizing discourses of the humanities in the 1980s and 2000s, Anna Tunlid pictures the state of the humanities in public debate and research policy from a comparative stance, looking at particularly intensive phases that saw crisis rhetoric being employed on a broad scale. Showcasing the recurring tensions between seemingly opposing persona and strategies of legitimization, particularly between chivalry ideals of enlightenment and more radical notions of a critical role, Tunlid's study tracks how the valuation of the humanities shifted in the context of knowledge politics that, in the early 2000s, increasingly focused on economic growth, usefulness, internationalization, and scientific excellence.

In a final and concluding chapter, Anders Ekström points to the long-standing orientation toward integrative knowledge production, social responsibility, and communication as a central track in the history of the humanities. In contrast to this trajectory, however, Ekström recognizes the emergence of an orientation toward reactive critique in humanistic knowledge production and self-reflection, which coincided with the great expansion of the university sector in the decades after World War II. With this larger picture taken into account, and reflecting on more recent shifts in policy regimes, it is possible to outline the difference between these two key trajectories in the history of the humanities and how they play out in different institutional niches and impact models in the early twenty-first century. Today, Ekström argues, these aspects of the history of the humanities take on a new and formative potential as universities are required to articulate and cultivate their identity as public institutions.

Successively characterizing a national politics of knowledge, and eventual regimes of legitimacy, throughout almost two centuries, the contributors to this volume highlight important patterns and shifts regarding crucial topics of intellectual boundaries, coalitions, organization, and impact in and beyond academia. This concentrated history of the humanities should speak directly to anyone interested in the past, present, and future prospects of knowledge and also bring new perspectives regarding its potential role in society. The alleged marginalization of the humanities throughout the twentieth century is indeed a complex issue that might be interpreted in different ways. Knowledge in the humanities was certainly applied and appreciated in many concrete contexts, but an explicit and long-standing discourse of crisis was nevertheless segmented in the postwar decades and through the implementation of democracy and welfare reforms that radically altered the conditions of knowledge politics.

Still, the humanities underwent an unprecedented expansion throughout the modern era. Today, humanistic knowledge permeates basically every corner of society, even if their influence obviously could be strengthened in many cases. From an international point of view, it is imperative to note that the Swedish crisis discourse emerged relatively early and despite the ongoing expansion of research and higher education. This points to the importance of taking the particular political conditions of individual national cases into account. As indicated by the contributions to this volume, specific political constellations and ways of organizing knowledge had a deep impact on the alternating opportunities for securing the legitimacy of the humanities. Further research should preferably look closer at comparable trajectories of various forms of knowledge in other geographical contexts.

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About the Authors

Anders Ekström is professor of History of Science and Ideas at Uppsala University. He has published broadly on modern cultural, intellectual and media history and theory. Among recent publications is *Times of History, Times of Nature: Temporalization and the Limits of Modern Knowledge* (Berghahn Books, 2022; with Staffan Bergwik). His current research is focused on the history of publicness and cultural processes of temporalization.
Contact: anders.ekstrom@idehist.uu.se

Hampus Östh Gustafsson is a researcher at the Department of History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University, currently engaged in a project on collegiality and history of universities. His doctoral thesis concerned the legitimacy of the humanities in twentieth-century Sweden. Recent publications include articles in *History of Humanities* and *History of Education Review*.
Contact: hampus.osthgustafsson@idehist.uu.se

Emerging Disciplinary Divides

2 Measuring Up to the Humanities

Navigating the Epistemological Advantage of Classical Humanism in Nineteenth-Century Scholarly Periodicals

Isak Hammar

Abstract
This chapter analyzes the epistemological hierarchy around the middle of the nineteenth century in Sweden through efforts to mobilize support for natural science in scholarly periodicals. It is argued that scholarly communication was key to achieving legitimacy for natural science, but that such efforts were mitigated by a dominant view of the humanities in general and classical humanism in particular as more valuable to society. Tensions between natural science and classical humanism were expressed in negotiations of the nebulous concept of *bildning* – the Swedish equivalent of the German *Bildung* – and the article demonstrates how natural scientists tried to navigate its semantic usage and advocate the view that natural science could achieve the educational goals associated with classical humanism.

Keywords: classical humanism, scholarly journals, epistemological hierarchy, *Bildung*, two cultures

Introduction

In 1847, at the annual meeting of the Scandinavian Association for the Advancement of Science (SAAS), Carl Adolph Agardh, bishop and former professor of botany at Lund University and an influential voice in Swedish politics of knowledge, argued for the need to launch a Scandinavian journal for natural science. Despite the progression of scientific knowledge, natural science was, according to Agardh, still marginalized in society, especially

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compared to philological, historical, and aesthetic knowledge. While these forms of knowledge, part of what contemporaries sometimes but not always defined as the domain of *humaniora* – i.e. the humanities – were generally believed to elevate and cultivate the individual spiritually, a process captured in the German word *Bildung* and the Swedish equivalent *bildning*, natural science was only associated with material progress.[1] To Agardh, mobilizing support for natural science thus hinged on convincing the reading public that natural science belonged to the sphere of knowledge Agardh referred to as "allmän bildning," translated as a common or general form of self-cultivation or education, in which the aforementioned subjects philology, history, and aesthetics were habitually included.[2] In order to gain legitimacy, the natural sciences had to measure up against such humanistic forms of knowledge, and Agardh told his peers that the best way was to publish a popular journal.

In the following years, scholarly periodicals became an important forum for the mobilization of support for natural science in Sweden. Although the journal Agardh envisioned never materialized, other journals published around that time can shed light on the links between communication, legitimization, and rivalries between different forms of knowledge. In the present chapter, such attempts to gain legitimacy for natural science in the years around the middle of the nineteenth century will be analyzed in respect to a tangible tension over how society valued traditional humanities knowledge. As I will show, a semantic key to advancing – or rebutting – the status of science was the nebulous concept of *bildning*, habitually associated with classical languages and literature. As a case in point, Agardh's preference to speak of a *common*, rather than *classical* or *humanistic* form of *bildning* was an attempt to navigate the current discourse on the societal value of knowledge.[3] In the discussions on *bildning* that took place in scholarly periodicals and elsewhere – including what it entailed, who was responsible for its procurement, and who was supposed to inhabit it – the hierarchies of knowledge in nineteenth-century Sweden became manifest. In what follows, I will pay particular interest to forays directed at wresting away the ambiguous concept of *bildning* from the jurisdiction of the humanities. In short, what I will attempt to show in this essay is that the strength of the humanities in nineteenth-century Sweden can be gauged by studying attempts to dislodge its privileged position in the epistemological hierarchy. Although Sweden provides the main case in point in this article,

1 Agardh, "Förslag," pp. 33–34. On *Bildung* and *bildning*, see Liedman, "In Search of Isis."
2 See also Liedman, "In Search of Isis," p. 95.
3 See Liedman, *Att förändra världen*, pp. 191–193; Nilehn, *Nyhumanism*, p. 59.

the conflicts were also part of a pan-Nordic scholarly sphere, with strong ties to developments in Germany.

Launching a journal intended for public consumption was a strategy to gain recognition. To this point, Alex Csiszar has noted, that "the public" represented "a crucial, if unstable, category in debates over the changing basis of the legitimacy of expert communities" during the nineteenth century.[4] The connection between communication with the public and the raising of societal status of specific forms of knowledge made the scholarly journal an arena were both schisms and agreements in the effort to gain (and hold) scientific and social legitimacy can be found. These tensions are particularly visible through the continuous attempts to recalibrate the concept of *Bildung/bildning*.[5] Scholarly communication, as Agardh's vision well illustrates, was key to achieving legitimacy for science, but as I will argue, it was also closely tied to the existing knowledge regime that favored the humanities in general and classical humanism in particular.[6] At times, these attempts were polemical, at times harmonious. Various actors tried to discursively construct or tear down a divide between them, but in doing so invariably shaped their relationship, defining their respective – or indeed mutual – societal role.

Hierarchical Shifts

Agardh's point about the state of natural science was not lost on his audience. The meeting of the SAAS gathered hundreds of researchers and was a venue both for presenting scientific discoveries and for discussing the role of natural science in education and society.[7] His listeners were well aware of the fact that for natural science, that role had diminished during the nineteenth century. Since 1807, when a new School Ordinance was introduced, the ascendency of classical humanism, i.e., the idea that classical studies constituted the bedrock of education, had been unimpeded in Sweden.[8] Agardh's proposal bears witness to a strained relationship between fields of knowledge that contemporaries at times, but somewhat

4 Cziszar, *Scientific Journal*, p. 14.

5 See also Hamann, "Bildung," pp. 53–54.

6 See Daum, *Wissenschaftspopularisierung*, p. 2; Kärnfelt, *Mellan nytta och nöje*, p. 141; Phillips, *Acolytes*, p. 1.

7 See Eriksson, *I andans kraft*; and Kärnfelt, *Mellan nytta och nöje*, pp. 115–144.

8 Hammar, "A Conflict," pp. 719–721. On classical humanism in Sweden, see e.g., Hansson, *Humanismens kris*; Lindberg, *Humanism och vetenskap*.

inconsistently referred to as "the natural sciences" and "the humanities." This schism, fueled in large part by attempts to reform education in Sweden, had characterized the first half of the century in Sweden and its neighboring countries.[9] Although historians have argued that the humanities on an institutional level began to take form at the start of the century, both terms were still unstable around 1850 and the boundaries between the spheres to which they referred far from crystalized.[10] To further complicate matters, they were both thought of as "vetenskap," literally *science*, but more akin to the German *Wissenschaft*, than the traditional English usage.[11] Despite the inherent problems, these categories were still meaningful to the historical actors at the time, but it is important to remember that they might not have agreed on their confines.[12] It is therefore more fruitful to view them as negotiable and flexible. Along the same lines, Fabian Krämer has suggested that "[a]ttempts at demarcating the sciences or the humanities ought to be studied with an eye on the specifics of the intellectual and wider contexts in which they occurred, and their authors' agendas."[13] With this in mind, Agardh's vision should be understood as an attempt to garner public support in order to redress the imbalance in the epistemological hierarchy.[14]

Agardh's address took place just before the epistemological balance started to shift, but the discussions that are in focus occurred parallel to political and institutional changes that enabled natural science to slowly gain more ground in Sweden. After decades of public strife, a provision of 1849 stated that students could be exempt from studying classical languages, reducing the sharp divide found in grammar schools and gymnasiums between classical humanism on the one hand and practical knowledge and natural science on the other. Later, in 1856 and 1859, more explicit regulations established two parallel programs, one classical and one non-classical (*realia*). This has been interpreted as crucial for the improved status of the natural sciences in Sweden.[15]

9 Hammar, "Classical Nature," pp. 5–6. See also Møller Jørgensen, "Humboldt in Copenhagen." Cf. Bommel, *Classical Humanism*, pp. 111–114.

10 Lindberg, "'De rolige vetenskaperne'," p. 97. It might be argued that the humanities is still a tenuous term. See Bod and Kursell, "Introduction," p. 338.

11 Bommel, "'Bildung' und 'Wissenschaft,'" pp. 10–11, 24–25; Cf. Daston and Most, "History of Science," pp. 381, 384 .

12 Bod et al., "The Flow," p. 490.

13 Krämer, "Shifting Demarcations," p. 11.

14 On epistemological hierarchy, see Daston, "Comment," p. 176. See also Phillips, *Acolytes*, p. 230.

15 Eriksson, *I andans kraft*, pp. 113–114; Kärnfelt, *Mellan nytta och nöje*, p. 156. See also Sjöstrand, *Pedagogikens historia*, pp. 158–165.

But even if things were looking up for natural scientists, the humanities, fueled by an unanimous belief in the importance of *Bildung* and moral and mental development, were still favored in the decades to come. How then, did natural scientists navigate this imbalance in the wake of improved circumstances and expanding importance in secondary education? How did humanist scholars respond in turn? Tracing these dynamics, as the balance began to shift, promises to be particularly informative.[16]

Pamphlets, newspaper articles and official documents were part of the ongoing negotiations, upholding or challenging the existing hierarchy of knowledge.[17] The lynchpin of this epistemological order, traceable in academic, as well as political and public discourse, was the link between humanistic knowledge and *bildning*. Sometimes tensions ran high, but at times and in certain forums, a spirit of mutual understanding and enterprise is prevalent. For that reason, treating the natural sciences and humanities as opposing forces is misleading, but they nevertheless did exert influence on each other and were in certain respects used rhetorically to push agendas. The periodic journal as a joint scholarly forum illustrates this oscillation process well, offering a vantage point from where to probe epistemological hierarchies during the nineteenth century.[18] The journal represented the idea that communication could provide legitimacy through the support of a more general audience and was thus inescapably, for the natural sciences, tied to the imbalance of the two spheres of knowledge, symbolic and material at the same time. A rivalry was inherent, yet at the same time, the journal exemplified that communication was an enterprise bridging the academic spectrum.

Common Platforms

The scholarly journal, albeit far from being a homogenized or unchallenged format, was on the rise around the middle of the nineteenth century.[19] Characteristically, scholarly journals in Sweden encompassed literary and sometimes political content next to scientific findings and academic news

16 See Blair, "Disciplinary Distinctions," pp. 577–578.

17 Hammar, "Conflict, Consensus and Circulation," p. 149.

18 See Dawson and Topham, "Introduction," pp. 4–5.

19 Csiszar, "Seriality," p. 399; Kärnfelt, *Mellan nytta och nöje*, p. 134; Watts, "'We Want No Authors'," pp. 398, 400. See also Beckman, "The Publication Strategies," pp. 197–198; Dawson et al., "Science Periodicals."

items, often with an eye toward international developments.[20] Generally, they were short-lived. Two journals that managed decade long runs were *Frey: Tidskrift för vetenskap och konst* [Journal for Science and Art], published between 1841 and 1850 and *Nordisk Universitets-tidskrift* [Nordic University Journal] published between 1854 and 1865. Others only managed to stay alive for a few years, for example *Läsning för bildning och nöje* [Reading for Cultivation and Pleasure], between 1847–1848 and *Tidskrift för Sveriges Läroverk* [Journal for Sweden's Secondary Schools] between 1859 and 1863. The similarly themed *Tidskrift för lärare och uppfostrare* [Journal for Teachers and Educators] fared slightly better and was published between 1846–1851.

These scholarly journals encompassed a plurality of ambitions and perspectives. Typically, no distinct line was drawn between education and science. The societal debate around education was vibrant for the entire century, ensuring that journals often revolved around or incorporated pedagogical research and opinions, likely accelerated by the fact that a large part of the potential audience for these periodicals were teachers. Moreover, the journals were generally not specialized and tended to incorporate articles, essays, and news items stemming from both the humanities and the natural sciences. As forums for presenting scholarly findings from either sphere of knowledge, it signaled a united scholarly community. The best example of this is *Nordisk Universitets-tidskrift*. Fueled by calls for pan-Scandinavian unity – or *Scandinavism* – a common political sentiment at the time, *Nordisk Universitets-tidskrift* was launched in a joint effort between the universities at Lund and Uppsala in Sweden, Copenhagen in Denmark, and Christiania (Oslo) in Norway; strikingly similar to what Agardh had envisioned at the SAAS in 1847. The four separate editorial boards all comprised philologists, theologians, linguists, and historians as well as professors of medicine, mineralogy, chemistry, and botany. The first year alone of the *Nordisk Universitets-tidskrift* included articles on botany, literature, history, astronomy, electromagnetism, and theology. Later issues added to this plethora of subjects with economic history, philology, poetry and theater, linguistics, esthetics, archaeology, chemistry, zoology, and finance. *Frey* contained mostly articles on history, literature, and theology, but also featured articles on botany and astronomy. The majority of articles in *Läsning för bildning och nöje* mixed literary, historical, aesthetic, and political content with scholarly articles on both natural history and philology. Although *Tidskrift för Sveriges Läroverk* and *Tidskrift för lärare*

20 Nordmark et al., *Den svenska pressens historia*, pp. 117–118.

och uppfostrare clearly had a pedagogical focus, they included a great variety of perspectives, topics, and ideas.

Negotiating Hierarchies of *Bildning*

Key to mobilizing legitimacy for natural science was navigating *bildning*, a seemingly ever-mutating concept merging intricate ideas of erudition, spiritual growth, and mental and moral development.[21] It was, as pointed out by Sven-Eric Liedman, "applicable to all forms of education, early as well as gymnasium and university."[22] While the concept, as shown by Agardh's attempt before the SAAS, was negotiable, its association with classical humanism was seldom in doubt and placing natural science within its semantic field proved difficult.[23] The School Ordinance of 1820 was the main document dictating the hegemony of the humanities in Swedish schools.[24] Because classical languages were the benchmark of valuable knowledge, seen as the premier tool for harmonious development of the mental powers of the student, any effort to penetrate the closely guarded curriculum first had to concede the societal value of classical humanism, and then try to attribute similar benefits to the subject in question.[25] Efforts to imbue natural history with the value associated with classical humanism are manifold during the first half of the nineteenth century, but five decades of dominance of the school curriculum for classical languages and literature had not been broken.[26]

The rise of the humanities was paralleled by a perceived decline of the natural sciences. While scientific progression had been deep-rooted in mercantilist optimism and international celebrities like Linnaeus had bestowed national pride on Swedish science during the Age of Liberty, the first half of the nineteenth century had been characterized by material and symbolic challenges, its academic and societal progression hindered by its lack of educational value.[27] In particular, natural scientists and its

21 Hansson, *Humanismens kris*, pp. 45–48, 61. See also Wise, *Aesthetics*, pp. 17–19.

22 Liedman, "In Search of Isis," p. 91.

23 See Clark, *Academic Charisma*, p. 447.

24 Beckman, "Collecting Standards," p. 241; Hammar, "Klassisk karaktär," p. 615.

25 Bommel, *Classical Humanism*, p. 151; Leonhardt, *Latin*, pp. 275–276; Nilehn, *Nyhumanism*, pp. 69–71.

26 Hammar, "Classical Nature," p. 2.

27 The standard account is Johannisson, "Naturvetenskap på reträtt." For international comparison, see e.g., Fuchs, "Nature and *Bildung*"; Phillips, *Acolytes*.

defenders had a hard time getting around the argument that since classical studies developed the mental power in a general way, classical humanism was not only the best preparation for a career as a humanist scholar or civil servant, but also as a natural scientist. Around 1850, although things were looking brighter with academic positions increasing at the universities of Lund and Uppsala, scientists still felt at a disadvantage.[28]

The tension between the humanities and the natural sciences were typically expressed by using a number of different dichotomies, signaling the legitimacy and value of different forms of knowledge. In his address at the SAAS, Agardh pointed to the fact that at the universities, the natural sciences were merely seen as "fack-studier," that is as study conducted for vocational or practical purposes, and not as "bildnings-studier"; as study for the self-cultivation and inner development of the individual.[29] The latter was obviously thought more valuable, and Agardh too ascribed to the idea that such erudition was "important for the progress of the soul in general, and for individual human ennoblement."[30] He lamented that "battles" for including natural science in the curriculum "in all countries" seemed to have resulted in a natural science being consigned to only those students destined for employment in industry.[31] Widespread suspicions about the inherent materialism of the study of nature, meant that the subordinate position of natural science in the epistemological hierarchy could not hope to improve unless a higher purpose could be demonstrated. The study of natural science, in short, had to incorporate *bildning*.

The scholarly journals took part in the negotiation of the concept of *bildning* with authors trying to either uphold or dissolve the prerogative of classical humanism. The same journal – or even issue – often held competing views. Criticizing the 1849 provision that allowed exception from classical languages in Swedish gymnasia in *Frey*, the position of mathematics teacher Per Niclas Ekman was that the goal of secondary schools was to sharpen the mental powers and not provide vocational training.[32] On a general level, he categorized *bildning* hierarchically as either "learned or scientific" [lärd eller vetenskaplig] on the one hand, or civic [medborgerlig] on the other, but he did not agree that the distinguishing factor between them was the study of classical languages *per se*, but rather the depth and method of

28 Lindroth, *Fru Lusta*, p. 152.
29 Kutschmann, *Naturwissenschaft und Bildung*, p. 73.
30 Agardh, "Förslag," p. 32.
31 Agardh, "Förslag," pp. 32–34.
32 Ekman, "Om Läroverks-reformen," p. 16.

learning.[33] Ekman (who gave no indication of having viewed the reform as any kind of victory for natural science) was preoccupied with the parallel programs that had been introduced with the proposal for reform, and also used other specifying prefixes contrasting "higher" vs. "lower" *bildning* as well as "classical" vs. "common civic" [allmän medborgerlig] *bildning*.

The same issue of *Frey*, however, also contained an article promoting the need for technical schools and "realistic" [realistisk], i.e. practical/vocational *bildning*, clearly interpreting the exemption from classical languages as an opportunity for advancing natural science and a broadening of the definition of what *bildning* meant.[34] This opposition between classical (or humanistic) and "realistisk" (or practical) education had been inherited from Germany, and has, as pointed out by Bas van Bommel, "been widely adopted by historians of education," as an opposition between traditional and modern.[35] But this, Bommel argues, is an oversimplification, as "[a]dvocates of the *Realschule*, far from wanting to reduce the scope of humanistic education, sought to convince their opponents that education in *real*-topics laid a valid claim to humanistic values."[36] In a similar vein, the anonymous author in *Frey* based his suggestion on the German example and agreed that students of technical schools needed some form of humanistic *bildning*. However, he suggested that subjects like modern languages and literature, history and geography could replace the time-consuming spiritual and mental progression based on the rigorous study of Latin, even if this was still "indispensable" for all philosophical-historical sciences.[37]

In *Tidskrift för Sveriges Läroverk*, the conflict between classical humanism and practical or vocational training [realism] was in several articles brought to the fore. In one particularly polemical article written by Greek teacher Lars Erik Rusén, the history of this inherited "battle," brought on by the "rebirth" of natural science in the seventeenth century, was laid out in detail.[38] At the center of what was in essence a history of the humanities was the pedagogical status of Latin, and the rigorous study of classical languages was described as the best "tool of education" [undervisningsmedel], resulting in both mental acuity and moral maturity.[39] With the School Ordinance of 1820, it was, according to Rusén, "correctly realized" that scientists and

33 Ekman, "Om Läroverks-reformen," p. 20.
34 E–D. E., "Några ord," p. 95.
35 Bommel, *Classical Humanism*, p. 112. See also Rheinberger, "Culture and Nature," p. 160.
36 Bommel, *Classical Humanism*, p. 113.
37 E–D. E., "Några ord," p. 69.
38 Rusén, "Om anledningarne," p. 63.
39 Rusén, "Om anledningarne," p. 78.

civil servants were both in need of this general form of humanistic *bildning* and the rightful place of *Realia* therefore needed to be subordinated to "the humanities" [humaniora], which encompassed the subjects capable of providing *bildning*.[40] But upon reaching the provision of 1849 and the reforms of 1856 and 1859, vocational or practical training [realia] was described as having been allowed to penetrate the curriculum of secondary schools, causing serious harm.[41] Throughout the lengthy article, a civic [medborgerlig] *bildning* characterized by natural science was positioned negatively against humanistic *bildning* centered on the study of Latin and Greek. However, as pointed out by Jonas Hansson, there was around the middle of the nineteenth century a "semantic struggle" also over the meaning of the word "humanistic."[42] The essay in question illustrates this well, as the author, aside from the continuous dichotomy between "humanistic" [humanistisk] and "general civic" [allmän meborgerlig], also defined the latter as "practical humanistic" [praktisk humanistisk] *bildning* – which, he explained, went beyond general popular *bildning* [folkbildning] and technical vocational *bildning* but was achieved through the rigorous study of modern languages and *Realia* rather than classical languages.[43] In turn, this implied a hierarchical differentiation between a learned or classical humanistic *bildning* and the proposed practical-humanistic one.

In addition to these kinds of detailed, and at times equivocal, negotiations over the nature of the concepts, there was a tendency, expressed in one article on the new school reform in *Tidskrift för lärare och uppfostrare*, to simply equate "humanistisk bildning" with "common human" [allmänt mensklig] *bildning*.[44] To the Latinist and principal Gustaf Reinhold Rabe, defending the study of Latin in secondary schools in the same journal, the fact that *bildning* needed to be "humanistic," ostensibly meant that it served to develop the student in general *human* terms and not depending on future vocation.[45] He further equated this with the harmonious development of the mental powers, which he labeled a pedagogical axiom. The question, debated among the contributors of the journal, was whether "humanistisk bildning" could be achieved without classical languages.[46] Or indeed, if it could perhaps be achieved through the study of nature?

40 Rusén, "Om anledningarne," pp. 87–88.
41 Rusén, "Om anledningarne," 94, 103.
42 Hansson, *Humanismens kris*, p. 66; Lindberg, *Humanism*, p. 20.
43 Rusén, "Om anledningarne," p. 98.
44 Ekendahl, "Betraktelser," pp. 129–130. See also Sylvander, "Om Läroverken," p. 77.
45 Rabe, "Om latinet," p. 142.
46 Rabe, "Om latinet," p. 153; Sylvander, "Om Läroverken," p. 82.

The Human Value of Natural Science

Agardh's idea to find a solution to the dismal state of natural science was not entirely new. In 1839, Joachim Schouw, professor of botany at Copenhagen University, had argued for the need to launch a mutual publication for natural history and science at the very first meeting of the SAAS. Failing to garner support for that, he instead pursued his own periodical journal, *Dansk ugeskrift* [Danish weekly journal], and used his newfound platform to promote natural history as an instrument for achieving the educational goals associated with the study of classical languages. The lack of natural science in schools was detrimental for both the civil servant, the industrialist and the historian, he claimed. He anticipated that this issue would be entwined in the "great battle between humanists and realists."[47] He was right in his prediction and was met with public reproach and ensuing debate.[48]

In Sweden, natural scientists utilized the burgeoning scholarly forum of periodicals for legitimizing natural science in similar ways. This also involved presenting scientific results to general readers in a popular manner. In the first issue of *Frey*, one of the articles was written by the botanist Johan Petter Arrhenius. The topic was the flora of prehistoric times, a subject the author hoped would interest others than just botanist and geologists.[49] But even though Agardh's vision had been to gain support by showing, rather than telling, many natural scientists also used the journal as a forum for debate. A few years before his article in *Frey*, Arrhenius had published a lengthy essay in the journal *Skandia* criticizing the absence of natural history in Swedish secondary schools. In the text, he separated *bildning* into "the past classical" [den fordna klassiska] and the "new scientific" [den nya vetenskapliga] and advocated that they both be a part of modern education.[50] The classical languages in regard to their historical, aesthetic, and philosophical "treasures," were and would remain of utmost importance, but the natural sciences must not be ignored for any who pursued "a living [levande] *bildning*." He professed his belief in classical languages as a tool for mental development and for "awakening the dormant forces of the soul," but also contended that the study of natural history could exhibit these same prized effects.[51] In particular, Arrhenius tried to avert accusations

47 Schouw, "Om naturhistorisk Underviisning," p. 145.
48 Riis Larsen, *Naturvidenskab*, pp. 99–100.
49 Arrhenius, "Anteckningar," p. 35.
50 Arrhenius, "Om Natural-historien," p. 126.
51 Arrhenius, "Om Natural-historien," pp. 139–140.

of materialism directed against the natural sciences. Should the natural sciences be blamed, he rhetorically asked, just because they next to their absolute-scientific value also happened to be generally useful and economically beneficial to the state?[52]

Arrhenius returned to the subject more than two decades later in an article in the newly launched *Tidskrift för Sveriges Läroverk*. Although he was now able to enjoy the fact that his own subject, botany, was included in the curriculum, he came back to the idea that the natural sciences could match up with the humanities in regard to *bildning*. There was no doubt, he wrote, that the natural sciences, after the latest reforms, would defend their place as "instruments" to achieve *bildning* [bildningsmedel] and contribute to the development of the students' mental powers.[53] Clearly, the levelled playing field did not mean that advocates of natural science immediately abandoned attempts to appropriate the valued concept, although this time around, Arrhenius did not feel the need to rebut materialism or any other critique levelled at the natural sciences.

Although natural history often became the proxy for natural science in trying to penetrate the curriculum of secondary schools, other subjects were also proposed as contributing to intellectual development and humanism.[54] Lars Svanberg, professor of chemistry was a member of the editorial board of *Nordisk Universitets-tidskrift*. At the very meeting of the SAAS where Agardh presented his vision of a pan-Scandinavian journal, Svanberg had, in a speech later published, argued for chemistry as an instrument for sharpening the mental powers.[55] Despite having been denigrated as a mere "art of cookery," and seen as belonging in the kitchen rather than in the circle of science and *bildning*, excluding chemistry from "humanistisk bildning" was uninformed and futile, according to Svanberg.[56]

Several articles similarly suggested geography as a suitable subject capable of achieving the goals associated with classical humanism. In an article in *Frey*, Medieval historian Carl Gustaf Styffe argued for geography and the study of the geological history of the earth as a suitable way to train the mental faculties and emphasized the need to combine geographical as well as physical science with the "humanistic" sciences [de humanistiska vetenskaperna], in particular history.[57] Styffe held that the natural sciences

52 Arrhenius, "Om Natural-historien," p. 136.
53 Arrhenius, "Om undervisningen," pp. 35–36.
54 Hammar, "Classical Nature," pp. 9–10.
55 See Eriksson, "Motiveringar," pp. 159–160.
56 Svanberg, *Har kemin*, p. 12.
57 Styffe, "Om den geografiska undervisningen," pp. 391–392.

in general sharpened the ability to make external observations – merging sharp-sightedness of the eye with sharp-sightedness of the soul.[58] The principal Leonard Dahm was more cautious in an article published in *Tidskrift för lärare och uppfostrare* in 1847. While geography was valuable, in particular for life's material aspects, and should be part of the curriculum, its ability to offer *bildning* was not as clear cut. Illustrative of how the concept could be negotiated, Dahm listed three kinds of subjects that warranted inclusion in the curriculum. First were those subjects with a high degree of potential for *bildning* (such as languages, mathematics, philosophy, and history); secondly, subjects that facilitated *bildning* (for instance reading or writing); and finally subjects that did not have an indispensable power to achieve *bildning*, but that were nonetheless indispensable for anyone truly in possession of *bildning* today. In Dahm's view, geography could be included in the last category.[59]

Others recognized how crucial it was to connect the study of nature to the educational purpose of inner development and mental training more directly. In a number of articles, the journal *Tidskrift för lärare och uppfostrare* kept coming back to the importance of including natural science in the curriculum of secondary schools. One of the editors of the journal, Per Adam Siljeström discussed the matter at length in an article published in 1847. To begin with, he objected to the hostile division between the natural sciences and the study of languages and ethics, emphasizing the importance of "humanistisk bildning" also for natural scientists: "I know hardly of any individuals more uncultivated [obildade], than those, who without any other humanistic *bildning*, have acquired more or less wide-ranging insights in the natural sciences," he wrote.[60] He then proceeded to list the different kinds of advantages associated with knowledge of nature, including the religious, moral, and aesthetic value inherent in the study of the order and harmony of nature. But even though pointing specifically to the material usefulness of natural science, Siljeström conceded that its pedagogical value was tied to *bildning*; particularly in its potential to sharpen the perception and train the judgment.[61] A similar stance was taken by Nils Johan Andersson, a botanist at Uppsala University who set out to prove the status of the natural sciences as "bildnings-ämnen," that is, as subjects that provided the kind of

58 Styffe, "Om den geografiska undervisningen," p. 385

59 Dahm, "Om Geografien,"p. 195.

60 Siljeström, "Om Naturvetenskapernas," p. 280. "Jag vet knappt några mera obildade personer än dessa, som, utan någon humanistisk bildning i öfrigt, förvärfat sig mer eller mindre vidsträckta insigter i naturvetenskaperna."

61 Siljeström, "Om Naturvetenskapernas," pp. 285, 287.

inner development that the state expected of knowledge in schools. With reference to the educational goals specified in the School Ordinance of 1820, Andersson argued that natural science in schools was able to improve the attention, memory, judgment, reason, and independence of the student. He emphasized that the study of nature amounted to something much more that any material usefulness; its main goal was to "ennoble" [förädla] the mind and the heart. Like Siljeström however, Andersson was careful to promote unity, rather than division, pointing to the symbiotic relationship between natural science and classical languages, history, philosophy, and aesthetical knowledge.[62]

Not everyone was as restrained however. In an essay, aptly named "Is It Time to Assign the Natural Sciences to Their Rightful Place in Schools?," Anders Theodor Bergius took a more polemical approach, complaining that the great achievements of natural science were denied future generations by her enemies within the schools. Bergius, who was a teacher of mathematics and physics, felt that the natural sciences were becoming more indispensable for anyone aspiring to "common" [allmän] *bildning*.[63] Natural history was without question a more appropriate subject for the first years of education than the Latin and Greek grammar that were so cruelly inflicted on students and more suitable for sharpening the mind as well as developing the soul.[64] Bergius even dared to hope for future reforms of education that would force the classical languages to relinquish their "supremacy" and surrender some part of the curriculum to the natural sciences.

Bergius' prediction proved correct and as the reforms in favor of natural science in schools were introduced, they were accompanied by voices casting doubt on the universal value of studying Latin, an idea that in the previous fifty years had been almost unanimously sacrosanct.[65] Objections were not only coming from natural scientists. Johan Gustaf Ek, renowned philologist and one of the founding editors of *Nordisk Universitets-tidskrift*, published an article in that journal on the topic of "the fall of classicism," an issue debated at the time.[66] While he still believed Latin studies to be suitable mental training for selected students, he admitted its limited value for everyone and for "practical life," lamenting what some had perceived as the "dictatorship" of classicism.[67]

62 Andersson, "Naturalhistoriens vigt," pp. 35, 39–40.
63 Bergius, "Är tiden inne," p. 76.
64 Bergius, "Är tiden inne," pp. 80, 83–84.
65 Hammar, "Conflict," pp. 728–729; Nilehn, *Nyhumanism*, p. 71.
66 See Lindberg, *Humanism*, pp. 153–155.
67 Ek, "Ett votum," pp. 102, 109.

Concurring Cultures

This chapter has centered on the challenges for the natural sciences, as a way to illustrate the advantageous conditions of the humanities during the nineteenth century. Whether we look at Agardh's vision for a popular journal, or the efforts to breach the curriculum for specific subjects, natural science had to adhere to a hierarchy of knowledge that favored the traditional knowledge forms found in the humanities. Scholarly journals at the time were characterized by this ongoing struggle of inclusion and exclusion, regularly centered on the negotiation of the concept of *bildning*. Despite the fact that the categories "natural science" and "the humanities" were unstable and the terminology shifting, they demonstrate how different forms of knowledge interacted and defined each other, and how the dynamics affected practitioners within each field. The complexity of definition and mutating boundaries should not keep us from trying to understand the mutual bond at a deeper level.

In its recent incarnation as a field of research, the history of humanities is intrinsically linked with the history of science; the historical relationship between the two – and other spheres of knowledge – seen as part of a more complete, integrative history. The field has also been characterized by renewed focus on the viability of the idea of two cultures. However, the famous and persistent binary categorization runs the risk of presupposing one of two approaches; on the one hand to search for overlap and interaction, thereby deconstructing the divide, or conversely on the other, to study boundary demarcation, emphasizing ideological and material differences or opportunities.[68] To be sure, from various historical and contemporary vantage points, the humanities and the natural sciences have been portrayed as separate or even antagonistic in terms of not only ontologies, but also methodologies, publication patterns, and public value.[69] At times, even the public image of the natural scientist and the humanist scholar have been presented as binary regarding ideals, pursuits, and *scholarly persona*.[70] But as scholars have pointed out in recent years, while the bifurcation of two cultures has been a part of our optics for a long time, it is time to reconsider a binary model.[71] Without

68 Bod and Kursell, "Introduction," p. 337.

69 Daston and Most, "History of Science," p. 383; Gieryn, *Cultural boundaries*, p. 346. See also Small, *The Value*, p. 32 for the two cultures perspective as inherently polemical.

70 Blair, "Disciplinary Distinctions," pp. 577–578; Bod, "Divide?," p. 21.

71 Krämer, "Shifting Demarcations," p. 5.

historical analysis, it runs the risk of losing its instructive value and become treacherous in its simplicity.[72] Although it is a challenge to deal with concurrences, I hope to have demonstrated that it is well worth the effort.

In this chapter, I have attempted to show examples of the complexity and ambivalence of the relationship, and a cross-section of the epistemological oscillations of the era in question. Looking through a wider historical lens, both distancing and attempts at recalibrating the hierarchies of knowledge, as well as mutual agendas and cooperation are visible as parts of attempts to gain legitimacy, in turn informing publication and communications strategies. As I have shown, processes of separation and collaboration are better understood as parallel and context specific. There was, to channel C. P. Snow, no "gulf of mutual incomprehension" in these scholarly platforms.[73] The journals housed both articles and combative essays from both "sides," and shared editorial responsibilities across the academic spectrum. Nevertheless, the journals did become motors of resistance to the hegemony of classical humanism in secondary schools and a negotiation of the value of natural science, correlating and gaining energy from political decision making and reform. Often the tone was civil and a mutual understanding of the goals of both education and science prevailed. At other times, frustrations spilled over.

From a European perspective, scholars have pointed to the divide between natural science and the humanities becoming more distinct during the second half of the nineteenth century.[74] This seems to imply that boundary demarcation was part of improved conditions for the natural sciences. Whereas the natural sciences had previously been forced to align to societal expectations based on the idea of the humanities – especially classical languages – as the apex of valuable knowledge, wresting away its own justification in school curricula arguably furthered the divide. The conflicts presented in this chapter can be seen as attempts at forging alliances later abandoned. The looming question of how the humanities and sciences co-existed around the middle of the nineteenth century and beyond still needs more scholarly attention. To be sure, these are issues that formed the background of the later history of the humanities in Sweden.

72 Ortolano, *Two Cultures*, p. 259.

73 Snow, *Two Cultures*, p. 4.

74 Bouterse and Karstens, "A Diversity," p. 346; Hamann, "Boundary Work," p. 28; Rheinberger, "Culture and Nature," pp. 157–158.

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About the Author

Isak Hammar is associate professor at the Department of History, Stockholm University. His research focuses on the history of humanities, and particularly on the relationship between the humanities and the natural sciences during the nineteenth century in Scandinavia. Recent publications include "Classical Nature: Natural History, Classical Humanism and the Value of Knowledge in Sweden, 1800–1850" in *Journal for the History of Knowledge* (2021).
Contact: isak.hammar@historia.su.se

3 Into the Present

On the Modern Historicity of the Philologist Bible

Martin Jansson

Abstract
This chapter examines the application of historical criticism to a nineteenth-century Bible translation. In 1884, a new group of translators were introduced as members of the commission responsible for producing a modern Swedish Bible. This represented a radical shift in methodology and the translation became a practical demonstration of historical criticism. Influenced by international trends of Biblical scholarship, the commission began navigating the complex institutional structures and conflicting demands of a fluctuating knowledge society. The chapter depicts the humanities as a co-creator of modernity and seeks to expand on notions of historicity and progress. I argue that the application of historical criticism established a modern order of historicity that created room to maneuver the complex conditions of the translation project.

Keywords: Bible, translation, historical criticism, temporality, historicity

Introduction

The introduction of historical criticism to the field of biblical theology is a recurring theme in research on the historical formation of the modern Bible. The dawn of modern *scientific* criticism is frequently ascribed to enlightenment secularism and, consequently, to a supposed demise of biblical authority.[1] However, some scholars view the turn as a pragmatic answer to secularism and a necessary step taken to safeguard biblical

1 For example: Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism*; Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture*.

Ekström, A. and H. Östh Gustafsson, eds. *The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge: The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850–2020*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022.
DOI: 10.5117/9789463728867_CH03

relevance in the modern world. Jonathan Sheehan portrays the advent of historical criticism, operationalized through Bible translation and philological scholarship, as a remake of the text into a cultural artifact removed from the realm of divinity. The Enlightenment Bible was fused with – and protected by – notions of tradition, national heritage, and cultural significance.[2]

In this chapter, I consider historical criticism and Bible translation as part of another history: a history of the humanities in action.[3] By exploring a specific arena of knowledge, a Swedish Bible translation that took more than a century to complete, I will expand on the contextual meaning and legitimacy of historical criticism during a transitional phase in late nineteenth-century Sweden.

Due to the methodological doctrine applied by the translators and their explicit consultation of historical sources, the 1917 edition of the Swedish Bible has been referred to as the Philologist Bible.[4] The final version was the product of a sharp methodological turn toward historical criticism that took place in the mid 1880s. The purpose of this chapter is to show the practical dimensions of this turn: what did the application of historical knowledge and criticism do? How was the application legitimized and what were the practical consequences?

In the following, I will argue that the application of historical criticism and philology subjected the Bible to a temporal order characterized by innovation, linearity, and progress.[5] By utilizing a conceptual framework borrowed from theories of historical time and temporality, I argue that the application of historical criticism was explicitly anti-traditional and must be understood as a tool of temporalization. Temporalization refers to the implementation of a specific temporal order characterized by the heightened distinction between the past and the future.[6] This temporal structure is intimately tied to a modern epistemological regime that favors novelty and innovation over tradition and repetition.[7] By showing the negotiations of epistemological legitimacy as a clash between conflicting temporal

2 Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*.

3 *In action* refers to the belief that science must be understood through its practical dimensions and in tandem with the surrounding societal context, see Latour, *Science in Action*.

4 Olsson, *Från Birgitta till Bibel 2000*, p. 106.

5 This temporal order is sometimes referred to as the modern regime of historicity. See Assmann, *Is Time out of Joint?*; Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity*.

6 See Koselleck, *Futures Past,* p. 11; Osborne, *The Politics of Time*, pp. x-xi.

7 See Assmann, *Zeit und Tradition*.

structures, I want to emphasize philological knowledge and historical criticism as explicitly counter-traditional.

Scholars have recently pointed out that the societal impact of the humanities is an understudied field.[8] There is evidence to suggest that twentieth-century discourses of crisis and decline have cemented a perception of the humanities as traditionalist, out of touch with modernity, and therefore irrelevant to historians interested in more impactful forms of knowledge. Similar points have been made about the lack of attention given to religion within the history of science and ideas.[9] Much like religion, the humanities are often portrayed as either a constant victim or a vigilant critic of modernity, seldom as its co-producer. As a lesser valued counterpart to the natural sciences, the cluster of disciplines dedicated to the study of human culture and history have been overlooked as agents of change and progress.

The 1893 inaugural lecture of professor Waldemar Rudin was a decisive moment in the introduction of historical criticism to Swedish theology.[10] The lecture outlined a radical ambition to reform academic Bible studies in accordance with modern historical methodology. According to Rudin, theology and exegesis should be informed by other sciences. In a colorful example, he referenced Émile Ferrière and his book *Les Erreurs Scientifiques de la Bible* published in 1891. Ferrière's ambitious exposé of biblical inaccuracies was conducted through the perspective of natural sciences such as astronomy, meteorology, zoology, botany, geology, physiology, and physics. Rudin suggested that a similar critique could be conducted from the viewpoint of philosophy, history, ethnology, and comparative language science – i.e., forms of knowledge belonging to the humanities.[11]

This turn toward cultural criticism was not simply a theoretical proposition but connected to a highly practical endeavor. From 1884 to 1917, Rudin worked alongside theologian John Personne and philologist Esaias Tegnér Jr. on what was to become the new authorized Bible of the Church of Sweden. In this chapter, I describe the translators' struggle for epistemological legitimacy and their application of philological knowledge to societal questions of change and modernization, concepts often connected to the natural sciences and more seldom to the humanities.

8 Bod, *A New History*, pp. 1–7; Salö, ed., *Humanvetenskapernas verkningar.*

9 Jansson and Falk, "Religion i det svenska idéhistorieämnet," pp. 74–95.

10 Hidal, *Bibeltro och bibelkritik*; Idestrom, *From Biblical Theology.*

11 Rudin, *Den gudomliga uppenbarelsens,* p. 2, 9.

Bible Translation in a Modern Order of Knowledge

In October 1917, at the time of the final approval of the new Bible, the translation had been a work in progress since 1773. The ambition to produce a scientifically informed translation had been articulated from the start. But as time dragged on, these ambitions got lost and more conservative modes of conduct prevailed.[12] When Rudin, Personne, and Tegnér were appointed to the commission in 1884, the motives of the original commission had lain dormant for more than half a century, a time during which the working conditions of the Bible commission had changed considerably.

The bureaucratic landscape that surrounded the commission had great impact on the methodological principles and the constellation of expertise engaged in the work. During the long nineteenth century of the enterprise, this landscape underwent substantial changes. This section of the chapter will situate the translation in the context of these institutional transformations. I argue that the changing structures came with a new set of demands that was centered on pedagogical efficiency and scientific credibility. In order to meet these demands, while retaining its foundational properties, the Bible had to be made more flexible and open to change. Historical criticism and philological expertise were introduced both as a consequence of the institutional changes and as a way to produce a much-needed flexibility.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Swedish educational system was reconfigured to facilitate schooling and education on an unprecedented scale. Basic and mandatory education was formalized in 1842 and extended to six years in 1882. The first national curriculum was introduced in 1878, and remodeled programs followed in quick succession.[13] These reforms were linked to a transformation of representation and governance. Among other things, the reforms transformed the status of the clergy. Up until 1866 representation in the Swedish parliament was based around four estates: nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie and peasantry. During the representational reforms of the 1860s, this order was abolished and the clergy was no longer represented as a separate estate. The status and form of representation were renegotiated and a General Church Assembly was appointed the highest executive body in the church of Sweden.[14]

12 Pleijel, *Om Bibel 2000,* pp. 84–92.

13 For extensive analysis of the period and its importance to the development of mass-schooling, see Brockliss and Sheldon, eds., *Mass Education;* Westberg, Boser and Brühwiler, eds., *School Acts.*

14 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1981:14, p. 71.

This institution held the power to approve or dismiss Bible translations and, subsequently, assembly meetings became the primary scene of negotiation regarding the new Bible. The composition of this arena had a significant impact on the debates as representatives from different strata of the clerical bureaucracy frequented the gatherings. The higher clergy, bishops, and church officials were accompanied by a group of laymen consisting of teachers, country priests, and sextons envisioned to represent the congregations. The theological faculties of the universities in Lund and Uppsala were represented along with the minister of ecclesiastical affairs (the ministry responsible for culture, research, education, and clerical affairs since 1840). The institutional framing along with the statutory representation of academic expertise brought questions of education, research, and theology closer together. As educational reforms progressed, pedagogy and educational effectiveness became imperative to the evaluation of the translators' work.

As the translation became entangled with projects of modernization, it was torn between different theological views. The importance of accuracy and precision was not new to the late nineteenth century, but the meaning of scholarly conduct changed radically during the 1870s and 1880s. During these decades, novel principles of historical criticism experienced a great breakthrough in the theological faculties of Sweden. The perspectives of the new criticism originated in Britain and Germany and the ideas of theorists such as Julius Wellhausen and Fredrick Scrivener whose viewpoints had a significant impact on a growing number of Swedish theologians. The credo of the new doctrine was the employment of rigorous source criticism. This included a critical understanding of the Bible as a historically manufactured document. The perspective put greater emphasis on textual practices of the past, such as past interpretations, ancient translations, and previously conducted editing.

By emphasizing the continuous alterations that had been made to the text in previous times, the current translation was situated in a historical context. The methods and principles of historical criticism brought about changes in what the Bible signified and how it could be acted upon in the present. Questions of historicity and sacredness became recurring topics of dispute.

In 1884, Tegnér, Rudin, and Personne were introduced as new members of the translation committee. They became the most prominent and influential members and worked on the translation until it was completed in 1917. The intellectual sentiments and opinions of the three members reveal a sharp turn toward a translation guided by the principles of Biblical criticism

and secular philology. The shift can be explained as a consequence of the structural and institutional changes that placed the translation within the realm of academic scholarship and public education. But in order to understand what this knowledge did in a more practical sense we must look to the difficulties facing the Church Assembly at the moment of the shift.

Prior to the Assembly of 1883, a new sample translation of the New Testament was presented to the delegates. In a plea to the Assembly, minister of ecclesiastical affairs Carl Hammarskjöld urged the delegates to approve the text without unnecessary delay. He expressed concern for the alarming number of unauthorized translations that seemed to be flooding the congregations in lieu of a modern alternative. The situation, he feared, would only worsen if the new sample translation was rejected. The credibility of the entire project needed the Church Assembly to approve the sample translation, or at the very least to publicly vouch for its qualities.[15]

The deliberations that followed shows the variety of contradicting demands placed on the project. Older bishops were concerned that even small changes would render the old familiar Bible unrecognizable to the readers and that alterations jeopardized the authority and longevity of the text.[16] Academic representatives argued that the sample translation was unscientific and not up to date with the latest trends of biblical scholarship.[17] Meanwhile, delegates with closer ties to schooling and education preferred a swift recognition in order to stop the heterogeneous translations from multiplying.[18]

The conflict was essentially a clash between a conduct based on minimal intrusion and attempts to change the text in accordance with the latest research. In practice, the temporal models of progressive time and repetitive tradition translated into conflicting assumptions of Biblical authority. The traditionalists meant that authority was tied to repetition, familiarity, and preservation. To them, change was a liability and any new translation ought to be a very careful correction, not a complete overhaul. Meanwhile, the advocates of Biblical criticism saw authority as tied to scientific credibility that could only be achieved through the application of modern methods. This conflict continuously resurfaced throughout the process.

The institution of the Church Assembly came with a new timetable; a new rhythm to the process that impacted the principles of translation and the

15 Hammarsljöld, "Skrifvelse N:o 5," p. 2.

16 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, pp. 246–247.

17 "Betänkande Litt. A.," in *Bihang till Allmänna*, 1883, p. 7.

18 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, p. 244.

legitimacy of the expertise. The General Church Assembly was to convene every five years. Failure to approve a translation would result in at least five years added to the process. This rhythm, or pace, brought additional urgency to the proceedings.

Even though few delegates were completely satisfied, the sample translation of 1883 was approved. However, the approval was soon retracted and the new translation was limited to educational use. The decision to retract the approval was based on claims that the approval had been prompted by external pressure and not preceded by adequate deliberation.[19] On several occasions, critics claimed that the time reserved for reading and reviewing the samples were inadequate. The modern order of knowledge brought about a new pace in which lack of time became a recurring theme.

In the following sections, I will focus on the practical consequences of biblical criticism in this contested situation. What did philology and historical criticism do?

The Prophecies

In 1884, the new commission began revising the Old Testament and over the coming years sequentially presented samples revealed a sharp turn toward historical criticism. Formal complaints were regularly raised against these principles and in 1908 the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs received a petition signed by over four hundred church officials protesting against the anticipated approval of a new critical translation. Why did the principles of historical criticism arouse so much resentment and suspicion?

Recurring complaints concerned a new way of presenting the so-called messianic prophecies (passages in the Old Testament said to predict the coming of Christ). The prophecies were regularly the subject of theological debates and given their importance to the Protestant use of the Old Testament it is hardly surprising that modifications to these sections would cause alarm. The old Bible translation had the prophecies clearly presented with headlines informing the reader that the episodes in question were indeed prophetic. The new commission had taken these headlines out of the text, thereby leaving all interpretation to the discretion of the reader.

The old Bible translation was modeled on sixteenth-century translations fashioned by Erasmus of Rotterdam and Martin Luther (with the messianic

19 *Bibelforskaren,* 1888, p. 255.

headlines generally ascribed to Luther himself).[20] The origins of the headlines made critical modifications risky as these could be considered detrimental to a cornerstone of the Lutheran teaching. And true enough, when it became clear that the new commission had eradicated the headlines it was seen as a severe obfuscation of the Lutheran tradition.[21]

The delegates of the Church Assembly reminded the commission that the headlines had been inserted in order to help readers with less critical skills. The Bible should be accessible to everyone, not only to intellectuals and scholars capable of informed analysis.[22] The Bible was not the property of "learned, scientists and Bible critics" but belonged to the congregations and to ordinary people.[23] Furthermore, the commission was accused of draining all hints of supernatural divinity from the Bible by obscuring the parts most infused by Holy Spirit. The commissionaires defended the choice by pointing to the historical sources. There was no proof of a messianic content and certainly no headlines in the ancient manuscripts, therefore scientific conduct dictated that the headlines should be eliminated.

In order to fully understand the controversy of the commission's endeavor to apply historical criticism, we have to understand the object of their critique. As stated earlier, the previous translations of the Bible into Swedish were modeled on a set of sixteenth-century translations carried out by Erasmus and Luther. The model of most early vernacular translations was the so-called *Textus Receptus*, a Bible manuscript compiled by Erasmus to serve as the original text, that is, the object that was to be translated. This manuscript was not subjected to extensive scrutiny until the mid-nineteenth century when the new wave of historical criticism spread across Europe and made the *Textus Receptus* its focal point of examination. In the second half of the nineteenth century, critical editions of the New Testament were being published in England where scholars such as Brooke Foss Westcott, Fenton Hort, and Frederick Scrivener issued extensive revisions based on newly discovered manuscripts. The critical editions considered sources that had been unavailable to Erasmus and Luther, sources older and more extensive than the ones compiled in the *Textus Receptus*.

In Sweden, advocates of historical criticism had not been lenient in their reception of the 1883 translation, the principles of which were seen as crude

20 In his exposé of the humanities, Rens Bod rightly attributes the reformation and the advent of source criticism to a humanistic tradition. Bod, *A New History*, p. 352.

21 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1898, p. 380.

22 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1898, pp. 379, 386–387.

23 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1903, pp. 496–497.

and unscientific.[24] The commission responsible for this translation had conducted a superficial review of the *Textus Receptus* but abstained from making intrusive changes. They had compared the received text to the more recently discovered manuscripts but avoided all major alterations as long as the model had support in at least one of the new sources. The method was focused on careful preservation of historical continuity rather than adjustment and modernization.

To the critics, this conduct lacked all scientific credibility and the translation of 1883 was viewed as an embarrassing remnant of outdated views. While the old commission prioritized continuity between past and present incarnations of the Bible, the new commission sought a clean break between the old and the new. They maintained that a habitual and repetitive conduct were more threatening to biblical authority than were radical changes.

A recurring objection to extensive alterations was that the intertextual coherency between the Bible and the devotional literature surrounding it would be lost if quotations no longer matched (the messianic prophecies were among the most cited sections of the Old Testament and a vital part of a sensitive infrastructure of texts). The traditionalists feared that an entire literary genre was going to be antiquated and useless if too many biblical passages changed in appearance.[25] Meanwhile, several delegates of the Assembly pointed to supposed difficulties in teaching the old church Bible to younger students. The archaic language was a sharp contrast to the language found in ordinary books and newspapers, and this discrepancy was seen as a severe problem.[26] By translating the Bible into a modern idiom the text could be adapted to fit a different textual infrastructure and a new system of coherency. The prophecies stood in the middle of this transition and the headlines became a crucial key to making the shift possible.

The eradication of the headlines must be understood as an act of temporalization and a way of opening the text by infusing a specific order of historicity. As demonstrated by Hartog and Koselleck, the modern order of historicity is characterized by its progressive orientation and its increasing discrepancy between past and future.[27] This order is enacted through renunciation of other models of historicity, models that depict history as directed toward a predetermined outcome; teleological or, indeed, prophetic models of historicity. However, the eradication of the headlines was not

24 "Betänkande Litt. A.," *Bihang till allmänna*, 1883, p. 7.

25 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, p. 236.

26 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, p. 272.

27 See Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity*; Koselleck, *Futures Past*.

only a symbolic renunciation of a premodern historicity. It was also a way of placing the present further from the past and, consequently, in anticipation of an open future. In the subsequent section, I will expand further on the practical dimensions of this temporalization.

Enabling Change

As mentioned earlier, the Philologist Bible is a close relative to the Enlightenment Bible. Sheehan explains how the Bible through meticulous scholarship was transformed into a cultural document protected from the onset of secularization by notions of tradition and national heritage.[28] The following section will focus on attempts of the translators to contest notions of tradition by accentuating a different order of historicity centered on temporal breaks and discontinuity. I argue that the temporalization of the Bible was implemented in order to facilitate flexibility and diachronic plasticity.

The new commission publicly defended their methodological principles on several occasions. Rudin emphasized that every punctuation of the new translations had been thoroughly scrutinized and adapted to fit as many requirements and demands as possible.[29] The debates rarely came down to technical questions of translation. Instead, the primary points of conflict had to do with questions of stability, uniformity, contexts of utilization, and patterns of circulation – issues often connected to the practice of standardization. As various scholars have noted, standards are boundary-objects. This means that the standards, by default, are objects utilized in different contexts where they carry different meaning. "Each social world," Susan Leigh Star and James Griesemer explain, "has partial jurisdiction over the resources represented by that object, and mismatches caused by the overlap become problems for negotiation."[30] The importance of relevant and trustworthy expertise is crucial to these negotiations and to standardization in general (which also makes standardizations into spaces of conflict between different forms of expertise).[31] By understanding the translation as a scene of negotiation where the central object, the Bible, was torn between different interests, contexts and experts, it is possible

28 Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible*, pp. 93–117.
29 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1898, p. 384.
30 Star and Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology," p. 412.
31 Busch, *Standards*.

to demonstrate the importance of historical criticism in creating both stability and flexibility.

In April 1886, John Personne spoke at the annual meeting of the Swedish Bible Society. The society was dedicated to the dispersal of physical Bibles and had, since its formation in 1815, built a respectable distribution with the capacity to produce and circulate a significant number of books. The society was an important part of the institutional infrastructure and thus a key point of engagement for the translators. While recognizing the obvious achievements of the organization, Personne questioned their rigid attitude toward change and modernization. In the face of a secular critique, the society had adopted a stoic persistence in their view of the Bible and rejected everything that could undermine its traditional status. This rejection included historical criticism.

The old translation, still distributed in large quantities, was severely out-dated. Some of the copies were still carrying captions explicitly claiming the content to be the result of divine inspiration. The captions gave the impression of a biblical view that no longer had support in the faculties of theology and made an unfair representation of the progress made in the field of biblical scholarship. To Personne, holding on to these old translations was little more than stagnant obstinacy and certainly no way to ensure biblical authority.[32] By ignoring new findings and modern methods, the society was actually doing a great disservice to the status of the Bible. Personne argued that without a base in systematic and contemporary knowledge, the Bible would be rendered worthless "on the intellectual market of the nineteenth century."[33]

It is important to differentiate between historical criticism as a means of reconstructing an original text and historical criticism as a method to achieve a contemporary version. The difference suggests conflicting historical regimes. Historical criticism of biblical sources has been used in attempts to recreate a supposed *original* Bible. But historical criticism can also be used to illustrate the historicity of the Bible in order to legitimize changes into a contemporary form. These different ambitions are equally historical but emphasize two very different uses and models of the past and its connections to the present.

Personne emphasized that the biblical sources could not be consulted in the pursuit of an original text. The very idea of an original Bible was reminiscent of an older view that relied on divine inspiration. Personne

32 Personne, *Tal vid Svenska*, p. 37.

33 Personne, *Tal vid Svenska,* p. 3, 34.

stressed that it was high time to underscore the human properties of the book. The Bible was, after all, from beginning to end "a manmade work."[34] By accentuating the cultural historicity of the Bible this way, Personne effectively transformed how the text could be acted upon in the present. This new interpretive framework, focusing on cultural aspects of Biblical history, facilitated a capacity for change crucial to the continued process of translation. In order to create a modern Bible fit for contemporary needs, earlier incarnations had to be understood as products of other times and these other times had to be acknowledged as distant and irrelevant to the form of a contemporary version. The methodology attached the Bible to the linear time of a modern order of historicity.

A boundary-object is an object that has both flexible and inflexible properties. They are "plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them," while simultaneously "robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites."[35] In this chapter, I seek to emphasize the role of historicity, and of philological expertise, in the construction of such dynamics. The final empirical section will show how the implications of cumulative knowledge growth were fused with the translation as a way of ensuring its diachronic plasticity. These changes, enacted through historical criticism, came to facilitate change and flexibility by severing the past and opening the future.

Opening the Future

In 1903, Tegnér publicly defended the principles used by the commission. The translation they had produced was not perfect, but Tegnér assured that every possible complaint that had been raised could be refuted with reference to the philological method and the science of language and grammar. Against the onslaught of objections and conflicting requests, the philological principles were regularly invoked in order to settle disputes, and Tegnér emphasized a supposed unity between the clerical authorities and the philological expertise. The translators had to negotiate a complex institutional infrastructure and a delicate balance between the higher clergy, the academic expertise, the congregations, and the secular authorities. In this nexus of conflicting appeals, the application of philological knowledge brought stability by pointing to a supposed neutral reading of facts rather

34 Personne, *Tal vid Svenska,* p. 43.

35 Star and Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology," p. 393.

than applying a confessional bias.[36] However, the translators also had to ensure flexibility across sites.

The conditional approval of the 1883 translation was met with ambivalence, not only because of the alleged scientific shortcomings, but because of its indecisive status. The approval signaled a formal status of stability but its limitations to pedagogical use raised questions: was the translation of the New Testament still a work in progress? Could it be regarded as stable and settled?

The need for stability had been the pivotal reason for approving the text but the same stability was also seen as a possible liability. Several delegates felt that a settled and closed standard with no hope of future adjustment would be too rigid and ultimately cause so much public discontent that the production of unauthorized translations would increase rather than diminish. An unyielding and inflexible standard was just as dangerous to the integrity of the biblical text as the seemingly arbitrary state of editorial chaos.

In 1883, Rudin had formally protested the approval with reference to the uncertain future of the translation. He thought that forcing the approval would hinder changes that needed to be made later on. Instead, the text should be kept open until the entire Bible could be assessed and approved as a whole. In sharp contrast to the other delegates, the number of unauthorized translations did not bother him. According to Rudin, the heterogeneity of the translations available to the public accentuated the importance of a critical and comparative analysis far from habitual reading of antiquated editions.[37]

At the meeting of 1883, Hammarskjöld had underlined the importance of producing a Bible that corresponded to "the current state of language science."[38] To Rudin, it was clear that the application of scientific evidence always refers to the state of knowledge *at a specific time*. The current state of science was not an absolute and unchanging position but rather a step in a seemingly endless progression. It was the responsibility of the translators to "act in accordance with the best *current* findings of each science."[39]

The anticipation of impending change opened up the Bible to continuous alterations. The open future presented through the temporalization mitigated the firmness and rigidity of the standard. The temporalized Bible was stable enough to unite the scattered present yet flexible enough to

36 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1903, p. 473, 478.
37 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, pp. 282–284.
38 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, p. 273.
39 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, p. 282.

change over time. As scientific advances would never cease and new facts would continue to emerge, any translation would eventually be antiquated. Thus, change was not only possible, it was essential. In 1903, a delegate to the church meeting labeled the new translation a "place to rest."[40] This notion of a temporary place to halt is indicative of a historicity characterized by progressive direction and linearity where the present will soon have become a past.

But the temporalization was also met with heavy criticism. Bishop Herman Rodhe indicated that the Bible was not simply "a product of natural development" and therefore could not be viewed "solely from a philological perspective."[41] As a strategy of duration, tradition stipulated that the Bible of the past, present, and future should be coherent and uniform, that the past must inform the present in order to maintain continuity. In contrast, temporalization meant that past, present, and future incarnations of the Bible would differ and that the dissimilarities were outcomes of progress.

The translators responsible for the edition of 1883 had explicitly avoided invasive changes to the Swedish aspects of the translation. The new commission did not observe the same caution and made substantial efforts to write closer to an ordinary spoken language. This resulted in recurring complaints that the language was too plain and mundane. The critics complained that the lyrical, poetical, and divine qualities of the old Bible had been turned into something that resembled everyday speech mixed with an almost bureaucratic terminology.[42]

The commission justified the changes with reference to the pedagogical benefits. As stated earlier, several of the delegates had experience of teaching the Bible to young students and repeatedly stressed that the discrepancy between the biblical language and ordinary language was confusing.[43] By adopting a modern idiom, the new translation could potentially mediate the gap between the Bible and the sphere of printed news, books, and pamphlets. However, the traditionalists were hesitant to what they saw as a profanation of the biblical language. A split between ordinary and biblical language was in fact preferable to the dilution of sacredness that would come with excessive accessibility.

Unsurprisingly, the question was given temporal dimensions. There were some who held that the difference between the profane and the poetic

40 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1903, p. 519.
41 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1903, p. 481.
42 Prickett, *Words and the Word;* Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible.*
43 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, p. 272.

was merely a question of time and that the passing of centuries had given what was once ordinary spoken language a poetic, archaic, and convoluted sensation.[44] That which appeared to be divine was, in fact, just historically remote and changes to the poetic form were therefore not acts of profanation. Tegnér conceded that the poetry had been sacrificed for the benefit of a more comprehensible language – choices that had been painful but necessary. What was considered elevated and sacred in the old translation had, in fact, been the consequence of the inadequate philological skills of past translators.[45] The logic implied to the Philologist Bible thus stipulated that its form was tied to a scientific progress of accumulated knowledge and that past incarnations of the text were not to be idolized as sacred originals but rather as testimony to the state of progress during the age of their conception.

In 1920, three years after the final approval, an international academic review stated the following: "On the whole this is a conscientiously prepared, easily intelligible, modern translation, neither too radical nor too conservative, and the Swedish people are to be congratulated upon its possession. It is a work that will be carefully studied by translators and revisers of the Bible in other tongues for a long time to come."[46] That the Bible was to be reviewed in an academic journal, assessed as a product of scholarship and applied knowledge, is a telling sign that the Swedish Bible of 1917 differed greatly from its predecessors, not only in syntax and grammar, but also in its ambitions and priorities. From the praise garnered, it would also seem that the translators had hit a sort of temporal sweet spot, a present between the past and the future that united the readers as contemporaries with a distinctly separate past and continuous forward momentum. It was a temporalized entity, and this state of being was essentially the product of philological expertise and the application of historical criticism.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the legitimacy and impact of historical criticism to an arena of knowledge removed from a purely academic situation: the translation of the Swedish Bible of 1917. Since *the humanities* is

44 *Allmänna kyrkomötets protokoll*, 1883, p. 247.
45 Tegnér, *Den nya öfvers*, p. 20.
46 Williams, "The 1917 Translation," p. 91.

often defined by its position within an academic structure, attempts at describing the workings of these disparate knowledge forms outside of the academy can run into problems of definition. What is *the humanities* outside of formal academic contexts if the context in question contains its most defining features?

The translators of the Bible commission all held prominent academic titles. Esaias Tegnér was a renowned classical philologist. Waldemar Rudin became a professor of exegesis in 1893 and John Personne received a doctorate in 1875. But their careers and academic affiliations are not the main object of inquiry here. In this chapter I have instead tried to depict the practical impact of their expertise outside of the university.

The history of Bible translation is a history of applied knowledge. The perspective of historical criticism was reintroduced to the process during a time of large-scale institutional changes connected to a new politics of knowledge. In Sweden, the institution most relevant to the translation was the General Church Assembly. The Assembly was connected to the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, responsible for both educational and clerical matters, and thereby fused with the rapidly expanding educational system and to the academic faculties. This particular institutional configuration did not exist during the time of the original commission in the late eighteenth century.

The institutional structures forced several perspectives and incentives to coexist. The Philologist Bible was, in several ways, a product of – and an answer to – this new institutional situation, a situation that stressed the need for modern methods and pedagogical coherency. By showing philology and historical criticism as co-creators of this institutional modernity, this chapter has attempted to give an insight into the more practical dimensions of the humanities in a societal and political context.

The concept of modernity is too extensive and theoretically diverse to thoroughly scrutinize within the confines of this chapter. However, the analysis utilizes modernity in two ways. First, in a somewhat normative description of the political reforms and institutional changes that took place in Sweden during the mid nineteenth century, and which had long-term consequences for the national organization of knowledge.[47] Secondly, modernity here refers to a specific conception of history necessary to recognize and designate phenomena as signs of *progress*, *breakthrough, decline* and *development*: a linear and progressing historicity oriented toward an open

47 The representational reform of 1866 is sometimes given as a schoolbook example of a modern breakthrough. See e.g., Hedenborg and Kvarnström, eds., *Det svenska samhället* where 1866 defines a turning point on the road toward democracy.

future. In this chapter, I have argued for the importance of historical inquiry and criticism to both of these forms of modernity.

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About the Author

Martin Jansson is a PhD student at the Department of History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University. His research interests include media history and the interplay between temporalities and historiography. His dissertation examines temporal dimensions of translation and the relationship between perceived historical transitions and language standardizations in late nineteenth-century Sweden.
Contact: martin.jansson@idehist.uu.se

4 Pedagogy and the Humanities

Changing Boundaries in the Academic Map of Knowledge, 1860s–1960s

Joakim Landahl and Anna Larsson

Abstract
This chapter traces the history of the relation between pedagogy and the humanities from a long time-perspective, spanning the 1860s to the 1960s. Focusing on boundary drawing processes, we distinguish two major shifts in which pedagogy established itself as a distinct discipline. The first consisted of a separation from philosophy, the second of a separation from psychology. Through and along this process, pedagogy became increasingly separated from the humanities and ended up in the new social science faculty in the 1960s. As pedagogy also got a central role in the new professional teacher education outside of the universities, its position as a non-humanistic discipline became manifest.

Keywords: Pedagogy, educational sciences, humanities, Sweden, organization of knowledge

Introduction

This chapter concerns the relationship between pedagogy and the humanities in Swedish university history. Today, the discipline of pedagogy is formally separated from the humanistic disciplines. In the Swedish academic organization, there is generally a clear line between the faculty of social sciences, where pedagogy is commonly included, and the faculty of humanities. But historically, the organization of knowledge was different, and the relationship between pedagogy and the humanities has not always been the same. During the nineteenth century the humanities

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were, in fact, significantly linked to the establishment of pedagogy. As the main educational task for the Faculty of Philosophy was the education of secondary school teachers, one central issue of discussion about university education in the nineteenth century concerned the question of whether the future teachers in their education needed to gain any specific educational knowledge and, if so, how it should be organized. One response to this was the introduction of one year of teacher training at a school after the university studies. Other responses included theoretical and historical educational courses and, eventually, separate chairs in pedagogy. Thus, the very creation of pedagogy is clearly linked to the humanities. Ever since, a feature of pedagogy has been its strong connection to teacher education, whereas the connection to the humanities has decreased, albeit not disappeared altogether. As pedagogy, in contrast to most humanistic disciplines today, has access to a mass-market of future teachers, this historical process meant that the humanities lost one significant link to a large audience of future teachers. Understanding the relationship between pedagogy and the humanities is therefore of central relevance for the understanding of the humanities and their role in modern society.

This article traces the history of the relation between pedagogy and the humanities from a long time-perspective, spanning the 1860s to the 1960s. We will highlight the boundaries that were brought to the fore in the development of the pedagogical discipline when it comes to its relation to the humanities. This will allow us to discuss the relationship between pedagogy and other disciplines inside and outside the field of the humanities and show its changing and historically contingent character. This means that we are interested in the organization of academic knowledge where pedagogy as well as other disciplines are delimited and grouped in varied ways over time. Academic boundaries are drawn and re-drawn both within and around disciplines and faculties. They constitute a map of knowledge, which is an important aspect of the social structure of science and whose changes may be regarded as a characteristic feature in the history of knowledge.[1] From historical studies it becomes clear that boundaries can be influential in different ways. Often historical actors discuss or relate to existing boundaries, but they might also engage in establishing new or dissolving old boundaries. As Beckman et al. have pointed out, boundary-work does not necessarily

1 Gieryn, *Cultural Boundaries of Science*; Östling, "Vad är kunskapshistoria?," pp. 109–119; Tunlid and Widmalm, *Det forskningspolitiska laboratoriet*; Widmalm, *Vetenskapens sociala strukturer.*

mean conflict or distancing, but can also rhetorically be used to emphasize cooperation and positive interconnections.[2]

Boundary drawing is a continuous process, but at certain moments in time, discussions about boundaries are intensified. One such example is when a new discipline is created or recreated in a formal sense, resulting in discussions about creating chairs, splitting disciplines or changing the academic knowledge organization in some other way. This is the kind of examples from the history of pedagogy as a university discipline that we give attention to in this chapter. The empirical material consists of public inquiry material – including commission reports, expert comments [*remissyttranden*], government proposals and, for the nineteenth century, parliamentary debates – on university issues focusing on the position of pedagogy in the academic landscape. With the help of a database of newspapers at the National Library of Sweden, searchable by subject words and time periods, the official material has been supplemented with daily press material containing debate and views about proposals or measures taken. The covered time period begins in the middle of the nineteenth century with the discussions that arose about teacher education at the Faculty of Philosophy. It ends in the 1960s when the establishment of separate faculties of Social Sciences and Humanities created a boundary between pedagogy and the humanistic subjects that still prevails. The analysis of the material thus identified has focused on the boundaries that can be detected in the relationship between pedagogy and the humanities. Previous research on the Swedish case has neglected this issue, but as international comparisons show there is considerable variation regarding the relation between educational research and the humanities. For example, in Germany there was for a long time a close connection between philosophy and education. It was common with chairs in both philosophy and education – a complete dissociation between the chairs was not achieved until the beginning of the 1960s. In the Swedish case that dissociation happened earlier, as we will see.[3]

Since this analysis concerns a period of more than a century, concepts and terminology is a complex issue. Both pedagogy and the humanities are terms that change their conceptual content over time. We have strived to be careful

2 Beckman et al., "Inledning," p. 15.

3 Previous research on the history of pedagogy in Sweden include Dahllöf, *Problem i den pedagogiska forskningens utveckling*; Härnqvist, "Educational Research"; Kroksmark, *Pedagogikens vägar*; Lindberg and Lindberg, *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige 1948–1971*; Nystedt, *Till andlig och kroppslig hälsa*. For international perspectives, see e.g., Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*; Lawn, *An Atlantic Crossing?*; McCulloch and Cowan, *A Social History*; Whitty and Furlong, *Knowledge and the Study*.

and sensitive about the meanings of the terms in the different contexts at stake. In particular, it is important to be aware that the humanities as a term has a historically contingent meaning. The humanities, perhaps not called by exactly the same wording, was a wider concept in the nineteenth century than later. Although many disciplines of today were not created back then, other disciplines that we today regard as not belonging to the humanities were included. We regard the disciplines included in the nineteenth-century Faculty of Philosophy as the humanities of that time, a field that later was delimited through disciplinary specialization, fragmentation, the emergence of new knowledge areas, and the boundary work performed throughout the processes. However, it is necessary for the reader to keep in mind that the terms we use to talk about the relation between pedagogy and the humanities are, and have to be, to some extent ambiguous.

Institutionalizing Pedagogy: Educational Knowledge Between Philosophy and Psychology

Swedish pedagogy became institutionalized as an academic discipline in the early 1900s, when the first three chairs were created, in 1910, 1912, and 1919 respectively. From an international perspective, this was a relatively late development; several European countries received their first chairs during the nineteenth century. In the Swedish case the emergence of pedagogy can be related to the boundary between philosophy and pedagogy. In order for pedagogy to appear as a separate discipline, it needed to successfully show that it had an exclusive field of knowledge that it alone could master.[4]

A parliamentary debate in 1867 suggests that this process was yet to happen. In that year, the minister for ecclesiastical affairs F. F. Carlson suggested in a proposition to the parliament that a new professorship in pedagogy should be established at Uppsala University. The background to the proposal had to do with the education of teachers at grammar schools. Traditionally these teachers had only studied the subjects at university and had no teacher specific education whatsoever, but recently a reform that secured practical training for a year at a school [*provåret*] had been introduced. By appointing a professor in pedagogy it would be possible to supplement practical training with theoretical training as well.

The proposal met considerable resistance in the Second Chamber of the Swedish parliament. A recurring argument was that pedagogical

4 Gieryn, *Cultural Boundaries*.

knowledge encompassed too many school subjects for one single person to master. Among the opponents to the idea of a professorship was the former principal P. A. Siljeström. Siljeström, known as a dedicated supporter of educational reforms, did not believe that a professor would make a valuable contribution to the development of secondary schools. This was because the knowledge a professor could contribute would either be too all-encompassing or too general. In terms of teaching methods it was unrealistic to think that one single professor could master the different techniques required of the different school subjects. Instead, it was the more general principles of pedagogy that a professor could potentially possess knowledge about. However, Siljeström questioned whether those general principles were specific enough to legitimate a new professorship. If understood as the philosophical foundations, one was completely entering philosophical territory, and the professorship would in effect be "nothing but a new chair in philosophy."[5] As a consequence, the discipline of philosophy would expand at the expense of other, more neglected disciplines: "the result would be that the university got three professorships in philosophy, while completely lacking chairs in some of the most important contemporary sciences."[6]

What we see here is a discussion about the academic map of the disciplines at the universities. It can be seen as a reflection concerning the division of knowledge within the Faculty of Philosophy. Apparently, Siljeström did not see how pedagogy could be a knowledge area of its own of the same kind as the other humanities disciplines.

Over time the boundaries between the humanities and pedagogy shifted, as illustrated by the eventual institutionalization of pedagogy. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a renewed interest in creating a professorship in pedagogy. At this time the argument that pedagogy was essentially philosophy was harder to sustain. The failed attempt to separate pedagogy from philosophy in 1867 was referred to in a 1905 motion to the parliament, written by two elementary school teachers, Fridtjuv Berg and Emil Hammarlund. They argued that since 1867, pedagogical research had developed in a much more empirical direction than earlier. "The pedagogy of our time is not a branch of speculative philosophy; it has

5 Riksdagens protokoll 1867:401, Andra kammaren, p. 147. "icke blifva annat än en ny lärostol i filosofi."

6 Riksdagens protokoll 1867:401, Andra kammaren, p. 147. "Resultatet blefve således att man vid universitetet finge tre professioner i filosofi, under det man ännu helt och hållet saknar lärostolar i en och annan bland nutidens vigtigaste vetenskaper."

assumed a modern, scientific character."[7] They exemplified this tendency with recent publications by two German scholars: Wilhelm August Lay's *Experientelle Didaktik* and Ernst Meumann's *Sammlung von Abhandlungen zur psychologishen Pädagogik*, works that were said to be valuable in terms of "solving" important issues of education. A few years later, it was decided that the first professor in pedagogy should be appointed.[8]

The proposals for a professorship in pedagogy from 1867 and 1905 thus had different outcomes, which raises the question of how to understand the difference. One way of describing the successful introduction of a new discipline is in terms of shifting boundaries between disciplines. In 1867, pedagogy could not be a discipline, it was argued, since it was essentially philosophy. By the turn of the new century, such confusion was less likely. In a situation of increasing disciplinary fragmentation and development, where experimental psychology and child psychology had emerged, pedagogy had got access to a new scientific base that was partly unrelated to philosophy.[9]

However, the departure from philosophy and the emergence of an alliance between pedagogy and psychology was a protracted process that spanned decades. Ingemar Nilsson has noted that the separation of psychology from philosophy was an uneven process that in different national contexts could happen either abruptly or gradually.[10] As the first Swedish professorships in education testify, there were still elements of philosophy in the emerging discipline of pedagogy. This is partly indicated by the different titles of the chairs. The first three professorships were in *pedagogy* (Uppsala, Bertil Hammer 1910) *psychology and pedagogy* (Lund, Axel Herrlin 1912) and *philosophy and pedagogy* (Gothenburg, G A Jaederholm 1919). Given this coexistence, it is of interest to explore in more detail how the boundaries between pedagogy, philosophy, and psychology were drawn in the respective contexts during the formative years of pedagogy.

The First Professors: Choosing Disciplinary Paths

The professorship in Uppsala provides a good illustration of the fluid and slightly changing boundary between disciplines during the early years of the

7 Motion, Andra kammaren 1905:152. "Vår tids pedagogik är icke en gren af den spekulativa filosofien; den har alltmer antagit en modernt vetenskaplig karaktär."

8 Kroksmark, *Pedagogikens vägar*.

9 Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*.

10 Nilsson, *Själen i laboratoriet*, p. 11.

twentieth century. The person who many expected would get the chair in pedagogy was the philosophy professor Frans von Schéele. He had been an active promoter of the idea of a professorship and was also the responsible teacher for the theoretical course for future secondary school teachers. His former teacher, the philosopher Karl Reinhold Geijer, urged Uppsala University to call von Schéele to the professorship. Interestingly enough, Geijer admitted that von Schéele's pedagogical publications were relatively limited for a professor, but that his philosophical and psychological writings compensated for that.[11] When the university instead announced the position as professor, von Schéele decided not to apply, making it possible for another scholar, Bertil Hammer, to get the chair. Hammer had recently earned his doctorate (in 1908), on a thesis about the psychology of attention, and had in general a more psychological approach to research.[12] A few years into his professorship, it was suggested by a philosophy professor at the university that the name of the chair should be changed from "pedagogy" to "psychology and pedagogy." The proposal was, it seems, not primarily motivated by the needs of pedagogy, but was rather an attempt to demarcate philosophy from experimental psychology. The proposal ultimately failed.[13]

By contrast, at the second university – in Lund – the chair was in psychology and pedagogy. The title of the chair indicated a psychological direction, and the holder – Axel Herrlin – certainly had such interests, for example in abnormal psychology and experimental psychology. However, Herrlin's background was in philosophy and he had indeed aimed for a philosophical career. He was a docent in theoretical philosophy and had applied for chairs in both theoretical and practical philosophy, and had been assessed as qualified in both subjects.[14] As a philosopher, Herrlin stressed the close connection between philosophy and the specialized sciences.[15] In terms of pedagogical writings, Herrlin wrote a work on the pedagogical aspects of memory and a short book about pedagogical thinking. These works were

11 Geijer, *Förslag om kallelse*.

12 Kroksmark, *Pedagogikens vägar*, pp. 133–136.

13 Heidegren, *Det moderna genombrottet*, pp. 374–377; Nilsson, *Själen i laboratoriet*, pp. 148–149. The strive to keep philosophy pure from the influences of experimental psychology could also be witnessed in Germany, but the conclusions drawn regarding the relationship to pedagogy was different. The philosopher and theologian Ernst Troeltsch wrote in 1917: "What I categorically refuse to do is to construct this discipline [i.e. educational studies] on the basis of psychology." In Germany it was common with chairs in both philosophy and education – a complete dissociation between the chairs was not achieved until the beginning of the 1960s. Schriewer, "Between the Philosophy," pp. 78–82.

14 *Handlingar rörande tillsättandet*, p. 12.

15 Herrlin, *Filosofi och fackvetenskap.*

produced shortly before he got his professorship in Lund 1912. After his appointment he did not write much, and his only major work represented a return to philosophy, on Kant.[16]

The professorship in Gothenburg covered philosophy and pedagogy. Such a combination of disciplines was not self-evident at a time when increased differentiation and new boundaries within and between disciplines were emerging. The unusually complicated process of appointing a professor – it took five years – indicates that the two disciplines had indeed drifted apart quite a lot by this time. The process started in 1914 when appliances were sent in, and ended in 1919 when GA Jaederholm was appointed. The relationship between pedagogy and philosophy became a matter of public debate already in 1914, when a media debate arose regarding Jaederholm's philosophical credentials. The debate was centered around a translation of Schopenhauer that Jaederholm had conducted about a decade earlier. The second edition of the translation had recently been published and was reviewed in one of the leading national newspapers. The reviewer of the book did remarkably enough not comment on the actual text by Schopenhauer – instead he focused entirely on the translation, which was depicted as unbelievably lousy. This alleged lack of quality was commented upon in relation to the process of appointing a professor in Gothenburg. The translation was, the reviewer stressed, not the fever phantasies of a school boy, but the product of a man who had managed to merit himself to apply for a professorship in philosophy and pedagogy. His translation, however, revealed him rather to be a "mystagogue."[17] Media debates such as these illustrate that philosophical competence was deemed as central to the professorship.

When it was time to judge who was qualified for the chair it proved difficult to find the right candidate. The majority of the university's teacher council assessed all of the applicants to be unqualified. The root of the problem was the coexistence of pedagogy and philosophy in one single professorship: none of the applicants were deemed qualified in both subjects.[18] A minority of the teacher council claimed that there actually were applicants who could be categorized as competent. Belonging to this minority was the philosopher Vitalis Norström who claimed that the

16 Herrlin, *De klassiska riktlinierna*.

17 Collinder, "Också en Schopenhaueröversättning." The review sparked a debate resulting in at least five newspaper articles. Apart from a reply from G. A. Jaederholm, John Landquist (following instructions in several letters from Jaederholm), published a lengthy defense of Jaederholm. Landquist depicted Collinder's attack as an obvious attempt to influence the appointment of a new professor in philosophy and pedagogy, and defended Jaederholm's abilities as a translator.

18 "Göteborgs högskola."

philosopher Malte Jacobsson was the most suitable candidate. His argument for this was not based on an assessment of his credentials as pedagogue. Instead, Norström stressed that the whole construction of the professorship, combining pedagogy and philosophy, was inappropriate given the expansive nature of modern pedagogy, with its base in psychology and natural science and its increasing practical and technical complexity. It would have been better if the existing professorship in philosophy could have been divided into two chairs, and an altogether new one in pedagogy, or pedagogy and psychology. Given the character of the existing professorship, Norström maintainted that the demands on the applicant had to be slightly lower than normal, and that knowledge in philosophy was more constitutive for the chair than the "quasi-scientific" discipline of pedagogy.[19]

As these three examples of the first professorships in education indicate, pedagogy as a discipline had started to drift off from philosophy, but the demarcation was not complete. There was still a connection and, for example, when a major philosophical lexicon was produced in 1925, several of the contributors had a pedagogical background.[20] Nonetheless, the historical tendency was one in which philosophy and pedagogy gradually drifted apart, while psychology and pedagogy increasingly became allied, at least by name. An example of this process was the fusion of two scientific journals. The psychological journal *Psyche* and the pedagogical journal *Svenskt arkiv för pedagogik* [Swedish Archive for Pedagogy] were merged into a new pedagogical-psychological journal called *Arkiv för psykologi och pedagogik* [Archive for Psychology and Pedagogy]. This fusion happened in 1922, and two of the professors of pedagogy, Axel Herrlin and Bertil Hammer, edited it together with the former editor of *Psyche*, the psychologist Sydney Alrutz. Two decades later another scientific journal with a similar name was released, also combining psychology and pedagogy in its title (*Tidskrift för psykologi och pedagogik* [Journal for Psychology and Pedagogy]), and a scientific institute, *Statens psykologisk-pedagogiska institut* (SPPI [the Swedish Psychological and Pedagogical Institute]) was founded in 1944. At about the same time a major reference book, *Psykologisk-pedagogisk uppslagsbok* [Psychological-pedagogical reference book], consisting of four volumes, was published. The first volume of the book series *Psykologisk-Pedagogiskt bibliotek* [the Psychological-Pedagogical Library], featuring the best-selling dissertation *Svensk ungdom* [Swedish Youth] by Torsten Husén, was released in 1944.

19 "Professuren i praktisk filosofi."

20 Ahlberg, *Filosofiskt lexikon*.

This historical tendency toward a tighter alliance between psychology and pedagogy was partly a result of the appointment of new professors in the 1930s. The decade saw the birth of a second generation of professors of education. Due to the death of previous professors and the creation of a new chair in Stockholm, four new professors entered the scene.[21] This sudden shift coincided with a slight tendency toward standardization in the chairs. In Gothenburg, the name of the chair changed from "Philosophy and pedagogy" to "Psychology and pedagogy," indicating an increased autonomy in relation to philosophy. In Uppsala there was in 1930 renewed proposals from philosophy professors (Hägerström and Phalén) to change the name of the chair in pedagogy into "psychology and pedagogy," in line with what it was called in Lund. However, resistance was raised from dominant actors – the Royal Board of Education and large teacher organizations – and no change in name occurred.[22] The professorship in Stockholm was named after the donor (Eneroth) but encompassed pedagogy and psychology.[23]

Three of the newly appointed professors had a distinct psychological character, focusing on issues such as intelligence, statistical methods (Anderberg, Elmgren), and perception (Katz). An important exception to the tendency was John Landquist whose academic background was in philosophy and who had worked primarily as a literary critic. The fact that he managed to get a chair in psychology and pedagogy, more or less completely lacking previous experience in the field indicates that the transition toward a discipline based on an alliance between psychology and pedagogy was not complete. Nonetheless, Landquist quickly managed to create an environment in which several leading scholars emerged, among them the pedagogue Torsten Husén.[24] In terms of Landquist's own production as a scholar in the field of pedagogy, his main work is arguably *Pedagogikens historia* [The History of Pedagogy] printed in nine editions between 1941 and 1973, and used in teacher education courses, an example of the enduring role of historical perspectives in teacher education.

In sum, the formative years of pedagogy as an academic discipline must be understood in relation to changing boundaries to its neighboring disciplines within the humanities. Pedagogy was established when a certain, but not total, autonomy from philosophy was achieved. As we have seen there was

21 Anderberg (1932, Uppsala), Landquist (1936, Lund), Katz (1937, Stockholm), and Elmgren (1939, Göteborg).

22 Lindberg and Berge, *Pedagogik som vetenskap*, pp. 20f.

23 Nilsson, "David Katz."

24 Nilsson, *John Landquist*.

still a lingering connection to philosophy during the first professorships. But gradually pedagogy loosened its relation to philosophy while it consolidated its already strong bonds to psychology. The relationship between the two disciplines became indeed a close one, as illustrated by the hyphen that connected them, making them distinct but intertwined. Pedagogy and psychology never merged into one single word, or one unified science. They kept their semantic individuality, even when they appeared as Siamese twins. Soon that relationship would face a test.

Dividing Pedagogy After 1948

In the mid 1940s, there was a consensus about the need for expanding Swedish universities.[25] The government decided to split several of the existing university subjects and assign one professor to each part. Since every discipline in the Swedish university system by this time normally had only one professor and one or two assisting employees, this was an effective way to double the teaching capacity. The professors of psychology and pedagogy at each of the four universities had called for a partition of this kind, motivated by the expanding field of academic educational knowledge and the increasing need for it in society, together with the rapidly growing number of students. Also organizations for teachers had called for additional professors in pedagogy pointing especially to the lack of research in child psychology and practical pedagogy.[26]

Thus, there were possibilities attached to the separation between psychology and pedagogy. However, the process of dividing an existing discipline into two was far from straight-forward, and raised numerous questions about how the two fields were to be understood and related to each other. The hierarchy between the respective traditions and what kind of knowledge each discipline should encompass were issues of intense discussion. As we will see, different actors – including the existing professors in the field – expressed different views when commenting the proposal, which reveals that the boundary between pedagogy and psychology was not self-evident. One of the overarching questions was the distance between psychology and pedagogy. Should the division result in two radically different disciplines – two cultures – or should they share some kind of scientific base?

25 Larsson, *Det moderna samhällets,* chap. 4; SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1946:74; SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1946:81.

26 Proposition 1947:272, p. 123.

Unlike the older discussions, where the boundary to philosophy had been at stake, it was now the historical parts of pedagogy that were problematized. Professor Anderberg at Uppsala University had a clear vision of history as the core of pedagogy. He suggested that one of the two chairs should concern psychology and educational psychology and the other one pedagogy, especially historical pedagogy. The main argument for this division was the crucial differences between historical and experimental research methods.[27]

Landquist preferred a less clear boundary between the two disciplines. As opposed to Anderberg, he claimed that a division between psychology and a historically oriented pedagogy would be unfortunate as it would turn the chair in pedagogy into one in mainly history. If so, the pedagogical perspective would not be at the center of interest for the professor in pedagogy. It would also risk to disappoint the students, who devoted their "precious years of youth" to gain pedagogical insights, if the professor mainly focused on the pedagogy of the sixteenth and seventeenth century and lost the connection to contemporary educational thinking. According to Landquist, the history of pedagogy should be included in the realm of the chair in pedagogy but only as one of its areas and not as its main focus.[28]

Instead, Landquist claimed that pedagogy had its scientific base in and was inseparable from psychological research. However, a chair devoted to psychology could also risk disappointing the students, as its holder might totally ignore the pedagogical point of view. Therefore, Landquist argued for a solution with two chairs that both encompassed pedagogy and psychology, but with different specializations. Both chairs should keep the name "pedagogy and psychology," but one should have a theoretical and the other a practical orientation. That would keep both the pedagogical interest and the psychological base at the center of both. Thus, the boundary brought to the fore here was one between theory and practice.

Based on the opinions of the existing professors, the commission discussed possible alternatives and ended up with a suggestion that later became decided and realized. On the student level the subject was divided into psychology and pedagogy while the chair was divided into one in psychology and one in pedagogy and educational psychology. The suggestion was based on the idea that pedagogy had to be anchored in both experimental psychology and the theory and history of pedagogy.

27 Also the professors Elmgren and Katz proposed to split pedagogy and psychology with reference to the differences in method and focus, however without especially pointing out historical pedagogy as a distinguishing feature of pedagogy.

28 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1946:81, pp. 74–75.

However, it is clear that the commission was most eager to secure the link between pedagogy and psychology. They stressed that "the subject of pedagogy must not turn into a pure humanistic discipline."[29] It is clear that the commission put a lot of trust in Landquist's view as the text concluded that a pedagogy isolated from psychology could easily turn into a "quasi-philosophical dilettantism" or end up as a historical discipline "with lack of contact with modern educational problems."[30] It is an interesting paradox that it was John Landquist, who had a weak experience in psychology and a firm background in the classical humanities of philosophy and literature, who came to be associated with this proposal. It seems relevant to describe his actions as an example of boundary-work through positive connection to a "foreign" area.[31] The reactions to the proposal of dividing pedagogy was mostly positive, both regarding the need of splitting the subject and how the boundary between the new subjects should be drawn.[32]

In the division process, the existing professors were offered to choose which subject they preferred to represent in the future. All of them chose psychology.[33] This is indicative of how the representatives of the former united discipline of pedagogy actually perceived their own scientific competence and their main research interests, not mainly as of a philosophical or historical kind but as a kind of psychology.

As we have seen, it was not self-evident how the boundary should be drawn between psychology and pedagogy when a united subject was to be divided. Psychology was by many regarded as being the scientific base for pedagogy. Psychology had supported pedagogy with a legitimacy that was essential when the first professorships were created in the 1910s. With that in mind it is perhaps understandable that the professors of the 1940s wished to stick to the psychological side. However, this meant that even though the new discipline of pedagogy was given its scientific base in psychology, new academic leaders were required and the new establishment had to be done without the status of or help from already reputable professors.

29 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1946:81, p. 76. "Ämnet pedagogik får därför icke förvandlas till en renodlat humanistisk disciplin."

30 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1946:81, p. 76. "kvasifilosofisk dilettantism"; "som komme att sakna kontakt med de moderna pedagogiska problemen."

31 Cf. Beckman et al., "Inledning," p. 15.

32 Proposition 1947:272, pp. 122–125. See also "Humanistiska huvudkrav"; J. L. (probably John Landquist), "Psykologiprofessurer."

33 Landquist had retired before the division was realized at Lund University, why his successor Herman Siegvald was the one who was offered to choose. As the other three, he chose psychology.

After the division, all four chairs in the new subject pedagogy and educational psychology were to be filled with new people. The governmental decision included that professoriates would not be advertized and appointed before competent applicants could be counted on. Therefore, not all positions were advertized immediately, but after about a decade a new generation of pedagogy professors was installed.[34] Two of the new professors had strong pedagogical historical interests, while the other two had a psychological-pedagogical orientation. Thus, one can say that the thoughts behind how the boundary between psychology and pedagogy was drawn – that pedagogy needed anchoring in both experimental psychology and pedagogical theory and history – were reflected in the research interests of the first post-war generation of professors.

Yet, it must be noticed that even if a historical focus was discussed it was not given any essential role in the disciplinary formation, neither as positive nor negative example. As we move forward to the 1960s, we will see how the historical perspectives became even more obsolete as parts of the disciplinary field of pedagogy. But before doing that, we will discuss the effects of a new teacher training on the separation between pedagogy and the humanities.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Swedish school system, together with teacher education, underwent a huge transformation based on ideas presented by a social democratic school commission in the 1940s. The commission argued that the school reform had to include a reform of teacher education.[35] For decades, the subject studies within the humanities had been criticized for not addressing the teachers' specific educational needs. The universities had strongly resisted any influence from the Royal Board of Education [*Skolöverstyrelsen*] over the content of the courses or grades for teachers, which is why the university education of teachers corresponded very little to what the teachers were to do in the schools.[36] Based on this, the commission suggested that all actual vocational teacher training should be arranged in new teacher training

34 In Uppsala, the new professor position was announced immediately and received three applicants. Wilhelm Sjöstrand, who had been acting as temporary professor during the appointment period, was given the position and took up the office in 1950. In Stockholm, the new professorship was announced in 1953 and came to be occupied by Torsten Husén in 1953, succeeded by Arne Trankell in 1957. The new chairs in Lund and Gothenburg were created 1956 and were filled with Sven Edlund in Lund (1957), and Kjell Härnqvist in Gothenburg (1959).

35 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1948:27, p. 362.

36 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1948:27, p. 367.

colleges, which would complement the university based subject studies.[37] The actual teacher training at these colleges had its academic base in psychology and pedagogy, according to the commission. Thereby, the rest of the humanities did not have to engage in teacher vocational training, and the development of the school system could be academically associated with the new colleges instead. New chairs in "practical pedagogy" were assigned to these colleges.

This implied that the area for the discipline of pedagogy and its boundaries were formed not only in relation to psychology, philosophy, and history, but also in relation to a new area of practical educational research associated with the new teacher training colleges.[38] How the boundary was drawn between theoretical and practical pedagogy became very much inscribed in the new organizational frames, so that practical pedagogy was understood as relevant to teacher training or school related issues, such as syllabi, differentiation, and educational choice making.[39] However, the dependence on psychology was strong also in practical pedagogy. As Kjell Härnqvist has noted, all of the new chair-holders at the new teacher training colleges in Stockholm, Malmö, Gothenburg, Uppsala, Umeå, and Linköping had mainly psychological-pedagogical research interests.[40] Thus, the expansion at both the universities and the teacher colleges in the 1960s and 1970s led to, or coincided with, an even stronger dominance of the psychological-pedagogical orientation.[41]

For the field of humanities, this was significant. While the discipline of pedagogy became occupied by discussions concerning the boundary between theoretical and practical pedagogy, other humanities disciplines became disassociated from the discussions about teacher education and school reforms. The long-term effects of this was that the humanities lost their historically strong link to teacher education, even if a great part of the humanities students were still enrolled in teacher education programs.[42]

37 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1948:27, p. 362.

38 Edfeldt, "Pedagogik i Stockholm," pp. 210–211.

39 Trankell, "Pedagogisk forskning," p. 215.

40 Härnqvist, "Educational Research," p. 238.

41 We must remember that also "psychology" meant different things at different times although we cannot develop this further here, cf. Kivelä and Siljander, "Psychologism in Finnish Educational Science," pp. 369–384.

42 The development in Norway, however mainly in a later period, has been explored by Vidar Grøtta in *The Transformation of Humanities*.

Dividing the Philosophical Faculty in the 1960s

At the beginning of the 1960s, a major organizational change at Swedish universities – the division of the philosophical faculty – once again brought the relation between the humanities and pedagogy to the fore. The division implied that the philosophical faculty should be divided into two, one for the humanities and one for the social sciences. Following the construction of a new faculty was the question of which disciplines belonged where. According to the commission, the social sciences included economics, sociology, statistics and political science, as well as business administration, economic history, and economic geography. In addition, the commission wanted to include psychology and pedagogy, despite their methodological proximity to "the experimental sciences."[43] Psychology and pedagogy thus appeared to be the least obvious subjects in the social science subject group. This view was also illustrated by a group of professors in Lund who suggested a social science section including economic history, cultural geography, economics, sociology, statistics, political science, and business administration – but not psychology and pedagogy.[44] However, it was apparently not their proximity to humanistic subjects or their methodological connection to philosophy or history that was problematized, but the use of experimental methods. The frontier against the humanities thus appears to have been unproblematic or inessential.

This is further demonstrated in discussions about the methodological difference between disciplines. The commission acknowledged the difficulty of separating the social sciences from the humanities on a methodological basis and provided two illustrating examples. First, they stressed that not only the designated social sciences used statistical methods, and secondly they mentioned that many branches of the social sciences were concerned with historical problems and used historical methods. The second example was specified by reference to political science and economic history.[45] Here we can note that pedagogy was not mentioned among the occasionally historical subjects. This reinforces the impression that the boundary between pedagogy and the remaining humanities was not perceived as problematic.

Although the investigators saw some disadvantages of dividing the philosophical faculty, and recognized the difficulty of separating a group of social science subjects from the humanistic disciplines, they still proposed a new

43 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1963:9, p. 107.
44 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1963:9, p. 109.
45 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1963:9, p. 107.

social sciences faculty.[46] One reason stated was that there was a tendency for division already. When, for example, licentiate and doctoral scholarships were established in 1947, a social science group had been distinguished although psychology and pedagogy were not included. Another example was the establishment of the Swedish Council for Social Research in 1959, in which the older Social Science Research Council (founded in 1947) and the State Psychological-Pedagogical Institute (founded in 1944) was incorporated. A third significant argument was that the social science area needed to be strengthened and expanded, and would benefit from a separate organization.[47] Throughout their work, the commission explicitly stated that pedagogy should be counted as a social science. Although the commission suggested different names and allowed for the social science faculties to include slightly varying disciplines at different universities, the pedagogical discipline was included in all.[48]

The subsequent governmental proposition shows that the proposal for the division of the philosophical faculty received a mixed reception by the referral bodies.[49] The most critical objections came from the universities, and the objections mainly concerned the difficulty of delimiting the social sciences. Several argued that it would be easier to separate the linguistic sciences, as they constituted a more distinct group, and had already been conceived of as a separate branch of subjects within the faculty.[50] The historical-philosophical section at Uppsala University stated that problems and methods could not be divided in the way the commission suggested as social science problems and methods existed in a number of humanistic subjects, and conversely, the social sciences needed to engage with historical and philosophical problems and methods. If the proposed division was to be carried out, they argued, further investigations were necessary in order to decide where to place such subjects as historically oriented political science, ethnography, cultural geography, pedagogy, psychology and practical philosophy.[51] The Faculty of Humanities at Lund University did not reject the proposal but resisted "the notion that there is a marked and consistent difference between the social sciences and other humanities subjects, either in

46 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1963:9.
47 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1963:9, pp. 108–109.
48 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1963:9, pp. 109–111.
49 Proposition 1964:50, pp. 348–358.
50 Proposition 1964:50, pp. 351, 356–357.
51 Proposition 1964:50, pp. 350–351.

research methods or in research direction."[52] Instead, they emphasized that the boundaries were "completely fluid."[53] The Faculty of Humanities in Stockholm made similar arguments.[54] After presenting the referrals in the proposition, the head of the department, minister of education Ragnar Edenman, acknowledged the obvious difficulties of demarcation, but still followed the committee's proposal on how to divide the faculty. This proposal, resulting in a new social science faculty, was soon decided and implemented.

In summary, pedagogy's relationship to the humanistic field was not an issue when the faculty division was discussed. While the boundaries between the social and humanistic faculties were considered fluid, few feared that pedagogy would float into the field of humanities. Although pedagogy's belonging to the Faculty of Social Sciences did not appear as self-evident, it was not the boundary to the humanities that was at stake. The question of the philosophical basis of pedagogy was obviously not relevant or problematic in this context. Neither did, apart from the referred viewpoint of the Faculty of Humanities in Uppsala, the historical parts of pedagogy appear to be problematic. As we have seen, this corresponded to the ongoing shift in the discipline as more and more of the professors had a psychological-pedagogical orientation.

These changes can be viewed from a wider perspective and understood in the light of shifting knowledge politics. With the changed university organization during the first post-war decades, the social and natural sciences were increasingly perceived as the ones that offered a relevant knowledge base for the future society, while the humanities ended up outside this vision.[55] The social sciences developed and expanded in close symbiosis with institutions of the welfare state.[56] This is evident in the case of pedagogy, which was heavily involved in the major school reforms. The research conducted at the university institutions was largely financed by state commissions and authorities, while a large majority of the students were prospective teachers, many taking the compulsory half-term course for subject teachers. As has been found by many of those

52 Proposition 1964:50, p. 351. "uppfattningen att det föreligger någon markant och konsekvent skillnad mellan de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnena och övriga humanistiska ämnen vare sig i fråga om forskningsmetoder eller forskningsinriktning."

53 Proposition 1964:50. "fullständigt flytande."

54 Proposition 1964:50, p. 357.

55 Ekström, "A Failed Response?," pp. 19–20; Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*, chap. 5; Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization."

56 Wagner, Wittrock and Whitley, *Discourses on Society*.

who have scrutinized the development of the discipline of pedagogy in Sweden, the discipline was strongly influenced by this "instrumental pressure." This led to a strong sense of "operationalism," where theoretical, historical, and self-reflexive knowledge development was given very little space.[57]

Conclusion

The boundaries between the humanities and other disciplines is a historically changing one. Many disciplines have emerged out of the humanities, and the demarcation between the humanities and the sciences has not always been as clear as it is today.[58] The case of pedagogy shares many of the features of this general process. The faculty of philosophy, with its roots stretching back to the medieval four faculties comprising the seven *artes liberales,* included all disciplines that were seen as freely theoretical, irrespective of their object of knowledge being nature or human life. As educating teachers for secondary/grammar schools was a main task for the faculty, pedagogy had a practical role in relation to all disciplines within the faculty. The disciplinary career of pedagogy constitutes an example of the dissociation of disciplines from the field of the humanities. It has equivalents in the trajectory of, for example, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics. One factor that distinguishes pedagogy from the above mentioned disciplines, is that it has been connected to the potential mass-market that is teacher education.

The story we have told is one in which pedagogy established itself as a distinct discipline in two stages: first a separation from philosophy, then a separation from psychology. The first separation can be understood as an initial step away from the humanities, and it had to do with finding a different scientific base than philosophy. The second one seems mostly terminological. Although pedagogy was to be formally separated from psychology, it should keep its scientific base in psychology instead of, for example, strengthening its historical parts. Pedagogy thus continued its path away from the humanities as psychology also drifted away through its proponents' efforts to make it a behavioral or social science by emphasizing

57 Wallin, "Samhällsvetenskapernas disciplinära självförståelse," p. 12. See also Dahllöf, "Det svenska pedagogikämnets identitet," pp. 82–83; Edfeldt, "Pedagogik i Stockholm," pp. 204–205; Härnqvist, "Educational Research," pp. 254–256.

58 Krämer, "Shifting Demarcations."

its experimental and operationalist strands. The unwillingness of the humanities to engage in vocational aspects of teacher training seems to have contributed to the development of a separate organization for teacher education. As a result of these interrelated processes, the humanities ended up outside of and seemingly irrelevant to the huge expansion of the welfare state school system. As it seems, the humanities in Sweden still have to struggle with this legacy.

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About the Authors

Joakim Landahl is professor of Education at Stockholm University where he leads the research group "History of Education and Sociology of Education." Currently he works in two projects on the history of educational research and one project on the history of the pupil movement. His latest book is *Moderna pedagogiska utopier* (Södertörns högskola, 2021, co-edited with Anders Burman and Daniel Lövheim).
Contact: joakim.landahl@edu.su.se

Anna Larsson is professor of History of Science and Ideas at Umeå University where she leads the research group "History and Education." Her main research interests concern history of education and history of the social sciences. Currently, she leads the projects "Swedish Pedagogy: A Contested Discipline in Historical Perspective" and "Controversial Issues in Social Studies Education."
Contact: anna.larsson@umu.se

5 Contested Classicism

Reconciling Classical Studies in Twentieth-Century Sweden

Johannes Siapkas

Abstract
This chapter elaborates the contested position of Classical studies in twentieth-century Sweden through two case studies. The first case study is the classicism of Erik Hedén, a leading social democrat. In order to reconcile classicism with his political ideology, Hedén distinguished between classicism and the conservative connotations of classicism. Classicism is often associated with conservative sentiments. In post-war Sweden, this was coupled with a wider resentment against the humanities. The renaming of several academic disciplines in Sweden around 1970 was an attempt to come to terms with this setting. I suggest, in the second case study, that the change of the official Swedish name for the academic discipline Classical archaeology and ancient history aimed to reconcile classicism.

Keywords: classical studies, social democracy, conservatism, educational politics, Sweden, humanities

Introduction

The relations between classical studies and social democracy are often viewed as strained. According to this kind of reasoning the Swedish Social Democratic Party adheres to a view on higher education which emphasizes the functional and practical sides of education, subordinating knowledge production to the agenda of social engineering, which was prioritized in the welfare state of the twentieth century. Within this educational policy regime, classical studies and classicism were associated with outdated

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ideals of *Bildung* and self-promotion and viewed to have little direct value to the needs of the society. However, neither political ideologies nor academic disciplines are monolithic. There are disagreements within social democracy as well as in classical studies. Furthermore, being part of the same society, it is only reasonable to expect some interaction between them. This chapter aims to elaborate the interaction between social democracy and classical studies in twentieth-century Sweden through two encounters.

The first case study takes its cue from the works of Erik Hedén (1875–1925), a social democrat with a PhD in Classical archaeology and ancient history. In particular I will address Hedén's articles concerning classical matters. His views on classical antiquity are important since they illustrate an interaction between social democratic ideology and classicism. However, Hedén was not the only classicist with a socialist political persuasion. On an international level several prominent classicists were influenced by socialist ideas during the first half of the twentieth century. In order to situate Hedén's view on classical antiquity I will compare his views with the work of other socialist classicists.

The second case study centers on Swedish education politics, in particular after the Second World War. Recent studies have analyzed the history and politics of the humanities in Sweden during the twentieth century. Building on these studies, I will address how the awkward position of classical studies in post-war Sweden was reconciled. In particular I will situate the renaming of the Swedish academic discipline *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia* [Classical archaeology and ancient history] to *Antikens kultur och samhällsliv* [Ancient culture and societal life] within the context of Swedish education policy.[1] I tentatively suggest that the renaming should be regarded as an attempt to reconcile classicism in post-war Sweden.

A Conservative Big Tradition

Let me, however, begin with a brief sketch of the ideological foundations of classical studies.[2]

1 I have aimed to give literal English translations of the Swedish terms in the parentheses throughout this article. All translations of terms and quotes are mine.

2 I use "classical studies" to denote studies of classical antiquity in general, internationally and/or in Sweden. When it is used for Swedish classical studies it denotes also studies of classical antiquity outside the academic discipline "Classical archaeology and ancient history," such as and mainly "Classical philology."

Classical studies are often, and for good reasons, perceived to have conservative connotations. Classicism is frequently employed in ideologies and discourses which aim to preserve social, cultural, or political conditions. The classical is associated with the traditional and viewed to signal elitism.[3] That is, classicism is associated primarily with exemplary high culture and contrasted to popular culture.[4]

The conservative sentiments of classical studies have been articulated in several ways. Numerous prominent classicists have expressed conservative political views and served as political representatives for conservative parties. The conservatism of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendoerf, probably the leading classicist in Germany during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, is well known.[5] Furthermore, the political profile of German classical studies during the early twentieth century has been characterized as "staunchly conservative."[6] The political profile of classical studies in other nations has been similar. In late nineteenth-century France, the leading classicist and historian Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges supported the nationalist and ultra-conservative *Action Française*.[7] Likewise, the Swedish classicist Vilhelm Lundström was a member of the parliament representing the Swedish Conservative Party in 1912–1914.[8]

Conservatism has also influenced how classical antiquity has been studied. Mainstream classical studies, often denoted as the "big tradition," continues to sustain practices and models which promote the study of exemplary features of classical antiquity.[9] This reflects the history of classical studies. Modern academic classical studies date to the early nineteenth century. *Altertumswissenschaft*, mediating the ideals of neo-humanism, did in many ways symbolize Wilhelm von Humboldt's reforms of the university in Berlin. Classical studies, at the time with an emphasis on philology,

3 E.g., Arthurs, *Excavating Modernity*, p. 81; Bloxham, *Ancient Greece*; Budelmann and Haubold, "Reception and Tradition," p. 14.

4 The distinction between high and popular culture has been increasingly blurred during the last 50 years or so, but it was crucial during the twentieth century. Moreover, the tensions between the notion of culture in Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, and in Tylor, *Primitive Culture* were cemented in classical studies, see Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 1, pp. 144–146.

5 Hardtwig, "The Prussian Academy"; Norton, "Wilamowitz at War"; Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 2, pp. 228–230.

6 Losemann, "Classics in the Second," p. 306.

7 Hartog, *Le XIX^e siècle*; Wilson, "Fustel de Coulanges".

8 Blennow and Whitling, "Italian Dreams," p. 144.

9 This is a well-known trope by now, see Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 1; Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 2; and below.

flourished during the nineteenth century. Furthermore, classical philology spearheaded the methodological development of the humanities during the early nineteenth century.[10] Classical studies were therefore often viewed as the very symbol of the humanities and classicism was equated with *Bildung*, also in Sweden.[11]

It was, however, only in the late nineteenth century that archaeology became established as a research field in classical studies. Archaeological excavations, in a pre-professional antiquarian sense, have been conducted since circa 1500. Pre-professional expeditions peaked between the 1770s and the 1820s when antiquaries from the European aristocracy conducted excavations to collect classical antiquities. During the 1870s archaeological excavations developed rapidly both in quantity and quality. The number of archaeological excavations in the Mediterranean area increased dramatically, and new methods, such as archaeological stratigraphy, became widely implemented in these projects. This contributed to the transformation of classical studies, which from now on also incorporated a strong archaeological research field.[12]

In 1890, Theodor Mommsen coined *Grosswissenschaft* in order to characterize the tendency to organize research in large projects which emulate the hierarchical administration of corporations and operate continuously for several decades and even centuries.[13] Several of these projects employ antiquarian methods, and the big tradition is therefore often used also to denominate research that emphasizes empiricism and, more or less, explicitly claims to be objective and un-theoretical.[14] The big tradition signifies a kind of research that is epistemologically belated, at least in comparison to archaeology, history, and other disciplines in the humanities.[15] Proponents of the big tradition tend to cultivate a view which holds science to be unaffected by its settings.

10 Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient*; Marchand, *Down from Olympus*; Östling, *Humboldts universitet*.

11 See Hammar, "Klassisk karaktär"; Hammar, "A Conflict Among."

12 Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 1, for details.

13 Klinkhammer, "Grossgrabung und grosse"; Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, pp. 75–91. Large projects include archaeological excavations – often called "big digs" – of sites such as Olympia (1875–), and the collection and publication of ancient materials, e.g., vases in *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (1922–) or inscriptions in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1847–). Most large projects are ongoing.

14 This also indicates the conservative connotations of classical studies. For the association of scholarship claiming to be objective and un-theoretical with conservatism, see e.g., Novick, *That Noble Dream*, pp. 27, 265.

15 See e.g., Dyson, "From New to New Age"; Renfrew, "The Great Tradition"; Shanks, *Classical Archaeology*; Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece*.

The big tradition has also been challenged repeatedly. Already in 1817, the classicist August Boeckh criticized the myopic practices of classical studies.[16] A decade later in 1827 the philosopher Friedrich Hegel also voiced criticism against the minute detailed studies which had become normative in classical studies.[17] Similar criticism has been repeated since then. Another famous example is Friedrich Nietzsche's criticism of mainstream classical studies, and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendoerff's vindication of the big tradition.[18] The debate has continued during the twentieth century.[19]

Classical studies were more uniform until the 1970s than they are today.[20] During the last fifty years or so we have witnessed the proliferation of several new theoretical perspectives which often are viewed as challenging the big tradition. Nevertheless, the big tradition remains strong albeit in co-existence with several other theoretical perspectives.

Classical studies in Sweden do not exhibit any major differences from classical studies in other nations. Classical studies have a strong international profile, classicists interact with each other at the foreign institutes in Rome and Athens, and there is a well-established tradition of international co-operation within the discipline, despite periods of national antagonism. In other words, the epistemology of the big tradition is also dominating Swedish classical studies. However, the history of Swedish classical studies remains to be written and details about, for instance, the impact of other theoretical perspectives are still obscure.[21]

Erik Hedén: A Socialist Classicist

The publications of Erik Hedén shed light on the interaction between classical studies and social democracy in early twentieth-century Sweden. He joined the Swedish Social Democratic Party already in 1905 and was excluded

16 Boeckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, p. xix.

17 Hegel, *Encyklopädie der philosophischen*, pp. 41–42.

18 Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*; Wilamowitz, *Zukunftsphilologie! Zweites*. See also Gründer, *Der Streit um Nietzsches*.

19 See Selden, "Classics and Contemporary," pp. 161–166.

20 Morris, *Archaeology as Cultural*, p. 38.

21 Some aspects of the history of Swedish classical studies have been studied, see e.g., Berg, *Kalaureia 1894*; Frängsmyr, *Uppsala universitet*, pp. 77–88, 133–157; Lindberg, *Humanism och vetenskap*; Whitling, *Western Ways*. Also, articles about the history of classical studies with an anecdotal content are common in the journals *Hellenika, Romhorisont* and *Medusa*.

from it in 1916.[22] Hedén became one of the founders of the Swedish Social Democratic Left Party in 1917. He opposed however fundamental features of the Left party's political program, such as the Marxist notions of a world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and resigned from it in 1919.[23] Hedén is largely forgotten today, but he was a leading social democrat at the time.[24] Hedén is better known for his work as a journalist, cultural critic, and eloquent speaker, than as a classicist.[25]

Hedén explicated his views on education in the article "Klasskamp och bildning" [Class struggle and *Bildung*]. In it he argues that knowledge should be pursued free and independently from ideological constraints. Furthermore, he views historical research to be equally important to social and natural sciences, although the humanities have a different function in Hedén's view. He mentions ancient Greece as an ideal past society where the pursuit of knowledge was independent. This is contrasted to the ideologically constrained sciences in the Soviet Union. Hedén views education to facilitate a happy good life in dignity, and contrasts this to class struggle, which he puts in opposition to *Bildung*.[26] In other words, Hedén was critical against several features in Marxism, and he prioritized independent education when he had to choose between them.

Hedén was already a productive journalist and cultural critic with social democratic engagements, before he began his PhD-studies. His dissertation *Homerische Götterstudien* from 1912 was the first in the academic discipline of Classical archaeology and ancient history in Sweden.[27] This was his only academic publication, and he left the university soon after he had completed his PhD.[28]

Homerische Götterstudien is an analysis of the portrayal of gods by Homer. Hedén's dissertation is a representative study of ancient religion in the context of early twentieth-century classical studies. He employs an evolutionist perspective and argues that the Greek pantheon developed in

22 Levander, "A C Erik Hedén." Hedén was put on trial for treason but was acquitted by the Supreme Court in Sweden. He opposed Germanophile political sentiments and had participated in a congress in March 1916 arguing against the war.

23 Landquist, "Erik Hedén"; Levander, "A C Erik Hedén."

24 Lindberg, "Socialism och klassicism," p. 42.

25 See Fahlgren, *Litteraturkritiker i arbetarrörelsen*; Landquist, "Erik Hedén"; Lindberg, "Socialism och klassicism," pp. 59–61; Martinsson, *Hedéns estetik*.

26 Hedén, "Klasskamp och bildning." See also Hedén, "Bildningsarbetet och personförgudningen."

27 Hedén, *Homerische Götterstudien*.

28 Moreover, Hedén's archive, *Erik och Eva Hedéns efterlämnade papper*, housed by the National Library of Sweden, does not contain any correspondence with other classicists.

several phases.[29] Different gods are associated with different evolutionary stages. Evil chthonic spirits from the underworld like the Erinyes and the Harpies were the initial gods and belong to the deep prehistory of humankind, according to Hedén. He also argues that these gods are common to several peoples. The Olympic and anthropomorphic gods, like Zeus and Hera, were introduced later. The former category was subordinated by the later in classical Greek religion.[30] In other words, Hedén identifies that Homer portrays different categories of gods in different ways. The classical Greek pantheon consists of a mixture of gods originating from different chronologically ordered cultures.

Hedén's detailed interpretation of Homer's works is in line with the research of Sam Wide and Martin P. Nilsson. Wide and Nilsson were appointed as the first two chairs in Classical archaeology and ancient history in Sweden and both were specialists in ancient Greek religion. In addition, both employed evolutionary theories in their research on ancient Greek religion.[31] Evolutionist perspectives were widespread in studies of ancient religion between the 1870s and the 1920s and characterize the works of prominent scholars such as Wilhelm Mannhardt, Hermann Usener, Erwin Rohde, Albert Dieterich, Jane Harrison, and James Frazer.[32] Another feature of the evolutionist perspectives is that rituals are regarded as the essence of religious sentiments while myths are regarded as later etiological narratives which were introduced to explain more or less incomprehensible rituals. These scholars did furthermore emphasize popular mundane low-level rituals instead of large-scale public rituals as the primary domain of religion. This stands in contrast to religious studies in the above-mentioned big tradition.[33] In other words, Hedén's research was in line with a school of thought emphasizing other features than mainstream classical studies.

A major part of Hedén's writings concerns contemporary Swedish literature. I will leave this substantial part of his production aside and restrict my elaboration to Hedén's non-academic articles dealing with classical matters.

29 E.g., Hedén, *Homerische Götterstudien*, pp. 8–10.

30 See Hedén, *Homerische Götterstudien*, pp. 141–144. See Hedén, "J. L. Heiberg som grekisk," pp. 119–121, for a summary of the dissertation. Hedén's view on ancient Greek religion resembles Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study;* Harrison, *Themis: A Study*.

31 Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen*; Nilsson, *Greek Popular*; Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*; Wide, *De Sacris Troezeniorum*; Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*. See also Siapkas, "Classical Primitivism."

32 Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*; Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study*; Harrison, *Themis: A Study*; Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*; Rohde, *Psyche: Seelencult*; Usener, *Götternamen: Versuch*. See Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 1, pp. 153–158

33 See Schlesier, *Kulte, Mythen*, pp. 307–328.

It deserves to be noted that Hedén was primarily interested in the ancient Greek culture and less so in the Roman culture. In addition, he addressed ancient poetry and ancient religion, and to a lesser degree archaeological and art historical topics.

In his non-academic mediation of classical antiquity, Hedén contributes to sustain the big tradition mentioned above, in sharp contrast to the tendency in his dissertation. In his non-academic articles he opts for themes and perspectives associated with the idealization of classical antiquity. He is for instance portraying the Caryatids on Acropolis in Athens according to established conventions, which regard them as exemplary aesthetic representations.[34]

Three more features in Hedén's writings are noteworthy. First, in several articles he identifies "modern" features in classical studies.[35] Hedén never defines what he means by modern, but it has positive connotations for him. For instance, in his review of Martin P. Nilsson's *Olympen*, Hedén presents Nilsson's evolutionist framework as a modern perspective on ancient myths. It is however surprising that Hedén argues against Nilsson's characterization of the Mycenaean culture as Greek.[36] The Mycenaean culture – the Late Bronze Age culture on mainland Greece – was initially regarded as Oriental when it was excavated in the 1870s but redefined as Greek during the 1890s.[37] The Greekness of the Mycenaean culture was initially championed by a group of scholars challenging mainstream classical studies. Hedén would probably have regarded the Greekness of the Mycenaean culture as a feature of modern classics. In this respect, Hedén's understanding of classical studies seems outdated in relation to mainstream classical studies in the 1910s and 1920s.

Second, Hedén opposed the reform of the Swedish school system in 1904, which resulted in the reduction of the weekly teaching hours in the classical languages in the Swedish *gymnasium,* the upper secondary level schools.[38] The reduction of classical languages, which Hedén also perceived as a threat against the humanities in general, was presented as part of a modernization of the educational system of Sweden. His argumentation

34 Hedén, "Jungfrurnas hall."

35 E.g., Hedén, "Recension av Martin"; Hedén, "J. L. Heiberg som grekisk."

36 Hedén, "Recension av Martin," p. 510.

37 See Fotiadis, "Factual Claims"; Siapkas, "Karian Theories"; Voutsaki, "The 'Greekness' of Greek." This issue was not settled until the decipherment of Linear B – a Late Bronze Age syllabic script – in the 1950s.

38 Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningens dödsfara." Also, Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningen i nutidens," p. 482.

for the relevance of classical *Bildung* contains several arguments which articulate the idealization of classical Greece.[39] He also argues for instance that education should focus on the cultivation of the person and not on practical, detailed knowledge.[40]

Third, Hedén championed classicism but he opposed the conservative sentiments often associated with classicism. In 1920, he mentions that social democrats in their majority are sympathetic toward classical studies, naming the leading Swedish social democrats Hjalmar Branting and Bengt Lidforss among them.[41] This is repeated in 1922, but with an interesting terminological shift: "Nobody has the right to regard the broad layers of the Swedish population as hostile toward high culture … The Worker's party has during the new [century] exhibited substantial and perceptive generosity also toward the demands of high culture … Nevertheless, hostile sentiments against classical studies as 'undemocratic' persist among some representatives of the workers."[42] It is noteworthy that Hedén associates classical studies with high culture in this quote. Furthermore, this indicates that Hedén, and presumably other social democrats with similar views, was not opposed to classicism as such, but rather opposed to the conservative sentiments with which classicism often is associated.

Hedén's understanding of socialism and classicism has previously been discussed by the historian of ideas Bo Lindberg. In the article "Socialism och klassicism" [Socialism and classicism], Lindberg characterizes Hedén as a left-wing social democrat with conservative views on culture and idealized views on antiquity.[43] This characterization is valid for Hedén's non-academic writings, but it is at odds with Hedén's academic production. Hedén belonged to the first generation of scholars in the nascent discipline Classical archaeology and ancient history. The emergence of Classical archaeology and ancient history can be viewed as a consequence of the increasing interest in historical issues, *Realphilologie*, among Swedish classical philologists from the 1870s onwards.[44] Since Lindberg ignores both the establishment of

39 Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningens dödsfara," pp. 442–443.

40 Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningens dödsfara," p. 434.

41 Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningen i nutidens," p. 484. Also, Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningens dödsfara," p. 434.

42 Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningens dödsfara," pp. 445–446. "Man har ingen rätt att anse Sveriges breda folklager som fientliga mot den högre kulturen … Arbetarpartiet under det nya [seklet] ha visat stor och klarsynt frikostighet mot även den högre kulturens krav … Emellertid kvarlever nog motviljan mot den klassiska bildningen såsom 'odemokratisk' hos en del arbetarrepresentanter."

43 Lindberg, "Socialism och klassicism," pp. 39–63.

44 Callmer, "Tillkomsten av professurerna."

Classical archaeology and ancient history and Hedén's dissertation, he does not note that Hedén's classicism incorporates a divide between academic and popular classicism. This divide is also evident in Hedén's article "Den klassiska bildningen i nutidens Sverige" [Classical *Bildung* in contemporary Sweden] which consists of an assessment of contemporary Swedish classical studies. Hedén concludes that Swedish classical studies are obsessed with details and that his former colleagues fail to account for the important cultural achievements of the classical cultures.[45] That is, Hedén identifies a divide between specialized academic works and mediations of classical research to the public. He articulates the above-mentioned criticism raised against the big tradition which holds mainstream classical studies to be myopic. Crucially, Hedén's criticism is also valid for his own dissertation *Homerische Götterstudien*. Lindberg however fails to realize the divide between Hedén's academic conceptualization of classical antiquity and his popular non-academic works.[46]

Hedén's bifurcated classicism is not idiosyncratic. I argue that the divide between academic and non-academic mediations of classical antiquity was cemented in Classical archaeology and ancient history already with the foundation of the discipline in the works of Martin P. Nilsson and Sam Wide.[47] It is also evident in the works of several later scholars, for example Arne Furumark.[48] On an epistemological level, this means that Classical archaeology and ancient history incorporated a scientific ideal of objectivity. As Lorraine Daston has elaborated: "In the *techniques* of historical criticism lay the source of historical objectivity … the methods of the historian – and above all the historian's awareness of the limitations of these methods – qualified scientific history as … objective."[49] By following a strict methodology the researcher strove to minimize the effects he/she had on the actual analytical process. This was coupled with a sense of "scientific restraint," meaning that scholars were careful not to push the evidence to far.[50] Specialized academic output was thus reduced to seemingly value-free

45 Hedén, "Den klassiska bildningen i nutidens," p. 485, 494.

46 Lindberg, "Socialism och klassicism," p. 44.

47 Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 1, pp. 170–178.

48 See Siapkas, "Negotiated Positivism."

49 Daston, "Objectivity and Impartiality," p. 32. Emphasis in original.

50 Daston, "Objectivity and Impartiality," pp. 31–32. As mentioned above, archaeology is a dominating field in classical studies, not least in Sweden, and archaeology is influenced to a higher degree by the methods, in particular the field methods, of the natural sciences than other disciplines in the humanities. The notion of objectivity in Classical archaeology and ancient history was also influenced by the "mechanical objectivity" Daston associates with the natural sciences.

objective observations and categorizations, often without any explicit links to the high-end classicism which was mediated in non-academic contexts.

In other words, classical research in Sweden has been highly specialized and formulated by internal concerns. This has shielded research from the shifting public attitudes to classicism. In my view this suggests why Swedish classical research only has been marginally influenced by shifting public attitudes to classicism, changing educational regimes, and reorganizations of academic disciplines.

Socialist Classical Studies in the Western Tradition

The interrelation between classicism and socialism has several facets.[51] Briefly, it deserves to be mentioned that socialist organizations have made use of classicism in order to articulate their ideology.[52] Socialist notions have also been employed in classical studies. An early example that has received scholarly attention is the German ancient historian Robert von Pöhlmann, who applied Marxist historical materialist theory in his studies of ancient history. He used a Marxist framework according to which history evolves in different stages defined by the socio-economic organization of society.[53] A second aspect of Pöhlmann's socialism is that he criticizes ancient historians of idealizing classical antiquity and thus of producing biased accounts.[54] In other words, Pöhlmann, like Hedén, reacted against the above-mentioned big tradition in classical studies. However, in contrast to Hedén, Pöhlmann's socialism explicitly influenced also his academic works. This practice of employing Marxist theory and historical materialism in ancient historical studies was eventually repeated by other classicists, like Pöhlmann's student William Abbott Oldfather.[55] Similarly the German high ranking communist and historian Arthur Rosenberg conducted a study on the class struggle in classical antiquity.[56]

51 The distinction between branches of socialism is of minor importance here. Furthermore, I am not considering classicism in the twentieth-century Communist Bloc.

52 See e.g., Arvidsson, *Morgonrodnad: Socialismens*; Hall and Stead, *A People's History*; Stead and Hall, *Greek and Roman*.

53 Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen*. See Christ, *Von Gibbon zu Rostovtzeff*, pp. 201–247; Näf, *Von Perikles zu Hitler*, pp. 100–103.

54 Pöhlmann, *Aus Altertum und Gegenwart*, pp. 34–55.

55 See Calder, "William Abbott Oldfather."

56 Carsten, "Arthur Rosenberg"; Rosenberg, *Demokratie und Klassenkampf*. See also, Näf, *Von Perikles zu Hitler*, pp. 96–99.

The influence of socialism in classical studies increased gradually during the second half of the twentieth century. Beginning in the late 1960s, Marxist historical materialism was increasingly adopted in classical studies. In addition, several classicists in the western world were accused of being communists and forced into exile during the Cold War.[57] The charges against Moses Finley stand out in this respect, not the least because of the impact of his research in later classical studies.[58] The wider impact of socialism in classical studies in the 1970s can in part be explained by the tendency of the social turn to pursue social everyday issues in antiquity.[59] The impact of socialism on Swedish classical studies has however been limited, and this should in my view be explained by the above-mentioned strong adoption of objectivity as an epistemological ideal and the tendency to separate academic research from non-academic features.

Renaming Classicism

The ideology of Swedish social democracy evolved with time, and the questioning of the relevance of classical studies increased steadily. Negative sentiments toward classical studies seem to have crystallized after the Second World War.[60] A case which illustrates the negotiations of the awkward position of classical studies concerns the change of the official Swedish denomination for Classical archaeology and ancient history in 1970. In Sweden, Classical archaeology and ancient history was established in 1909 with the foundation of two chairs, one at Uppsala University and one at Lund University.[61]

The first attempt to separate archaeological and historical studies of classical antiquity from classical philology in Sweden dates to 1875.[62] This was however stalled for several decades. In the negotiations leading up to

57 See de Baets, *Censorship of Historical*.

58 Finley was a victim of McCarthyism. He was accused, but never convicted, of being a member of the Communist party and therefore fired from Rutgers University. He later became a professor at the University of Cambridge, and a champion of the social turn in classical studies, see e.g., Harris, *Moses Finley and Politics*; Rose, "Moses Finley and Politics."

59 See also e.g., Frank, "Marxism and Ancient"; Konstan, "The Classics and Class"; Rose, *Class in Archaic*.

60 Lindberg, "Socialism och klassicism," pp. 62–63.

61 See Berg, *Kalaureia 1894*, pp. 262–266; Callmer, "Tillkomsten av professurerna," pp. 155–165; Frängsmyr, *Uppsala universitet*, pp. 77–86; Hillbom and Rystedt, *Antikens kultur*, pp. 5–15; Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 1, pp. 15–16.

62 Callmer, "Tillkomsten av professurerna," p. 155.

the foundation of the chairs, the actual name of the discipline was discussed extensively. It was clear beforehand that Sam Wide and Martin P. Nilsson were to be appointed to the chairs and this had an impact on the discussions. Names like *Antikens historia och klassisk fornkunskap* [Ancient history and classical archaeology], *Allmän arkeologi* [General archaeology], and *Religionshistoria* [History of religions] were proposed only to be rejected. Wide used his connections in the ministry and argued successfully, in agreement with Nilsson, for the name *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia* [Classical archaeology and ancient history]. The actual order of the wording was regarded as significant, and it was agreed that it reflected the actual content of the new discipline, that is, an archaeological discipline including historical studies. *Religionshistoria* had been suggested because both Wide's and Nilsson's area of specialization was ancient Greek religion.[63] This was also the field of Hedén's research, and this field has furthermore received wide attention in Swedish Classical archaeology and ancient history since then.

The foundation of *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia* occurred during a period when the humanities in Sweden expanded. Several academic disciplines were founded or redefined by way of the establishment or renaming of professorial chairs during the early twentieth century. Research during the period from circa 1900 to the 1960s was characterized by the emphasis on specialization, empiricism, source criticism, notions of research objectivity, and the ideal of the autonomy of the universities.[64] In other words, the establishment, expansion, and consolidation of classical studies in the early twentieth century should be understood as part of a wider development encompassing Swedish humanities on a more general level, reflecting a strong notion of positivism.

In 1970, *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia* was renamed *Antikens kultur och samhällsliv* [Ancient culture and societal life].[65] This renaming was accepted in the sense that the official denomination of the discipline was changed at the four Swedish universities in which it is still represented. Furthermore, according to a narrative – cultivated internally among Swedish classicists – the reason for the renaming was that the Ministry of Education was planning to defund the discipline. This was perceived as a concrete

63 Callmer, "Tillkomsten av professurerna," pp. 162–165.

64 See Ahlund and Landgren, *Från etableringsfas till konsolidering*, pp. 31-38; Åman, "Före och efter 1970"; Gustavsson, "Litteraturteorins expansion," pp. 467–478; Odén, *Forskarutbildningens förändringar*, pp. 63–92.

65 Brunnsåker, "Classical Archaeology," p. 19.

threat to the continued existence of the discipline. Renaming as a solution was suggested by Sture Brunnsåker, who was appointed as chair in Uppsala in 1970. He made the ingenious proposal that *samhällsliv* should be part of the name since its connotations were in line with the spirit of the time.[66]

The internal classicist narrative should however not be taken at face value. The new name was mentioned in Swedish newspapers already in October 1968 when the Swedish Higher Education Authority [*Universitetskanslersämbetet*, UKÄ] announced that the chairs in *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia* at Uppsala University and the University of Gothenburg, which were going to be replaced in the following year, would be renamed to *Antikens kultur och samhällsliv*.[67] Brunnsåker's influence in this matter was thus possibly exaggerated in the aforementioned narrative. It seems instead that the renaming was a slow process initiated by UKÄ.[68] This would mirror the process of renaming other humanities disciplines at the same time. The renaming of Art history was, for instance, accepted without any debate.[69] In contrast, the name *Antikens kultur och samhällsliv* was contested.[70] Today, it remains contested, and a possible new renaming is occasionally discussed at recurring national conferences.[71]

It was in particular the initial word of the old name, *klassisk*, which was regarded as a liability. Classicism and classical studies are often viewed as a symbol of the humanities, and there was an anxiety that classical studies would be made to bear the brunt of potential economic reductions.[72] Nevertheless, opting for *Antikens kultur och samhällsliv* does not follow naturally from the decision to abandon *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia*. Alternatives such as *Antikvetenskap* [Ancient studies] or *Medelhavsarkeologi* [Mediterranean archaeology] might seem closer at hand.[73] *Samhällsliv* is an unusual Swedish word that denotes "public life,"

66 Furumark, "Arkeologi och historia," pp. 4–5. See also Scheffer, "Studying Classical," p. 199.

67 E.g., N.N., "Klassisk fornkunskap"; Wik-Thorsell, "Faran över."

68 The renaming is mentioned in "UKÄ PM angående de klassiska ämnena vid universiteten," dated to May 28, 1968. See also Lindberg and Nilsson, *Göteborgs universitets*, p. 164.

69 Åman, "Före och efter 1970," pp. 208–209.

70 Lindberg and Nilsson, *Göteborgs universitets*, p. 110.

71 E.g., Scheffer, "Studying Classical," p. 199; Widell, "Här fırar jämställdheten." See Siapkas, *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap* 1, pp. 15–16. E.g., at the national conference arranged in Stockholm 2017.

72 See Hillbom and Rystedt, *Antikens kultur*, p. 104; Lindberg and Nilsson, *Göteborgs universitets*, p. 110; Scheffer, "Studying Classical," p. 199. Classical studies, together with Greek and Latin, were commonly referred to as "lyxämnen" [luxury disciplines] or "exklusiva ämnen" [exclusive disciplines] in several newspapers at the time, see e.g., Nyblom, "Studentprotest till UKÄ."

73 *Antikvetenskap* is the term used by The Swedish Research Council.

as a contrast to "private life." However, the renaming was not associated with the introduction of the theoretical social turn in Classical archaeology and ancient history. The social turn, which emphasizes the mundane and private life as historiographical themes and has been clearly influenced by logical positivism, was not introduced in Classical archaeology and ancient history until the 1980s.[74] I propose that the renaming instead articulates a negotiation. *Samhällsliv*, with its resemblance to the term *samhällsvetenskap* [social sciences], was adopted in order to reconcile classical studies with the widespread resentment of the humanities and classicism.

The renaming of Classical archaeology and ancient history complies with Swedish educational politics on two levels. On one level, a number of academic disciplines in Sweden were, as stated, renamed around 1970. Several of them would then include *vetenskap* [science] in their name. For example, *konsthistoria* [Art history] became *konstvetenskap,* and *litteraturhistoria med poetik* [Literary history with poetics] became *litteraturvetenskap*.[75] The renaming of literature studies was associated with a debate about the nature of the discipline, and the use of *vetenskap* reflected the growing impact of the social turn.[76] The abovementioned *Antikvetenskap* would thus comply with a wider development in the humanities at the time.

On a second level, the renaming of Classical archaeology and ancient history in 1970 can be regarded as an attempt to come to terms with widespread negative sentiments against the humanities during the post-war period in Sweden. Anders Ekström, Sverker Sörlin, and Hampus Östh Gustafsson have elaborated the redefinition of higher education in the welfare state.[77] The welfare state invested much more in higher education, and the number of students in the Swedish universities increased during the 1950s and 1960s. As an effect, higher education became accessible also to students from social groups previously excluded from the universities. This democratization of higher education was coupled with the adoption of a policy emphasizing the democratic and economic usefulness of higher education. Within this

74 Siapkas, "Negotiated Positivism," pp. 7–11, for logical positivism. See e.g., Linders, "Nya trender i antikforskningen"; Nordquist, *A Middle Helladic*, for the introduction of the social turn in Swedish Classical archaeology and ancient history.

75 Ahlund and Landgren, *Från etableringsfas till konsolidering*, pp. 31–38; Åman, "Före och efter 1970"; Lindberg and Nilsson, *Göteborgs universitets*, pp. 107–108; Odén, *Forskarutbildningens förändringar*, pp. 63–92.

76 Aspelin, *Textens dimensioner*; Gustavsson, "Litteraturteorins expansion," pp. 467–478; Tideström, "Termen litteraturvetenskap."

77 Ekström, "A Failed Response"; Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*; Östh Gustafsson, "Elfenbenstornet under belägring"; Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization."

regime the humanities were regarded as a social problem. The humanities in general, and often classical studies in particular, were associated with outdated ideals of *Bildung*.[78] The contribution of the humanities to the advancement of the welfare state was thus questioned. This was coupled with the notion that the humanities educated too many students with little value on the job market. The negative sentiments against the humanities were further propelled by the administrative separation of the humanities and the social sciences in Swedish universities in 1964.[79] This facilitated an educational policy regime premiering the social sciences, since they were perceived to contribute to the advancement of the welfare state. The humanities on the other hand were contested and became increasingly involved in struggles over legitimacy.[80]

The challenging conditions for the humanities in post-war Sweden should however not be equated with an elaborated social democratic ideological view. There were different opinions regarding research within Swedish social democracy, and the implemented educational policy regime was negotiated by several parties and academic organizations.[81] In other words, the social democrats may have been the leading part in the negotiations, but in the end the politics reflected wide-spread sentiments present in settings well beyond the leading political party. The renaming of *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia* to *Antikens kultur och samhällsliv* should be viewed as an attempt to reconcile the awkward position of classicism in the context of an educational policy regime valuing research by its perceived contribution to the advancement of society.

Conclusions

By way of conclusion, then, classical studies and classicism are often associated with conservative sentiments. Viewed from the outside, classical studies may appear as a uniform and mainly conservative discipline. However, if we adopt an internal perspective, we can identify several, in part opposing, fields in classical studies. This facilitates an understanding of the history and organization of Swedish classical studies during the twentieth century.

78 See Lindberg, "Socialism och klassicism," pp. 39–40.

79 Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization," p. 360.

80 Ekström, "A Failed Response," p. 11.

81 Nybom, *Kunskap politik*, pp. 117–121. See also Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, pp. 44–45.

Erik Hedén was politically active as a social democrat before he pursued his PhD in Classical archaeology and ancient history. However, in contrast to other socialist classicists he did not employ socialist ideas in his research on classical antiquity. Furthermore, in his research Hedén adopted a theoretical perspective which challenged the big tradition of mainstream conservative classical studies. In contrast, Hedén contributes to the idealization of classical antiquity in his non-academic works about classical antiquity. But, then again, for Hedén classicism was an educational ideal which could be reconciled with socialism, and he opposed the conservative sentiments with which classicism often is associated. Hedén's work illustrates how social democracy before the Second World War resolved the conservatism of classicism.

In the postwar period, however, the humanities were questioned with the crystallization of a new educational policy regime. In this, higher education and research were increasingly valued by their perceived contribution to the advancement of the welfare state. The humanities, and in particular classical studies, were regarded as a problem in this context. Classical studies struggled to justify their continuing existence. It is against this background that the renaming of *Klassisk fornkunskap och antikens historia* to *Antikens kultur och samhällsliv* in 1970 should be viewed. Several academic disciplines in Sweden were renamed around 1970, and a common construction was to adopt a name ending with *vetenskap*. The new name given to Classical archaeology and ancient history stands out since it includes the unusual *samhällsliv*. I tentatively suggest that the renaming of Classical archaeology and ancient history does not reflect an epistemological rejuvenation but should rather be regarded as an attempt to reconcile the questioned position of classical studies. Furthermore, it seems that while external intellectual currents affected the organization of the humanities at large, they had a limited impact on the actual research conducted in Classical archaeology and ancient history.

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About the Author

Johannes Siapkas, PhD, associate professor. Researcher in Classical archaeology and ancient history, Stockholm University. Siapkas has published extensively on a wide variety of matters relating to the epistemology and historiography of classical studies. See https://johannes.siapkas.se/publikationer for an updated list of publications. He is currently working on the book series *Antikvetenskapens Teoretiska Landskap*.
Contact: johannes@siapkas.se

Places of the Humanities in the Postwar World

6 Gadfly or Guide of Souls?

The Challenge of Democracy to the Twentieth-Century Humanities

Hampus Östh Gustafsson

Abstract
The idea that the humanities serve an essential function for democracy has become one of the most influential claims for their value to society. However, in the twentieth-century Swedish welfare state, the humanities struggled to secure democratic legitimacy as they were excluded from the main strands of politics of knowledge. A younger generation eventually embraced this experience of marginalization and strove to mobilize knowledge in the humanities in novel ways. They thus paved the way for a new strategy of legitimization based on a relationship to democracy that depicted humanities scholars as rebels in line with the popular "gadfly" claim of current debates – in contrast to how they, traditionally, were regarded as a "guide of souls," instructing people from "above."

Keywords: humanities, democracy, strategy of legitimization, gadfly, guide of souls, welfare state

Introduction: Nuancing the Democracy Claim

In one sense, academic knowledge is inherently selective, coming across as elitist and anti-egalitarian. Scholarship and democracy seem to follow different logics, but at the same time, universities are repeatedly framed as a necessary foundation for a well-functioning democratic society. This complex and potentially strained relationship between academia (or meritocracy in general) and democracy appears to be particularly pressing for the

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humanities.[1] Yet, the idea that the humanities are essential to democracy has become widely popular in recent decades, frequently surfacing in academic debate as well as in daily newspapers, radio talks, podcasts, and social media.

This claim has gained ground thanks to American philosopher Martha C. Nussbaum's *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (2010). Referring to the *Apology of Socrates* and the philosopher's well-known comparison of himself to a "gadfly, given to the democracy by the gods" (a democracy defined as "a large, noble horse who is sluggish in its motions, and requires to be stung into life"),[2] Nussbaum suggests that the function of keeping democracy alert by acting in an uncomfortable way (linked to the modern critical role of intellectuals) should be seen as characteristic to the humanities. Her case in point is American liberal education, where the idea of a democratic predisposition of humanistic scholarship seems particularly rooted.[3] But the democracy claim has migrated. What happens, then, when the claim circulates and is applied in new contexts?

Obviously, the meaning of both terms, democracy and the humanities, have varied historically and taken on different shapes in specific geographical contexts. The democratic project fostered in the twentieth-cenutry welfare state of Sweden was undoubtedly different from the American version that Nussbaum has in mind. Applications of the democracy claim in other contexts therefore need to be conducted with great caution. As I will show, it was far from easy for the humanities to adopt to the new democratic order of twentieth-century Sweden, as the principal ideals and visions of this welfare state prioritized other forms of knowledge. Thus, the intellectual ideal of the Socratic gadfly should not, without further reflection, be taken for granted as a strategy of legitimization for the humanities. Further historical – and geographical – sensitivity is required in order make the claim effective in ongoing discussions on the impact and value of the humanities.[4]

Accordingly, Nussbaum's claim has already been the object of critique. There are, for instance, good reasons to ask whether the humanities actually have a more evident connection to a meritocratic social system.[5] Literary historian Helen Small emphasizes that the gadfly hardly should be regarded as an exclusive role for the humanities since Socrates himself obviously did

1 Brown, *Science in Democracy*, p. 16; Collini, *Speaking of Universities*, p. 27; Kitcher, *Science in a Democratic*, p. 20; Mandler, *The Crisis of the Meritocracy*; Stabile, "Another Brick," p. 120.

2 Quoted in Nussbaum, *Not for Profit*, p. 47.

3 See Neem, "Liberal Education," pp. 401–422. Nussbaum is far from alone in emphasizing the democratic value of the humanities in the US. See e.g., Butler, "Ordinary, Incredulous," p. 16.

4 Cf. Bod, *A New History*, p. 354.

5 See Neem, *Democracy's Schools*, p. 26, 29.

not have modern disciplinary formations in mind.[6] There are thus good reasons to problematize the present inflation of claims pointing to the democratic function of the humanities. While Nussbaum does not frame this function as a description of the actual history of the humanities, there are other examples of debaters who blur the boundary between historical-descriptive and normative claims and simply assume that the humanities have been legitimized through a democratic role in the past.[7] Here, I will nuance this assertion – not least with regard to the fact that it took a long time for universities in general to undergo a thorough democratization. Looking at history, it is evident that the humanities and democracy did not always walk hand in hand, nor perform the gadfly–horse relationship that I wish to historicize. By drawing on empirical case studies from twentieth-century Sweden, I will thus reconsider how conceptions of the societal impact of the humanities shifted over time.[8]

The Humanities in a Democratic Society

Needless to say, much is already known regarding past frictions between the humanities and democracy in some national cases, Nazi Germany being the prime example.[9] By looking at a context where democracy flourished and became an integral part of the political project from the interwar period

6 Small, *Value of the Humanities*, 129–130, 137. See also Spencer, "Democratic Citizenship," p. 398, and cf., Bertram, "Defending the Humanities," pp. 26–51; Burman, "Martha Nussbaum," p. 76; Collini, *What Are Universities For?*, p. 98; Karavanta, "The Right to University," p. 51. While the most crucial part of the criticism focuses on this exclusive aspect of the democracy claim, it has also been noted that Nussbaum's translation of Plato's text is problematic. When Socrates presents the gadfly metaphor, he does it in relation to *polis*. Nussbaum substitutes this, as we previously saw, with another Greek term, namely democracy. Here, it should also be mentioned that the gadfly (μύωψ) that Socrates compares himself to has also been interpreted as "spur." See Marshall, "Gadfly or Spur?," pp. 163–174; and also Alexander, "Public Intellectuals," p. 20, who discusses the Socrates-centered intellectual myth of the polis as a "regulating idea" and as constituting the heart of a specific "republican" tradition.

7 See e.g., the very foreword of Nussbaum's book: O'Brien, "Foreword," p. ix.

8 The empirical findings are partly based on my previous research. See Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*.

9 See Bialas and Rabinbach, eds., *Nazi Germany*; Hausmann, *'Deutsche Geisteswissenschaft'*; Hausmann, *Die Geisteswissenschaften im 'Dritten Reich'*. In Germany, the humanities were typically associated with reactionary and anti-democratic ideology, and humanities scholars were often regarded as representatives of nationalism and antisemitism. See Eckel, *Geist der Zeit*, pp. 37, 53–54; Hamann, *Die Bildung der Geisteswissenschaften*, pp. 132–133; Ringer, *The Decline of the German*.

onward, my investigations display more counterintuitive findings. I claim that the weakened legitimacy of the humanities in twentieth-century Sweden should be explained with reference to their struggle to adapt to the new political conditions. The democratic welfare state fostered a particularly strong egalitarian ethos, established through subsequent educational reforms, and was subjected to overarching ideals of rational planning and efficiency. Since the Social Democratic Party formed governments for more than four consecutive decades, one could expect the humanities to have flourished as the relative weakening of social democracy, along with the rise of neo-liberalism, is often invoked to explain the (although disputed) marginalization of the humanities.[10] An alternative standard account has blamed the 1968 movement (or the rise of the new left) and post-modernism. Here, I go beyond these polarized narratives by highlighting marginalizing mechanisms that occurred at an early stage, starting from the 1930s. The Swedish case demonstrates that as the process of democratization and welfare reforms intensified, the humanities lost a number of influential connections to other parts of society.

During the interwar period, the Swedish humanities were primarily associated with an aristocratic society whose learned ideals were carried by nineteenth-century notions of *Bildung* (or *bildning* in Swedish). The curricula of the humanities was generally associated with the interests of the cultural and social upper classes (a critique common among the modernistic avantgarde) in contrast to science and technology, which were seen as reflecting values connected to democracy, industrialism, and rationalism.[11] Furthermore, the close connections to nationalist ideology were seen as a political burden (or "baggage") that the humanities were struggling to get rid of.[12] Consequently, it was not evident how the humanities should be adapted to the recently introduced political democracy, at least not in contrast to other branches of knowledge, including the increasingly autonomous social sciences. Such "progressive" knowledge was embraced by a segment of actors labeled "reform technocrats," who played a decisive part in outlining the expansion of the welfare sector.[13] As the envisioned "modern" society required new types of knowledge and new ways of organizing existing scholarship, the humanities were not seen as the primary response to democracy's challenges. The democratic expansion was rather a

10 Cf. e.g., Benneworth, Gulbrandsen and Hazelkorn, *The Impact and Future*, pp. 10, 123–125.

11 Hansson, *Humanismens kris*, pp. 76, 159–161, 170.

12 This was part of a common pattern, visible in many other national contexts as well. See Christinidis and Ellis, "Introduction," p. 2.

13 Lundin and Stenlås, "The Reform Technocrats," pp. 135–146.

problem for the humanities as this fundamental shift implied a new contract between intellectuals and society.

The formation of the Swedish welfare state has received widespread attention as an illustrative example of a progressive "social democratic" welfare regime based on universal principles. Contemporary actors, already, constructed a narrative based on a Nordic regional uniqueness. Such notions of exceptionalism were particularly strong in the Swedish case, which saw a specific kind of progressive and rational modernism fuel the political self-conception. In this context, the Social Democrats formed a government in 1932 and then maintained political power until 1976. Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson famously expressed the visions of his party when he adopted the metaphor of "The People's Home" [Folkhemmet], implying an inclusive and integrative democratic project founded on a principle of universal equality. Social Democracy gained a broad popular support and Hansson's metaphor contributed to the safe-guarding of democracy in Sweden at a time when it was threatened by totalitarian ideologies.[14] In the eyes of leading social democratic visionaries, the right to vote in general elections, passed in 1921, was only seen as a first step in a full democratization of society that should also take economic and social equality into account.[15]

In order to fulfil the main political visions of the welfare state, democratic values needed to be strengthened and incorporated into the school system, and also into higher education. Hitherto, higher education had to a large extent been interpreted as a private concern since most students came from families able to finance their studies independently. However, increasing enrollment in the interwar period, parallel to the ongoing democratization and growing demands of equality, rendered higher education more into a public concern. Simultaneously, the traditional autonomy of universities was eroded as they were included in a new type of aggregated governmental rational planning, eventually including research (at least from the 1940s). The swelling investments into this new mobilization of knowledge required justification to the "public" (an essentially contested concept regularly invoked in the discourse of knowledge politics). Here, it seemed difficult to discern the distinct contribution of the humanities to the expanding welfare project. Representatives of these subjects had to emancipate themselves from

14 Christiansen and Markkola, "Introduction," pp. 12–13, 18; Elzinga, Jamison and Mithander, "Swedish Grandeur," p. 136; Kurunmäki and Strang, "Introduction," p. 10; Musial, *Roots of the Scandinavian*, pp. 9–10, 14–15, 31, 204, 227, 233. See also Edling, "The Languages of Welfare," pp. 76–136.

15 See e.g., Friberg, "Democracy in the Plural?," pp. 20–21; Friberg, "Towards Total."

nostalgic connotations, formulate new claims for their value in connection to the political visions of the future, and, as stated, demonstrate how they could cultivate a vigorous relationship to democracy.

In the following, I approach the attempts to develop new strategies of legitimization in the humanities by isolating (in an ideal-typical fashion) three metaphors employed in debates from the 1930s to the 1970s. I argue that the democratic adaption implied a transformation of the self-identity of the humanities from the elevated *guide of souls* to the critical *gadfly*. In between, the humanities seemed stuck in a marginal position, being described as nothing but flowery ornaments – or *orchids* – of "the people's home." This shifting use of metaphors represents a rupture in the way the humanities were legitimized, as it forced scholars to reformulate their societal function from a vertical to a horizontal conception.

A Lost Guide of Souls

With no doubt, the humanities occupied stable positions in early twentieth-century Sweden. Historians, linguists, and philosophers were frequent and influential participants in national politics. One notable example is the history professor Nils Edén, who served as Prime Minister at the end of the First World War, leading a liberal government. Furthermore, the Social Democratic Minister for Finance from the 1920s to the 1940s, Ernst Wigforss (a leading ideologue of the party), held a PhD in Scandinavian languages. After the Second World War, humanities scholars were prominent at least within the Liberal Party, although absent in the Social Democratic governments as this party saw a distinct generational shift. The pieces of the game board of knowledge politics were clearly rearranged during the mid-twentieth century. The humanities thus lost their firm positions at the political center, something that triggered sentiments of alienation.

Even if this was a very gradual and complex process of marginalization, taking place over several decades, it is important to add that the experience of the Second World War created incentives for a new and more thorough national mobilization and planning of research, as well as a shift regarding the general intellectual orientation from Germany to the Anglo-American liberal democracy.[16] As it differed among Scandinavian countries, the narratives and moral lessons of the war experience also had varying consequences

16 See e.g., Elzinga, "Universities, Research," p. 208; Lundin and Stenlås, "Technology, State," p. 10; Thue, *In Quest of a Democratic*.

for the humanities. Most importantly, Norway and Denmark were occupied while Sweden officially remained neutral and stayed out of the war.[17] It has been noted that the humanities have done relatively well in countries that were occupied in modern times. Here, one could also mention as diverse examples as Ireland and South Korea.[18] In these cases, the humanities could continue to base their legitimacy claims on a solid nationalist foundation, as part of a progressive national project that was never really questioned – this in contrast to the self-examination that followed in Sweden, where nationalism, at least from a cultural point of view, was rejected as a reactionary force.

In the Swedish context, several humanities scholars, with their well-established connections to German academia, were seen as unreliable. Their intellectual treason made them appear inappropriate partners for a progressive political project focused on democracy, and the German tradition of *Bildung* was discursively transformed into a past that the "modern" welfare project attempted to distance itself from – a particular form of twentieth-century Swedish modernism was persistently contrasted to the irrationalism and nationalism profound among the continental Axis powers.[19] In contrast to the humanities, subjects such as the social sciences, clearly oriented toward the victorious West, climbed in the intellectual hierarchy.

Does this mean that the humanities were hostile to democracy? After the war, democracy was established as a new super ideology and functioned as a keyword in the numerous debates on research and higher education as these areas turned into prioritized parts of the public sector. But already during the 1930s and 40s, not least in connection to anti-totalitarian activism, intellectuals were urged to leave their so-called "ivory towers."[20] Knowledge in the humanities was then mobilized in support of democracy and for safeguarding the free, open society. These initiatives, however, typically implied a specific relationship to democracy that I term "center-vertical." Let me give an example from the highest political level.

The Social Democratic Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the 1930s, Arthur Engberg, who trained in philosophy at Uppsala University, has been referred to as "the last Swedish humanist."[21] It may seem a paradox that

17 Although this is a controversial topic since the Swedish government was accused of making too many concessions to Germany. See e.g., Johansson, "Neutrality and Modernity," pp. 163–185.

18 Benneworth, Gulbrandsen and Hazelkorn, *Impact and Future*, p. 105; Larsen, *'ikke af brød alene…'*, pp. 59–63; Nussbaum, *Not for Profit*, pp. 151–152.

19 Cf. Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*, pp. 104, 124.

20 Merton, "The Normative Structure," pp. 267–268. See also Shapin, "The Ivory Tower," pp. 1–27.

21 Gustavsson, "Socialism och bildning," p. 151. In Swedish, the term "humanist" may refer both to a person adhering to the ideology of humanism and to a scholar in the humanities.

this minister, responsible for educational policy, was indeed a guardian of traditional values of scholarship at a time when the new progressive project was launched. But the point is exactly that: Engberg represented a declining political culture of knowledge. He stood out among the Social Democrats and was accordingly blamed by fellow politicians for being too aristocratic, thus not living up to the equality ideals of the labor movement.[22] When Engberg defended the humanities, he reflected upon their role in the democratic "mass society." The democratic link he had in mind was predominantly described in vertical terms. For instance, in the 1938 pamphlet *Demokratisk kulturpolitik* [Democratic cultural policy] Engberg, in an oft-quoted passage, stressed the importance of giving all citizens the opportunity to take part of "the moral treasures" and "irreplaceable values" that were cultivated by the humanities, the premise being that people "want to be *assisted* and emancipated from the dull everyday life. The artwork, the book, the creations of the theater stage, the musical notes and the eternal messages fill out, give meaning to and *elevate* their lives" [my italics].[23] This was about elevating democratic citizens with the humanities working as the lever; these forms of knowledge were needed in order to aid the (passive) people in reaching a higher moral ground, and humanities scholars were expected to take on the role of guiding a larger, primarily national, collective. As the publisher Johan Hansson, very active in the intellectual mobilization of the 1930s and 40s, put it: society called for "trainers and guides of souls."[24] The knowledge produced in the humanities was accordingly taken to have a special value in providing the people with solid worldviews and compasses for moral orientation in these years of turmoil.

Even if there was a marked difference between the conception of this guide of souls and the eventual gadfly role, there were also similarities. Both were connected to aspects of value and ideology, and the idea that higher education should develop autonomous individual citizens certainly did not emerge only with the radical currents of the late 1960s. Earlier examples of the humanities being depicted as important for democracy surfaced in earlier debates, but the character of such claims shifted over time. For instance, historian Erik Lönnroth, eventually the most influential contemporary Swedish actor in humanities research policy, wrote a couple of articles

22 Gustavsson, *Bildningens väg*, pp. 16, 192, 220.

23 Engberg, *Demokratisk kulturpolitik*, pp. 4, 14, 16, 19, 23. "de andliga skatter"; "omistliga värden"; "vill lösas och hjälpas ut ur det vardagliga, det trista och grå. Konstverket, boken, scenens skapelser, tonerna och de eviga budskapen utfylla, ge mening och lyftning åt hennes liv"

24 Hansson, "Världsmoral," p. 17. "själarnas tränare och vägvisare"

in a major newspaper in the 1950s, stressing the importance of educating independently reflective citizens. According to his view, the experience of the Second World War demonstrated the need of close connections between intellectuals and the public. But this function differed compared to the later critical discourse as this educated top segment was expected to cultivate other parts of society that, in their turn, would influence the public opinion emerging via higher education in the new democratic Sweden. The intellectuals were supposed to provide citizens with norms for guidance.[25] Thus, the relationship to democracy outlined here was still of a vertical kind – presupposing that the people were to be guided from *above*.

This condition should be interpreted in light of the traditional Swedish organization of the humanities, successfully established throughout the nineteenth century as a system primarily aimed at educating civil servants. This implied a social contract that secured a solid political influence of the humanities, as well as fostering a professional ethos and loyalty to the government and the national cause. In the end, the legitimacy of this function was – vertically – derived from the monarch, not the people.[26] The "stinging" quality and grassroot appeal of the gadfly metaphor was thus not at the fore in discussions on academic knowledge and democracy at this point, and, importantly, any democratic role was not claimed to be an exclusive function of the humanities.

Eventually, reasoning in vertical terms regarding intellectuals in a democratic society seemed to lose ground in relation to the egalitarian ethos of the welfare state.[27] With new priorities of knowledge politics from the interwar period onward, such an attitude was considered elitist and nostalgic. A new policy regime, focused on rational planning and social engineering, was established along with the expansion of research and higher education, pressing the point of an efficient use of public resources. In this context of change, many scholars gradually abandoned the roles they were used to play when interacting with other spheres of society. In 1952, philosophy professor Gunnar Aspelin claimed that intellectuals no longer believed themselves "competent enough to dictate the goals of our lives and show us the way to higher forms of living" – their "prophet cloak" had been

25 Lönnroth, "Humanisterna och examensstatistiken"; Lönnroth, "Bildning och utbildning."

26 Liedman, *Att förändra världen*, pp. 248–249.

27 Similar developments took place elsewhere. For instance, J. H. Plumb pointed out that "the rising tide of scientific and industrial societies, combined with the battering of two World Wars, has shattered the confidence of humanists in their capacity to lead or instruct." See Plumb, "Introduction," p. 7.

exchanged for an "everyday work suit."[28] Humanities scholars, however, did not feel entirely comfortable wearing this new costume.

Orchids Struggling for Adaption

In early postwar Sweden, it is striking how scholars in the humanities struggled to develop novel strategies of legitimization in order to re-establish their central societal roles and adapt to the new requirements of rational planning. A new hierarchy of knowledge was established, for instance, through programmatic statements in governmental commission reports. These reports were dealing with the expansion of the university system, thus preparing the numerous reforms of research and education that followed. Public debates in connection to the reforms were often intense and reflected a struggle on how to balance "traditional" ideals of academic freedom with goals of democracy and expanded education. In this ongoing renegotiation of the relationship between society and academia, the humanities were only given marginal attention, appearing like an anomaly in discussions on how different fields of knowledge would contribute to the construction of the future society.[29]

On several occasions in the early 1960s – parallel to the Snow controversy in Britain – the notion of *Bildung*, hitherto seen as intimately bound to the humanities, was discarded, and claims were made for a modernized intellectual attitude that would fully include the sciences. As mathematician Sonja Lyttkens frankly put in a major daily newspaper: "the old humanistic ideal of *Bildung* is insufficient in the present world."[30] The humanities were accused of being elitist, in need of a complete reorganization in order to meet the demands of postwar society. Other types of knowledge, primarily technology, medicine, and the social sciences, were seen as more compatible with and of concrete use for the progressive plans for the welfare state's expansion. This made them more successful in forging alliances with political actors while the humanities were depicted as burdened by traditional bonds and, at best, as a complement to the other types of knowledge that

28 Aspelin, "Från vetenskapens verkstäder," p. 265. "kompetent att diktera målen för vårt liv och visa oss vägen till högre livsformer"; "profetmantel"; "vardaglig arbetskostym"

29 Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization," pp. 351–376.

30 Lyttkens, "Humanisternas bildningsmonopol." "det gamla humanistiska bildningsidealet är otillräckligt i dagens värld"

were seen as the real forces behind the – technologically determined – future development.

In this way the humanities were portrayed as a reactive type of knowledge, characteristically described as luxury items. The trope "luxury flowers" [*lyxblommor*] was for instance applied by Lönnroth in the 1940s.[31] This can be compared to the German *Orchideenfächer* – another trope frequently used in humanities discourse.[32] I think it is fair to claim that the Swedish debates on the humanities, from the interwar period well into the postwar years, reflected a discursive stigmatization. The public view of the humanities was caricatured so many times (and even reproduced by humanities scholars themselves) that these subjects eventually became intimately associated with the prejudice and branded as problems for society – issues to be dealt with politically rather than being assets in the eyes of the democratic public.

The legitimacy of the humanities was of course not only affected by developments on the national level. The new orientation of knowledge politics was, for instance, strengthened by new economistic incentives stimulated by international actors such as the OECD.[33] This organization also encouraged interdisciplinarity, which emerged as one of the most cherished ideals of the postwar organization of research in Sweden, together with "team-work" and internationalization. All these ideals were highlighted as cornerstones for the planning and mobilization of research in the 1960s, for example, as conducted by the Swedish Government Research Advisory Board, founded in 1962. At a symposium organized at Stockholm University in 1964 it was even asked whether research in the humanities was possible to plan at all. It thus seemed particularly difficult for the humanities to incorporate the above ideals. Research conducted within these disciplines was blamed for being too individualistic and provincial, calling for a profound reorganization: scholars in the humanities needed to cooperate and produce knowledge in new ways.[34]

A wider outlook may explain why this need for reorganization was experienced as particularly strong in Sweden. The traditional national project, focused on cultural prestige, no longer appeared as a viable strategy of legitimization for the Swedish humanities – this in contrast to Norway, where the politics of knowledge still held an open door for the humanities thanks

31 Lönnroth, "Vetenskaplig forskning," p. 5.
32 See Kampits, "Geisteswissenschaften wozu?," p. 65.
33 Rohstock, "The History of Higher," p. 94.
34 *Humanistisk forskning*.

to the vitality of nationalism.[35] The humanities were forced to adapt to new notions of national competition, primarily focused on economic and military aspects in this Cold War era of "Sputnik hysteria." An international horizon encircled the postwar intellectual reforms, fuelling national mobilization of knowledge with an increasing emphasis on global competition.[36] All this resulted in a race toward the future, structured by an idea of a fundamental divide between industrial and developing countries. Sociologist Torgny T. Segerstedt, Vice Chancellor of Uppsala University and chair of the influential University Commission of 1955, characteristically expressed this in a grand narrative based on an imagined material welfare scale, according to which industrial states, such as Sweden, would "helplessly" fall "down into the disastrous situation of the developing country," doomed to "poverty and misery," unless they joined the international mobilization of knowledge.[37] Actors of knowledge politics had to make swift decisions according to Segerstedt's narrative as it implied an opposition between an elevated international center in contrast to peripheral positions one could get dragged "down" to by the currents of change. For different branches of knowledge, it was all about staying on the surface. The humanities, however, seemed to be at risk of drowning in this turmoil of postwar expansion. They thus required new ground to stand strong in this "modern society" – constantly in flux.

The Gadfly Rises from the Fringe

As the changes of modern Western societies became increasingly described in terms of ruptures from the 1960s onward, meta-narratives of progress and modernization were generally weakened and descriptions of these societies as being in a state of crisis began to flourish, not least after the global oil crisis in 1973. In the same year, a report was published in Sweden by the Research Council for the Humanities, chaired by Erik Lönnroth, probing whether the humanities were marginalized to a unique extent in this national context.[38] While the general level of education had reached new heights, the Swedish humanities were cast into a dire situation according to contemporary commentators, at least regarding resources in

35 Grøtta, *The Transformation of Humanities*, p. 274; Larsen, *'ikke af brød*, pp. 59–63.

36 Cf., Kettunen, "The Power of International," p. 35.

37 Segerstedt, *Studentrevolt*, pp. 12, 22–23, 67. "ohjälpligt"; "ned i u-landets katastrofala situation"; "till fattigdom och elände"

38 *Humanistisk och teologisk*, 18.

transnational comparison and relative to other fields of knowledge (in absolute terms, the humanities clearly took part in the expansion of the university system). The report may be seen as a milestone, marking the circulation of a particular kind of narrative in the 1970s that assumed a Swedish exceptionalism regarding the marginalization of the humanities. This narrative was forcibly contrasted with the common postwar conception of this country (that may seem disputable in retrospective): as a positive exception and social democratic haven. When the welfare state ceased to be considered a success story in the midst of crises, it seemed more relevant for intellectuals to adopt a critical outsider position.

The report of the research council should be seen as an attempt to make a change for the humanities by presenting blunt facts regarding their situation. But the initiative backfired. The previous attempts to adapt to the new democratic context were heavily criticized by a younger generation of humanities scholars, aligning themselves with critical theory and Marxism. The older generation of humanities scholars, primarily represented by Lönnroth, was blamed for taking a positivistic stand in their attempts to gain legitimacy through adaption, thus proving too lenient toward the "technocratic" ideals of the regime based on rational planning. It was now claimed that this regime stood in opposition to egalitarian democratic ideals focused on individual self-realization. In novel plans for educational reforms in the late 1960s, equality was underlined as a fundamental value for society more vigorously than ever before, and now these ideals seemed to conflict with the aspirations of rational planning. The knowledge politics characteristic to the Swedish welfare state thus seemed to lose credibility from the perspective of critical theory. According to this view, existing policies did not allow enough space for individual students and original scholars as the systems of higher education and research were too streamlined. By revolting against this order, a new generation of critical "rebels" wished to explore new prospects for the humanities.

At this point, the humanities seemed to have lost their traditional positions at the center of politics and society. Speaking from above, as a guide of souls instructing the masses, was no longer seen as a viable strategy of legitimization.[39] And the postwar attempts of adapting to positivistic currents that seemed to guide the mid-century knowledge politics were criticized for being tame and unsuccessful. In the era following 1968,

39 There were exceptions, obviously. But in such cases, it was typically claimed that the author "still" embraced the dream of leading the masses from the top of a societal pyramid, indicating that such a model was generally deemed outdated. See e.g., Delblanc, "Humanismen," p. 451.

however, a different role of the humanities was imagined much more frequently: namely, the rebel, or, as it might also be characterized, the gadfly. This type of role seemed more suitable for an egalitarian democratic society as it did not presuppose a vertical relationship to democracy, but was based on a more horizontal constellation. Furthermore, individual scholars acting as irritant gadflies were more compatible with the critical approach toward technocratic tendencies and the widespread emphasis on so-called participatory democracy of the 1960s and 70s that came along with a widened definition of the concept of democracy as protesters demanded a full democratization of all society's institutions.[40] By accepting such a role, humanities scholars (and other intellectuals as well) could embrace their marginalization and present themselves as crucial voices rising from the fringe. Literary historian Tomas Forser, who partook in the introduction of Marxist perspectives and the critical role, voiced this new attitude in 1980 by asking if it was not often so "that the challenges occurred from the margins?"[41]

These rebels/gadflies swarmed around a lost center.[42] While not accepting the alternative of remaining passive at the margins, the new critical generation described it as necessary to re-examine the epistemological and organizational foundations of the humanities in order to reconquer a central societal function, but not by moving back to the center they had been expelled from. Suggestions on how to accomplish this were outlined in the well-known volume *Humaniora på undantag?* [The humanities set aside?], edited by Forser in 1978, and introduced in an extended essay by his colleague, intellectual historian Sven-Eric Liedman, whose ideas and historiographical take on the humanities provoked heated debate and criticism from older scholars, particularly Lönnroth, who found himself target of the "attacks."[43] Representing the Research Council of the Humanities, he claimed that his approach had not been too lenient toward technocracy; rather, he had sought to take the battle to the enemy, for example, by downplaying ideological aspects of humanities research. This strategy was not accepted by Liedman and his colleagues as they preferred a kind of guerrilla warfare,

40 See e.g., Gassert, "Narratives of Democratization," p. 313; Gilcher-Holtey, "Political Participation," pp. 257–280.

41 Forser, "Att återerövra den stora," p. 42. "att det är i marginalerna som utmaningarna skett?"

42 Another literary historian who participated in these types of debates questioned why humanists were no longer acting as wise path-finders and further stated that these scholars were now actively looking for "a vivid center" ["ett levande centrum"] that they felt missing. See Thavenius, *Liv och historia*, p. 201, 217.

43 Liedman, "Humanistiska forskningstraditioner," pp. 9–78.

embracing their outsider positions. Their struggle was marked by a new confidence as they defended the specificity of the humanities and declared themselves unwilling to only support material and administrative functions of knowledge. In order to truly serve democracy, the humanities needed an ideological function, although not of the center-vertical kind, but by acting as a constantly present (even if peripheral) critical (or subversive) voice of society that would take on deeper questions of values and worldviews. This would reinvent the humanities and make them of central importance again, without any restoration of the old center.[44]

At this point, several debaters turned to the past, using history as a corrective to the present situation. In particular, the Renaissance and the nineteenth century were described as golden ages in grand historical narratives mobilized to change the present. In a theme issue of a Scandinavian journal in 1977, it was, for instance, stated that the transition from an elitist, bourgeoise society to the welfare democracy constituted a profound trajectory of change that the humanities were struggling to deal with; they were undermined all over Scandinavia by the postwar calls for "usefulness" and "profitability," ideals embedded in "the egalitarian welfare ideology."[45] From this perspective, the Swedish narrative of exceptionalism began to seem dubious as the critical revolt and novel ideas on how to develop more viable strategies of legitimization in the humanities turned out as a pan-Scandinavian project.

In another volume, *Humanioras egenart* [The particularity of the humanities], published in Norway, the Swedish editor and historian of science Tore Frängsmyr stated that Nordic scholars now gathered around a mutual problem as they battled with a crisis of the humanities in this entire region. Furthermore, the volume claimed that the discourse of crisis had taken on universal proportions: "All over the Western world the humanities are in a crisis."[46] Even if disputed by several contemporary colleagues, this narrative of a mounting legitimacy crisis gained ground and seemed to expand even beyond the Scandinavian region as different enquiries into the legitimacy of the humanities were intertwined in the 1970s and 80s, challenging the Swedish narrative of exceptionalism. The gadfly positioning and the increasingly universalistic discourse of crisis thus seem to have had their

44 This process of reorientation and the clash between Liedman and Lönnroth is analyzed in detail in Östh Gustafsson, "Mobilising the Outsider," pp. 208–224.

45 "Kris i humaniora?," pp. 4–5. "en egalitär välfärdsideologi"

46 Frängsmyr, "Inledning," p. 9. "Over hele den vestlige verden er de humanistiske fagene inne i en krise"

breakthroughs basically at the same time. This was surely no coincidence: the critical strategy of legitimization based its very rationale on the narrative of a momentous marginalization.

Conclusion: From the Center to the Margins

The mobilization of the humanities as a critical outsider is indeed reminiscent of the recent depiction of humanities scholars, or graduates, playing the role of Socratic gadflies in relation to democracy. The construction of the new role reflects a fundamental shift in the history of the humanities: from being the target of recurring criticism *from the left* during the mid-twentieth century, for being too traditional and aristocratic, humanities scholars switched positions and began to criticize the allegedly positivistic or technocratic ideals of central political actors of the democratic welfare state from the marginalized positions, mainly *to the left*, that they eventually embraced.[47] This shift is important to highlight as the humanities, at least since the era of Romanticism, were typically associated with political conservatism and the nationalistic anti-enlightenment movement, while the sciences and social sciences were regarded as elements of more progressive or even socialistic political ventures.[48] In the 1960s and 70s, humanities scholars managed to draw new attention to the political connotations of their fields through novel alliances with critical theory.

In present day discussions it is not uncommon to find this rise of critical theory being described as one of the causes to the marginalization of the humanities.[49] Here, with the Swedish example in mind, I argue that the critical stance was rather a responsive strategy to already existing mechanisms of marginalization. Critical theory was used as a strategy of legitimization at a point where it seemed clear that the humanities had been rejected from the welfare project of the "People's Home." In making this claim, I stress the importance of

47 The inclination to embrace margins is far from unique to the humanities in Sweden. It has for instance been suggested that the humanities of our time, according to an aggrandizing self-interpretation, "routinely offer a dramatization and a glamorization of minority, an exiled marginality magnified into the *condition humaine*." See Connor, "Decomposing the Humanities," p. 286.

48 Leezenberg, *History and Philosophy*, p. 178. As Guy Ortolano further points out: "From Huxley in the 1880s to Snow in the 1960s, figures who associated their positions with science frequently challenged their rivals from the left, branding them conservatives or reactionaries standing in the way of progress and reform"; "In 1959 Snow had confidently equated science, industrialization, and progressive politics, but a decade later these connections were being challenged by a more radical left." See Ortolano, *The Two Cultures*, pp. 27, 218.

49 Cf. Jay, "Critique and Theory," pp. 655–665.

looking at the historical actors' own notions of societal centers and margins in order to understand the negotiations of the legitimacy of knowledge.

In the case of Sweden, it is evident that the humanities struggled with their adaption to the new democratic ideals that formed a basis for new politics of knowledge throughout the twentieth century. In the context of the particular regime of rational planning – that distinguished the knowledge politics of this particular form of democratic society – the humanities were depicted as ornamental and not as the most attractive alliance partners for progressive politics. If any, the social sciences were the gadflies of the welfare state – once and again praised for their value in educating democratically capable citizens. Since social scientists were also seen as social engineers, they managed to combine a constructive and critical role from an early stage, securing a solid legitimacy that allowed them to play a generative part for the development of the welfare state in contrast to the reactive role assigned to the humanities.[50]

An ongoing process of reorientation is thus possible to discern in the history of the Swedish humanities in the twentieth century. When the role of leading the masses from above, as a "guide of souls," did not seem viable to a number of influential debaters, a period of confusion and struggle for adaption followed before critical mobilization from the margins was launched as a new strategy of legitimization.[51] This strategy did not presuppose an intellectual or moral hierarchy in vertical terms, as this likely would have collided with the egalitarian ethos. But on the other hand, the new generation of humanities scholars were in fact accused of being aristocratic in practice. It is thus doubtful to what extent they actually accomplished a broad mobilization for their critical purposes. But in the end, the critical role has nevertheless been established as one of the most essential functions of knowledge in the imaginaries of present-day society, even if it should be noted that this new generation was far from representative of the broad and – obviously – heterogenous field of the humanities. The actors studied in this chapter should be seen as a specific segment of scholars particularly prone to public debate and active in the borderland between universities and policy. Future inquiries should preferably nuance the picture by investigating broader and varied forms of valuation and circulation of humanistic knowledge during these heydays of the welfare state.[52]

50 Dalberg, Börjesson and Broady, "A Reversed Order," pp. 280–281.

51 Variations of the role as guide of souls may obviously be identified in later periods as well, but in those cases, this role typically seems to have come across as reactionary and thus, controversial. This is e.g., noted in Anna Tunlid's chapter in this volume.

52 Cf., the following chapter in this volume by Östling, Jansson, and Svensson on public arenas and circulation.

Further political aspects of the legitimizing strategies covered above could also be exposed. It is for instance fascinating to note that the new attempts of legitimizing intellectual activities in relation to democracy eventually became much more individualized than before. In the new horizontal fashion, the agency of ordinary citizens, as rebels or gadflies, was emphasized to a greater extent compared to the center-vertical way of reasoning. Previous attempts of defending national liberty against totalitarianism tended to focus on individual intellectuals as leaders, or guides, of an organic collective, and individualism was then heavily criticized within the mid-twentieth-century regime that instead promoted collective ideals for the organization of research. The 1970s, however, saw a renaissance of individual values in line with the criticism of welfare state ideology, a trend foreshadowing the emergence of neo-liberalism. The egalitarian ethos – perhaps with some irony – seems to have contributed to the creation of a more fragmented landscape of knowledge by undermining a homogenous elite culture that, for so long, had offered a solid base for the humanities.

The guide of souls did not easily navigate this new reality, struggling to develop strategies that would allow a deeper and meaningful impact on a society claiming to constitute the entire people's home. When new waves of critique hit this society, however, the Socratic gadfly found an adequate starting position for "arousing and persuading and reproaching" the rest of society.[53] If the role of the humanities is to act as an irritant conscience, this strategy of legitimization seems to have been successful in at least one respect as impassionate debates on their role in society do not show any sign of calming. In the present situation this should serve as a reminder of not taking any specific relationship between knowledge and democracy for granted.

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53 Plato, *Apology*.

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About the Author

Hampus Östh Gustafsson is a researcher at the Department of History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University, currently engaged in a project on collegiality and history of universities. His doctoral thesis concerned the legitimacy of the humanities in twentieth-century Sweden. Recent publications include articles in *History of Humanities* and *History of Education Review*.

Contact: hampus.osthgustafsson@idehist.uu.se

7 Public Arenas of the Humanities

The Circulation of Knowledge in the Postwar Period

Johan Östling, Anton Jansson and Ragni Svensson

Abstract
The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how a new history of the postwar humanities could be written. Drawing on approaches from the history of knowledge, it outlines the conditions of the circulation of knowledge in the public sphere during the 1960s and 1970s. By introducing "public arena of knowledge" as an analytical concept, the authors highlight certain media platforms where circulation of knowledge occurred. As their empirical examples, they focus on paperback series and the Christian public sphere. All in all, the chapter underlines the importance of the humanities for a wider circulation of knowledge and thereby challenges a crisis narrative of the humanities of the postwar period that is prevalent in established historiography.

Keywords: humanities; postwar period; public sphere; history of knowledge; circulation of knowledge

Introduction

In the twenty-first century, the history of the humanities has been vitalized through a series of important publications, projects, and conferences; the journal *History of Humanities* is perhaps the most obvious materialization of this enterprise. Thanks to all these endeavors, new vistas of inquiry have opened up. One novel approach has been inspired by frameworks developed within the history of science and emphasizes the practices and personae of past scholars. Another ambition has been to reinterpret the changing relationships between the humanities and the natural sciences throughout

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the centuries. A third source of inspiration has been global history where the traditional disciplines of the humanities have been related to and compared with non-Western fields of knowledge.[1]

However, issues of the impact and influence of the humanities in society at large have not been at the center of attention so far and definitely deserves more attention in the new field of the history of humanities. In the current chapter, by contrast, these questions are analytically addressed. Drawing on approaches in the history of knowledge and other adjacent fields, it will, firstly, present a framework that enables analysis of the conditions of the circulation of knowledge during the postwar period. After this, we will give concrete examples of how the humanities circulated in public arenas of knowledge in the 1960s and 1970s. We have chosen two cases belonging to different parts of postwar society: on the one hand, paperback series as arenas of popular science; on the other hand, a few important arenas within the Christian public sphere. Finally, the general consequences of the proposed shift in perspective for the understanding of the history of the humanities will be discussed.

Circulation and Arenas of Knowledge

There are a variety of definitions of circulation of knowledge. A common denominator is that scholars use it to dismiss traditional models of linear dispersion.[2] In this article, we will focus on a particular type of circulation – the public circulation of knowledge.[3]

Public circulation implies that knowledge is studied as a broad, societal phenomenon. This infers that the social reach and relevance of the knowledge under scrutiny are at the core of the analysis. Historical events and phenomena which only affect a few individuals or small groups of people cannot be the starting point for such a study. This means that original innovations and novel findings will be of subordinate importance, while public importance will take center stage. This is in line with a history of knowledge that is an integral part of a larger history of a society.[4]

1 See, for instance, "Going Global"; Krämer, "Shifting Demarcations"; Paul, *How to be a Historian*.

2 Östling, "The History of Knowledge."

3 The following sections draw on Östling, "Circulation, Arenas"; Östling, "En kunskapsarena."

4 This approach is related to an existing tradition in media history, cultural history, and the history of science to study audiences and publics; see, for instance, Ekström, *History of Participatory Media*.

One way of studying this kind of circulation is to introduce "public arena of knowledge" as an analytical concept. The term can be understood as a place – a physical, textual, or medial one – that at the same time provides opportunities and limits the circulation of knowledge. It serves as a site where a certain type of knowledge actors and a certain type of audience meet. To promote circulation of knowledge in society, the arena must usually have a measure of stability and durability, although the content of the knowledge that circulates in one and the same arena may vary over time.

As in all forms of circulation, knowledge does not move freely in an arena. A public arena of knowledge has its medial and rhetorical norms and limitations that contribute to reward and support certain types of knowledge while others are rejected or ignored. Anyone who wants to enter an arena must therefore adapt to various rules. Usually there are different types of gatekeepers who exclude that which does not meet the criteria of relevant knowledge, thereby guarding the boundaries of the arena and maintaining its reputation. Of course, this boundary work can mean a negative exclusivity, but it can also be productive in the sense that it consolidates the character of the arena and gives it a profile that distinguishes it from other competing platforms.

A distinction between an arena and an institution of knowledge can be difficult to sustain. In many cases, however, there is a difference in the degree of formalization or regulation, where an institution of knowledge tends to be part of the established educational system or the scientific community, that is, the general organization of knowledge in society. A teacher's training college or a university, for example, are parts of a larger institutional system, where they constitute mutually dependent and cooperating parts within a relatively delimited unit. Nor is it possible to establish a definite border between the concepts of arena and infrastructure. The latter, however, is usually understood as a more basic structure that is instrumental for a society's communication. A knowledge arena can rather be seen as an element in a larger infrastructure of knowledge.

In addition, an arena of knowledge can, at least for the modern period, be seen as an integral part of the public sphere. This is particularly true if we adopt an understanding of the public sphere as a historically changing phenomenon. Jostein Gripsrud and his Norwegian colleagues have in a fruitful way analysed the actual history of the public sphere in a specific country, inspired by Habermas' classic *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962). Gripsrud proposes a broad definition of the public sphere based on what the inhabitants of Norway had in common – in other words, the available space of conversations and experiences that formed the political and

cultural public discourse.[5] However, beside the general public sphere, during a twentieth century dominated by nation-wide mass media, there were also more or less overlapping sub- or partial public spheres (*Teilöffentlichkeiten*), involving and affecting a lot of people, which we will come back to below.[6]

There are several general analytical advantages with the concept of arena. Firstly, it provides empirical concretization to the discussion about the circulation of knowledge; in short, the arena becomes the place where a certain kind of circulation took place. Secondly, it enables us to see the actors and audiences and how they promoted different kinds of knowledge and played different roles. A third advantage is that particular arenas can be analysed as components in a larger infrastructure or public sphere. Finally, the concept invites the historian to compare different arenas of knowledge, both diachronically and synchronically.

The concept of arena thus promises to be analytically useful, but it remains rather abstract. In order to demonstrate its potential, we will turn to Sweden, a country that during the postwar era is very much associated with social democracy, secularism, and rationalism. As we will show, however, in press, radio, television, and various forms of book publishing, people with an educational background in the humanities provided the public with content related to areas of knowledge such as history, literature, and philosophy.

In what follows, we will demonstrate the dynamics of the postwar circulation of the humanities in two steps. In the first part, we will focus on Aldus, a paperback series that was devoted to the popularization of science and scholarship. Paperback series could be seen as specific arenas of knowledge aimed at a large audience. In this context, the paperback series were closely related to other arenas of the time with a similar mission, for instance essay sections in major newspapers and popular education programs on television.[7] In the second part, we will move the discussion from the workings of one specific arena of the main public sphere and instead discuss how knowledge also moved in partial public spheres and in this way affected a large chunk of the population. Focusing on the Christian public sphere, we exemplify with an assortment of intermingled knowledge arenas and actors. We will elucidate the general structure of the Christian public sphere, including some of its central arenas of knowledge, but pay special attention to the role and function of the humanities.

5 Gripsrud, *Allmenningen*.
6 Fraser, "Rethinking."
7 Östling, "The Audience."

Paperback Series as Public Arenas of Knowledge

The international "paperback revolution" may have started in the 1930s with the success of Penguin in Britain and Pocket Books in the United States, but the concept was established through the success of the so-called quality paperback, beginning in the middle of the 1950s and accelerating during the 1960s.[8] By that time, an abundance of paperbacks on academic or scientific subjects suddenly flooded the shelves and counters of bookstores in the West. The modern quality paperback was claimed to represent a new era of book publishing and dissemination. During the postwar period, similar projects were launched throughout Western book markets. The phenomenon had its biggest impact in English-speaking countries, but West Germany, Italy, France, and Scandinavia also had their counterparts.[9]

The cheap price as well as the accessibility of the paperback, which was on sale in newsstands and train stations as well as in traditional bookstores, were circumstances that made it an unprecedented intermediary of new and advanced knowledge.[10] As representatives of a brand new mass media landscape, the popular science paperback series of the postwar era served as public arenas for knowledge circulation. Although they were selected, packaged and disseminated by the major publishing houses, their content was communicated and renegotiated within a number of social institutions and environments.[11] In a Swedish context, Aldus, as the first and most prolific of the new quality paperback series of the 1950s and 1960s, serves as the most obvious example of such an arena. A study of the Aldus series thus contributes to a better understanding of what kinds of knowledge were perceived as socially relevant, as well as it informs us of the role of the humanities, in this specific historical context. Additionally, it helps us to shed light on how and between which actors this knowledge circulated, as well as how it was interpreted and reinterpreted into our own time.

In a Swedish context, the main representative of the popular science paperback was the editor and publisher Per Gedin. By introducing the first popular science paperback series Aldus in 1957, Gedin unleashed the Swedish version of the paperback revolution. The Aldus series was published under the supervision of Bonniers, Sweden's largest publishing house, and contained

8 Milner, *Literature, Culture and Society*, p. 98.

9 Davis, *Two-Bit Culture*; Gedin, *Den nya boken*, p. 15; Hagner, "Ernesto Grassi"; Mandler, "Good Reading."

10 Escarpit, *Book Revolution*, pp. 36–41.

11 Mandler, "Good Reading."

humanities titles, as well as titles from social and natural sciences, with a wide range of subjects. By publishing current popular science in carefully designed and typographed paperbacks, printed in large quantities with rationalized production methods, Gedin and Aldus aimed to reach out with the latest research findings in a number of areas to as many people as possible. The aim was to make current research and popular science a modern consumer product.[12] In this endeavor, the humanities took a special position.

In his autobiography *Förläggarliv* (1999 [Publishing Life]), Per Gedin describes how he got the idea to launch a paperback series in 1956, while on a trip to the United States to study the American book market.[13] By that time, he was recently employed at Bonniers' publishing house as head of their book club Svalan. During his journey, Gedin caught sight of American paperback series, such as Anchor Books' Quality Paperbacks, founded in 1953. This trade paperback series presented modern classics with an academic content in comparatively small editions. These books were slightly more expensive than traditional paperbacks, but much cheaper than their hardcover counterparts.[14]

Now Gedin wanted to start a similar paperback series for the Swedish audience. His vision, as he presented it to the managers of Bonniers' publishing house, was to promote people's self-studies, by publishing works by prominent academics at prices cheap enough to attract impulse purchases. Gedin was a self-conscious young visionary, and he argued with considerable insistence, that the quality paperback book as a concept would be as successful on the Swedish market as in the United States.[15]

Eventually his efforts paid off as he, in the fall of 1957, was given the opportunity to publish three paperback books with the trademark Aldus, a name inspired by the Venetian humanist and printer Aldus Manutius. The titles in question were *Svenskt arbete och liv* [On Work and Life in Sweden] by the economic historian Eli F. Heckscher, *Makt och rätt* [Power and Justice] by criminal justice professor Ivar Strahl, and Margaret Mead's anthropological classic *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* in Swedish translation.[16] Soon, sales began to pick up and Aldus' first nine titles were sold in almost 20,000 copies in a few years, which, seen from a Swedish perspective, was an unexpectedly high figure.[17]

12 Gedin, *Den nya boken*, pp. 10–14.
13 Gedin, *Förläggarliv*, p. 157.
14 Davis, *Two-Bit Culture*, p. 208.
15 Gedin, *Den nya boken*, p. 13.
16 Gedin, "Georg Svensson."
17 Gedin, *Förläggarliv*, p. 160.

In a few years, Per Gedin advanced from editor of the Aldus series, to the managerial position at Aldus Publishing, a new publishing house established in 1961. In 1963 he took over the role as publisher, as well as part of the ownership of the long-established publishing house Wahlström & Widstrand, which had been partly owned by Bonniers. Gedin's assignment as both introducer and marketer of the Swedish quality paperback book, well qualifies for the role of knowledge actor, especially as a gatekeeper, providing the rules and boundaries that enabled certain knowledge to circulate.

Aldus books helped establishing the paperback as the most important Swedish book market trend of its time, even though it took until the mid-1960s until the paperback phenomenon had its complete break-through. Then, on the other hand, it was with the more noise and trepidation. In a few years, all the major Swedish publishing houses, as well as many of the smaller ones, established their own paperback series, inspired by the emerging success of Aldus. New paperbacks became front-page material in newspapers, and served as identity markers for a new and knowledge-hungry youth culture.[18]

Between 1957 and 1977, more than 500 Aldus titles were published in several topics, including both the humanities and the natural and social sciences. Although the number of titles varied widely between years, the humanities had an undeniably important position in the overall publication. Altogether, during the first ten years, humanities titles, including genres such as literature, history, art, religion, philosophy, history of science, and linguistics, comprised almost half of Aldus' publication list. Among the authors published in the series were both international celebrities and prolific Swedish authors. The two largest categories in the series were literary theory and history. However, as the number of titles varied year by year, the picture is not entirely clear. From having covered a total of three titles in 1957 (one of which in the humanities), the overall publication grew to seventeen books (eight of which were in the humanities) five years later, in 1962. In 1964, the humanities category was larger than all other categories together, amounting to eighteen out of thirty-four titles. In the following years, 1965 and 1966, thirty-eight Aldus books were published each year, but the number of titles in the humanities category differed; in 1965 they were ten and 1966 sixteen. In the late 1960s, the humanities had to stand back for a more social science-oriented publication for a few years. This development was of course in line with a general orientation toward social

18 Mercer, "Paperback Revolution."; Svensson, "Bo Cavefors"

science theories and issues during these years, clear both within academia and in a larger societal discourse (as indicated by several other contributions to this volume).

Thus, the proportion of humanities titles was at its lowest during the years 1968 to 1970, a period when the overall publication of Aldus books was the most extensive. The number of titles within the different subfields also varied from year to year. At the beginning literary theory, history and arts/music were roughly equal categories, which, given the size of the overall publication, meant that one or a few titles were published per category and year. Religion was represented by two titles in 1959, and one title each year during the period from 1961 to 1963, continuing to a similar extent until 1977. Philosophy was a relatively small category with one or two published titles each year in 1958, 1964, 1965, and 1969. The extent was approximately the same during the period 1970 to 1977.

The greatest variation in terms of the number of titles can be found in the history category. However, it should be borne in mind that books in other categories could have an historical perspective, without being categorized under history in the first place. Overall, history was the largest humanities category in Aldus, although both the number of titles and the percentage of titles varied widely. While only four history titles were published during Aldus's first five years, the number would increase noticeably by the mid-1960s. In 1964, as many as eight history titles were published in the series. In the 1970s, the history category would be significantly strengthened and during the years 1971 to 1974, it became by far the largest category of the humanities.[19]

Many Aldus titles could be placed in more than one subcategory. This is especially true of titles that concerned natural science issues from a historical perspective. Thus, the popular science titles published showed strong and lasting links between the natural sciences and the history of science. Titles on physics or astronomy were often presented from a humanities point of view, a framework which also influenced the design and selection of the books. While titles such as *The Creation of the Universe* by George Gamow (1958) and *Cybernetics* by G. Th. Guilbaud (1962) fit well into an established picture of the late 1950s and early 1960s, as a time period characterized by scientific and technological advancement, a humanistic world view characterized Aldus' publishing list. *Atomic Physics and Human Knowledge* (*Atomfysik og menneskelig erkendelse*) by Niels Bohr (1959), *Radiation, Genes and Man* by Bruce Wallace (1961) and *Physics and Man* (*Fysiken och människan*) by

19 The statistical calculations were performed by the authors.

Tor Ragnar Gerholm (1962) were all popular scientific accounts of questions in contemporary physics, founded in reasoning from ancient natural and moral philosophy. Thus, they challenged a popularized view of the humanities and natural sciences as two different cultures, with no prospect of reconciliation.[20] The rapprochement between different disciplines, in fact, permeates several of the introductory texts on the scientific writings published in Aldus during these years. In *Physics and Man*, such a view of science appeared as the book's own starting point. Gerholm's presentation of the history of physics took a pronounced stand against the media image of "the two cultures" as a formative of contemporary scientific society. The notion that there was a categorical division between the humanities and science was incorrect and constructed, Gerholm argued.[21]

The approximately 500 books included in the series were written or edited by 450 different people (co-authored and co-edited titles appeared, although they were not many). Most authorships were represented by a single book, even though there were authors who published several books in the series. Among the author names most frequently appearing on Aldus' list were Herbert Tingsten, publicist and political scientist (eight titles), Professor of biochemistry Gösta Ehrensvärd (seven titles), Sigmund Freud (five titles), author Artur Lundkvist (four titles), psychiatrist and debater R. D. Laing (four titles), and literary scholars Gunnar Brandell and Olle Holmberg (five and four titles respectively).

It is no coincidence that all the name listed above are male. On the contrary, this list gives a fair idea of the gender distribution of the book series. The male dominance among Aldus' writers was almost total. During its twenty active years, a total of forty-two books written or edited by a woman was published in the series, that is less than one tenth of the total number. Nine of these forty-two books had a man as co-author or editor. Except for a few years in the late 1970s, female authorships were completely absent, regardless of subject area.

The humanities subjects were no exception from this rule. Between 1957 and 1977, only five humanities titles written by female authors were published in the series. The first being a biography on the Swedish writer and poet Karin Boye by Margit Abenius (1965), eight (!) years later followed

20 Hagner, "Ernesto Grassi," shows how Ernesto Grassi, editor of the rde (rowohlts deutsche enzyklopädie) series, successfully took on a similar task in a West German context. See also Eldelin, *"De två kulturerna"* for an analysis of the circulation of the "two cultures" trope in a Swedish context.

21 Gerholm, *Fysiken och människan*, p. 15.

by a church history study of St. Birgitta by Emilia Fogelklou (1973), Judith Holmes' historical account on the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin (1973), and a linguistic study on bilingual children's language learning: *Språkgränsen* (1973 [The Language Barrier]) by Magdalena Jaakkola. In 1975, *Invandrarbarnen och språket* [Immigrant children and language] by Britt-Ingrid Stockfelt-Hoatson, another study of bilingual children, was published.

Renderings of the paperback revolution often begin with the story of British book publisher Allen Lane and his tremendous success with the Penguin series, launched in 1935. It is said that Lane got the idea at a train station in the British countryside. Annoyed that there was no sensible read to buy in the station kiosk, he stated that quality literature should be available everywhere, not to be more expensive than a packet of cigarettes. His idea would prove to be a brilliant move. Already the first titles became hugely popular, and after a couple of years, more than three million Penguin books had been sold. Although Penguin relied on distribution channels, materials, and formats strongly associated with so-called mass culture, the series invested heavily in reputable authorship, fictional classics, and current non-fiction.[22]

The most significant thing about Penguin was that the series made the paperback a consumer item. Penguin books had a uniform design with a clear graphic profile and a symbol that was easy to recognize.[23] The intention was to sell, which for Lane was nothing to be humbled by. Here he differed from another of the great pioneers of the paperback book: Ernesto Grassi, editor of West German popular science paperback series *rowohlts deutsche enzyklopädie* (founded in 1955). Grassi, used to emphasize that his series did not consist of "popular science for 1'90 Mark."[24] To him, the distinction between the endeavor of knowledge dissemination and the connotations of a word like "popularize," which can of course be understood as simplifying or distorting, was crucial.

Although the paperback is a mass market phenomenon, whose main selling point was always a cheap price and easily accessible distribution channels, there has been a need for boundary delineation between, on the one hand, "pulp fiction" and, on the other, "quality paperbacks."[25] The very concept of the quality paperback illustrates the recurring contradiction between so-called high culture and popular culture.

22 Baines, *Penguin by Design*, p. 12.

23 Baines, *Penguin by Design*, p. 13–15; Rylance, *Reading with a Mission*.

24 Döring, Lewandowski and Oels, *Non Fiktion*, pp. 39–40.

25 Davis, *Two-Bit Culture*, p. xii.

Per Gedin's role as a knowledge actor and gatekeeper was more inspired by Allen Lane than by Ernesto Grassi. In a study conducted in 1967, on the paperback as a cultural and book market phenomenon, Gedin pointed out that the paperback was a child of postwar consumption culture. He viewed it as the book world's equivalent of "moon rockets, electric guitars and freezers" and talked about how the covers of paperback books should inspire impulse buying in the same way as "a color image of crispy, brown meatballs on the outside of the frozen meatball package" was supposed to.[26] Gedin's way of promoting his product testified to an unsentimental attitude, and simultaneously, it emphasized how the paperback made academic knowledge, humanities as well as the social and natural sciences, accessible to the vast majority.[27]

The late 1960s meant the emergence of a youth generation with great expectations for the future and society. A new audience largely composed of students and other young adults, called for a type of reading that had never before sold in such large editions.[28] Paperback publishing grew explosively and the publication of political theory and debate books became increasingly more common.[29] In Sweden, as throughout the Western world, the paperback would soon become associated with the emerging student movement and the left radicalization of the media debate.[30] In this context, Aldus would also play an important role, not least through its subdivision Aldus Aktuellt, in which eighty-two books were published on current social issues. Though it was rooted in a bourgeois educational tradition, it also helped to bring forth political theories of the New Left, for example Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* (1968). The Aldus series stood out well in the competition for the young left-leaning paperback audience, although Aldus, like other Swedish paperback book series, weakened considerably during the so-called publishers' crisis in the early 1970s.[31]

Because of the great impact of 1960s popular science paperbacks such as Aldus, these series not only reflected the spirit of the times, but often even managed to precede it. Paperback series have played a significant role as public knowledge arenas in book market history, the history of reading, and the cultural outlook of the twentieth century.[32] The success of Aldus

26 Gedin, *Den nya boken*, p. 9.
27 Gedin, *Den nya boken*, p. 11. Cf. Mandler, "Good Reading."
28 Mercer, "Paperback Revolution."
29 *En bok om böcker*, pp. 335–339.
30 Östberg, *1968*, p. 85; Svensson, "Bo Cavefors"; von Vegesack, *PAN 1967–1973*.
31 *En bok om böcker*, pp. 331, 335, 359.
32 Davis, *Two-Bit Culture*, p. xii; Mandler, "Good Reading."

and other popular science paperback series testify to a belief in people's ability to acquire new knowledge and participate in informed debate. It also demonstrates the strong and lasting public presence of the humanities in a popular mass media format during the Swedish 1960s and 1970s. Directly and indirectly, the humanities acted as a general driving-force behind the development of the paperback series as public arenas of knowledge.

Humanities in the Christian Public Sphere

As we have seen, humanistic knowledge was clearly visible in paperback series during the postwar era, as it was in cultural journals, the cultural pages of the newspapers, radio, and television, all important media arenas for the general public sphere. Beside the general public sphere, however, there were partial public spheres (*Teilöffentlichkeiten*), which were also important in providing arenas for humanistic knowledge. A study of partial or counter public spheres is thus also a way of focusing how knowledge circulated in society, as these partial public spheres, in Sweden often connected to the strong popular movements emerging from late nineteenth century, affected a large part of the population in one way or another. The social democratic labor movement, for example, has often been understood as comprising a partial public sphere (and sometimes a "counterpublic").[33] This sphere had its own newspapers, journals, book publishers, and not least provided popular adult education. In the adult education organization ABF, which provided voluntary leisure time studies, language studies played an immense role, and studies of history, art, and literature were also offered. Humanistic knowledge, such as philosophy and literary studies, also played a role in the counterpublic of the New Left emerging toward the end of the 1960s.[34]

Another very important partial public was the Christian sphere, which had its own actors, arenas, and audiences, partly overlapping with, but also independent from, the national public in general. The 1960s are often

33 At least it could be seen as a counterpublic early in its history. For a discussion, see for instance Karlsson, *Arbetarrörelsen*, ch. 1. The popular movements, typically represented by the temperance or teetotalling movement, the revivalist free churches, and the labor movement, are often highlighted as decisive for social change in twentieth-century Sweden. In 1900, a third of the Swedish population belonged to at least one of these movements. For more about the popular movements, including a discussion of "counter-hegemony," see Bengtsson, "The Swedish *Sonderweg*." Generally about counterpublics and a critique of Habermas' theory, see Fraser, "Rethinking."

34 Svensson, "Revolting."

perceived as a period of "religious crisis" in the West.[35] Deep-seated Christian traditions were challenged and there was an experience of religious decline, which fuelled modernist theories of secularization.[36] However, many things point to the fact that the 1960s in one sense was actually a very strong period for the Christian public sphere in Sweden. Neither the state-connected Church of Sweden nor the free churches had started to experience the serious member loss they had later in the century, and the Catholic and Orthodox churches grew. Indeed, this was the peak period for Christian publishing houses, and there was a wide variety of Christian newspapers and journals.[37]

There was, however, some disintegration between church and state, as well as between Christianity and the general public conversation during the postwar era, which strengthened Christianity's position as a partial sphere, where it earlier had been more integral to the general national public sphere. Christianity was increasingly perceived as something "other" in the course of the postwar decades, and this prompted Christians to discuss how to relate to, and take part in society, or in "the world," which was a theological key concept during the 1960s.[38] And as we will see, in this endeavor, the humanities played a role.

In discussing this, we will focus on three arenas of knowledge within the Christian public sphere: two journals and one physical meeting place, and then specify them by looking at a few knowledge actors, who had a competence from the humanities, and were very active during the 1960s. What is presented here is by no means the entirety of the Christian public sphere, which was broad and lively, and included many different political and theological currents, but one important and influential part of it.

The Association for Christian Humanism [*Förbundet för kristen humanism*] had, from its foundation in the 1930s, as its aim to work for the realization of the highest human ideals, through traditional culture and humanist education.[39] While it also (increasingly) included political appeals which were anti-totalitarian, the cultivation of the human mind through defending and promoting *Bildung* was at its core. During the 1960s, their membership

35 McLeod, *The Religious Crisis*.

36 Jansson, "The City."

37 Brohed, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria: 8,* p. 227; Steiner, "En (o)lönsam affär," pp. 170–173.

38 For a discussion about the German case, see Hannig, *Die Religion der Öffentlichkeit*, p. 393.

39 The relation between humanism and the humanities is complex, and merits a discussion broader than what is possible to provide here. Humanism, while many-faceted (Christian or secular, for instance), is more of an ideology or "life stance," stressing human dignity. In this, however, it often stresses traditional humanities education as an important part of realizing human ideals. For its history in Sweden, see Hansson, *Humanismens kris*.

grew, and there were active local chapters in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Uppsala, Sundsvall, and Linköping, who organized meetings, lectures, and debates.[40]

However, the central outlet of the association was its yearbook, *Årsbok för kristen humanism* [Yearbook of Christian Humanism], published from 1939. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the yearbook was at its peak. It had more than doubled in size between 1955 and 1965, and in the latter year it comprised of sixteen essays and reviews of more than 120 books. The largest segment was always the review section. Thus, the yearbook provided an important arena for discussions of new literature of different sorts (including Aldus paperbacks). Book reviews were often longer, essayistic, not seldom taking many books into account in one text. They were categorically ordered, and the category which dominated during the 1960s was religion.[41] However, this category was wide and included everything from more confessional literature, including shorter devotional books and heavier treatises on systematic theology, to books about church history, psychology, and world religions. History, literary studies, and philosophy/psychology were also prominent categories. One category, however, challenged religion in the number of reviews it included: literature, that is, texts which treated recently published poetry, prose, and drama. These ranged from shorter texts to longer essays, sometimes dealing with an entire authorship, and were often penned by writers with a degree in literary studies. Thus, they can be classified as not only shorter notifications of new literature, but rather analysis, in a more or less scholarly fashion.

So, the humanities: literary studies, history, philosophy, were a backbone of the Christian intellectual discourse in this context. The yearbook did not reach a mass audience, but as a public arena dedicated to intellectual discussions of new scholarly knowledge, it filled an important role. Not least since it included in its sphere of writers and readers many who held important positions within various Christian congregations, including bishops and leaders of free churches, editors of newspapers and journals, as well as scholars with positions at theological faculties.

The journal *Vår Lösen* [Our Watchword] had a somewhat larger readership. This was the leading Christian cultural journal for much of the twentieth century (it was discontinued in 2000), and had its peak in the late 1960s,

40 This characterization of the associations is based on their annual reports, printed in their yearbooks.

41 Only from 1964 were there actual headlines signalling the categories of "Religion," "History," etc, but the categorization is similar and quite clear also before this.

when it reached around 3,000 subscribers.[42] This was a broader publication than *Årsbok för kristen humanism*, somewhat less academic, and more oriented toward contemporary issues. It published texts on a wide array of topics related to society, culture, and church. Under the editorship (from 1961) of Anne-Marie Thunberg, it was an important arena for a political turn leftwards within Swedish Christianity.[43] There was, however, always room for other things than politics: existential issues, literature, art, and theater, as well as for discussions about churchly matters such as liturgy and theology.

Given its somewhat less academic and more political touch during the 1960s, classical humanities topics were somewhat less dominant than in *Årsbok för kristen humanism*. They still played a role however: literature was important, and many writers with academic degrees in literary studies published in the journal, not only reviews of new novels and poetry – which was common – but also broader portrayals of authors. Apart from this, philosophy was a topic which surfaced regularly. But not Swedish academic philosophy, which had become increasingly oriented toward the analytical tradition, but various continental philosophers dealing with existential questions in a broad sense, for example Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Martin Buber, and Simone Weil.

Both these textual arenas had connections to a specific place, namely Sigtuna outside of Stockholm, one of the oldest towns of Sweden. The reason was that this was the home of the Sigtuna Foundation [*Sigtunastiftelsen*], connected to the Church of Sweden. Founded as a combination of a folk high school and a guesthouse in 1917, it also was a place for different kinds of intellectual meetings and conferences, and thus functioned as a form of physical knowledge arena. This aspect was strengthened after a full-time director had been appointed in 1948, a position held by the writer and priest Olov Hartman until 1970. The guesthouse was frequented by the literary establishment of Sweden, who used it to work in a secluded milieu, or attended some of the conferences arranged by Hartman. During the 1960s, among conferences more aimed toward the church establishment, there were also what Hartman called "conferences about language and world views." Here, academics, authors, and other intellectuals gathered, held lectures and debated issues such as literary criticism, the role of Christianity in modern society, or literature and political engagement. Such conferences often gathered participants from the intellectual elite of Sweden, Christian and non-Christian, and had echoes outside of Sigtuna, in that they were

42 Linderman and Lundmark, "*Vår lösen*," pp. 342–343.

43 Sundeen, *68-kyrkan*.

referenced and discussed in journals and the cultural pages of the daily press.[44]

The journal *Vår Lösen* was based in Sigtuna and had strong ties to the foundation, as had The Association for Christian Humanism. Their yearbook was produced there for many years, as the librarian of the ambitious library of the foundation, Eric Lilliehöök, was the editor of the yearbook. Thus, we here see how an entanglement of different textual and physical arenas was important for circulating knowledge in this partial public sphere. These arenas, where the humanities played an important part, would however not have worked, were it not for the actors involved. We have already mentioned the director Hartman and the editors Thunberg and Lilliehöök, who were important gatekeepers in promoting and regulating the circulation of knowledge in Christian arenas, but we will now turn to a few more. Importantly, many of the most active persons involved in these arenas within the Christian public sphere, were people not only with a general interest in literature or philosophy, but who also had humanities degrees.

The Association for Christian Humanism had as its chair during the 1960s a historian, Georg Landberg, who held a PhD in history, but was mostly active outside of academia. Vice chair, until 1967, was a key person for all these circles and arenas: Manfred Björkquist. Björkquist was bishop of Stockholm between 1942 and 1954, being appointed without having a theology degree or background as a priest. He had studied philosophy and pedagogics, and been active as a teacher. He had however for a long time held a central position within the Church of Sweden as a layman. Apart from being involved in creating The Association for Christian Humanism, he was the visionary and founder of Sigtunastiftelsen, and *Vår Lösen*. Although Björkquist, a promoter of literature, philosophy, and classical education in Christian circles, was not as active in the 1960s, he was always present as an *éminence grise*.[45]

In textual arenas, writers were of course crucial. In *Årsbok för kristen humanism*, three of the four most active pens during the 1960s belonged to the above-mentioned Landberg, the philosopher Alf Ahlberg, and the romanist Gunnel Vallquist. Ahlberg, PhD in philosophy, was one of Sweden's most famous public intellectuals for much of the twentieth century, hailed as "the philosophy teacher of the Swedish people." For a long period, he was rector of the Folk High School Brunnsvik, connected to the labor movement.

44 About these conferences, see Hartman, *Fågelsträck*, pp. 265–276; Ohlsson, *Dialog och växt*, pp. 71–80.

45 On Björkquist, see Grönqvist, *Manfred Björkquist*.

He was an avid writer and translator during his time as rector, but even more so after his retirement in 1959, when he lived in the guest house at Sigtunastiftelsen for longer periods.[46] Philosophy, religion, and history of ideas were subjects he favored. Gunnel Vallquist was of a younger generation, and acted as a public intellectual who introduced literature and ideas from the European continent in Sweden. In the 1960s, she became known for her writings on the Second Vatican Council, published in both the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Vår Lösen* (and later in book form), and as a translator of Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*. Vallquist, who converted to Catholicism as a student, later became one of the eighteen members of the Swedish Academy.

By far the most active writer for *Årsbok för kristen humanism*, however, was Erik Hjalmar Linder. Linder had a PhD in literary studies, and while he had written a central university textbook on modern Swedish literature, he had pursued a non-academic career within radio and the press. During the 1960s, he cemented his position as one of the leading literary critics in Sweden.[47] Linder had his roots in the Swedish Mission Covenant Church, one of the older free churches emerging from the revival movements of the nineteenth century, and spearheaded an increasing trend in these churches of taking part in public activities such as cultural debates. Linder was, as mentioned, by far the most prolific writer in *Årsbok för kristen humanism*, where many of the texts he published had earlier been printed in the newspaper *Göteborgs-Posten*. He also wrote for *Vår Lösen* and other Christian journals and newspapers. But while he was above all a highly productive writer and respected critic, he was also very active as an organizer and networker, for instance at Sigtunastiftelsen.[48]

Linder was a promoter of Christian perspectives in various public arenas, also in the general national public sphere. This was a conscious and collective strategy, not only for him, but in general for the networks covered here. For example, this can be seen in the correspondence between Linder and Kerstin Anér. Anér was yet another Christian intellectual with a doctoral degree in literary studies, who was both active in the Christian public sphere and broader political and cultural arenas (she later became a top politician for the liberal party). In letters from Anér to Linder, she discussed strategies of pushing Christian perspectives, including sharing articles, writing about each other's works, and collectively lifting Christian themes in the main

46 Krantz, *Alf Ahlberg*.
47 Forser, *Kritik av kritiken*.
48 Hartman, *Fågelsträck*, pp. 269–270.

cultural outlets.[49] Also, the authors in these networks often wrote positively about each other's work, in both Christian journals and the cultural pages of the main newspapers. In an era often perceived as very secular, these actors catered for Christian perspectives in the public sphere.

It was important that many of them had a background in the humanities. The non-dogmatic and ecumenical Christianity these actors represented mingled well with existential themes from literature, philosophy, and the history of ideas, thus turning this part of the Christian public sphere into an important node in the societal circulation of knowledge and themes from humanities research and education outside of academia. It contributed to the distribution and production of humanities knowledge in forms that reached large groups of people who were not part of the humanities within academia.

The humanities seems to have filled a role in what was one of the key discussions in Christianity of the decade. This concerned how it might relate and connect to secular society, and to "the world." For Christians trying to build bridges between the Christian sphere, and the secular public, competence in the humanities filled an important role, as this could be seen as an entry ticket into intellectual debates going on in the journals, cultural pages, and other arenas in the general Swedish public sphere. Furthermore, the Christian arenas were important for providing opportunity for educated humanists to discuss their expertise, and thus strengthened their role as humanistic knowledge actors, also when they acted in the larger public sphere.

Toward a New History of the Humanities

The history of the public circulation of knowledge is not the same as the history of disciplines, researchers, or scholarly communities. By studying the public arenas where knowledge circulated, a different interpretation of the postwar humanities emerges. In this final section, we will highlight how the understanding of the humanities change when the public knowledge arenas are placed at the center.

Firstly, the most obvious effect of the shift in perspective is that the roles of the humanities in wider society or cultural life become clear. Instead of concentrating on traditional scholarly domains – academic journals,

49 Letters from Anér to Linder, September 26, 1966, and April 17, 1967. In the personal archive of Erik Hjalmar Linder.

conferences, universities – the attention is directed toward the public sphere, with its cultural journals, newspapers, and other public meeting places. As a result, the contact or interaction zones between the humanistic disciplines and, for example, journalism or the arts become evident. This widens the overall scope.

Secondly, the public framework means that other actors are drawn to the center. Professors can still be of interest, however not as researchers or academic leaders, but in their capacities as popularizers or public intellectuals. More important, however, is that the spectrum of agents of knowledge is broadened. Journalists, broadcasters, publishers, or bookstore owners emerge as important figures in the history of the humanities. Furthermore, this framework enables us to assess the importance of actors in circulation processes who for various reasons have remained invisible in traditional history writing. This is especially true for women and their role as knowledge actors. Here we have seen that authors such as Gunnel Vallquist and Erik Hjalmar Linder, who published extensively in public arenas, were important. But in a sense even more central were editors (Anne-Marie Thunberg), directors (Olov Hartman), and publishers (Per Gedin), who acted as gatekeepers and networkers to regulate and promote certain knowledge in certain arenas.

Thirdly, the emphasis on public arenas of knowledge can challenge an established interpretation of the historical development and position of the humanities. Our examples of arenas demonstrate that the humanities were comparatively strong during the 1960s, at least when it comes to their public presence. In histories of the sciences and universities, by contrast, this is a period in modern history when the social and natural sciences expanded more in relative terms compared to the humanistic disciplines. When the status of the humanities within the academic system is portrayed, it is not infrequent in the form of a narrative of "the crisis of the humanities."[50] However, an analysis of public knowledge arenas paints a different picture of this historical reality. There are many examples, but as we have seen here, the humanities were a driver for a new form of book publishing, often hailed as revolutionary, and they were also decisive for a specific interpretation of how Christianity should relate to and integrate in modern society.

Fourthly, with the concept of arena we can discern an epoch's larger infrastructure and organization of knowledge, utilizing the concept of infrastructure in a way that has been developed in media history, history of technology, and history of science. John Durham Peters has emphasized that there are both hard and soft forms of infrastructure: railways as well

50 Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization."

as websites could be seen as infrastructure. According to him, they are characterized by an inherent inertia which helps to promote certain forms of path dependency. For infrastructures to work, it requires someone to manage and maintain them. If this is the case, they can become normalized and taken for granted. It would be worthwhile to explore how the humanistic arenas of knowledge were linked to each other and if they formed an overarching infrastructure. One way might be to look at how the dynamics of publishing worked in the postwar period. For instance, it was not uncommon that a knowledge actor wrote a series of essays in the press that were later expanded and turned into a paperback, as for instance was the case with many of Erik Hjalmar Linder's books. This book was, in turn, reviewed and discussed in newspaper or journal articles. To capture this kind of communications circuit – to use Robert Darnton's concept – would be a way to shed light on the infrastructure of public knowledge in the postwar period.[51]

In sum, our focus on public knowledge arenas opens up new aspects of the history of the humanities, hopefully contributing to a richer and more multifaceted history that captures the significance that the humanities have had in society, culture, and the public sphere as a whole.

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51 Darnton, "What is the History"; Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*.

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About the Authors

Johan Östling is the director of the Lund Centre for the History of Knowledge (LUCK) and Wallenberg Academy Fellow, Lund University. Östling's research encompasses various aspects of modern European history, in particular the history of knowledge, intellectual history, and the history of the humanities. His recent publications include *Humboldt and the Modern German University* (2018), *Circulation of Knowledge* (2018), *Forms of Knowledge* (2020), and *Histories of Knowledge in Postwar Scandinavia* (2020).
Contact: johan.ostling@hist.lu.se

Anton Jansson is associate professor of History of Ideas and Science at the University of Gothenburg, and researcher at the Department of History, Lund

University. He works mainly within the fields of intellectual history and the history of knowledge, and in particular with questions of religion and secularization in modern society. His previous work has been focused on both German and Swedish history. Recent publications include "A Swedish Voltaire" in *Secularism and Nonreligion* (2018) and "Things Are Different Elsewhere" in *Global Intellectual History* (2021).
Contact: anton.jansson@hist.lu.se

Ragni Svensson is a postdoctoral researcher at the Department of History, Lund University. Her research interests include European history of knowledge and book history, particularly during the postwar era. Among her most recent publications is the doctoral thesis *Cavefors: Förlagsprofil och mediala mytbilder i det svenska litteratursamhället 1959–1982* (2018).
Contact: ragni.svensson@hist.lu.se

8 The Place of Humanities in a World of Science

Nobel Symposium 14 and the Vanishing Humanist

Sven Widmalm

Abstract

Nobel Symposium 14 on "The Place of Value in a World of Facts" (1969) addressed the then current discussion of "world problems," thought to constitute a crisis for ideals of modernization. Renowned intellectuals from the sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities addressed aspects of the crisis, with a group of student radicals commenting. The initiative had originated with the Swedish Academy that awards literary Nobel Prizes, but the humanities were marginalized in this context as a technocratic approach came to dominate. The students, critical of technocratic solutions, nevertheless found little use for traditional humanistic thinking. They represented a group that soon, by adopting "critical theory," would transform academic humanities.

Key words: Nobel Foundation, modernization theory, student radicalism, world problems, international scientific conferences, fact-value distinction

> [T]he [atomic] explosions produced a kind of psycho-active fall-out which works unconsciously and indirectly, creating such bizarre phenomena as flower-people, drop-outs and barefoot crusaders without a cross. They seem to be products of a mental radiation sickness, which causes an intense and distressing sense of meaninglessness, of an existential vacuum, a search for the place of value in a world of facts. But in a world that refuses to face the facts there is no such place. (Arthur Koestler)[1]

1 Koestler, "The Urge to Self-Destruction," p. 297.

Ekström, A. and H. Östh Gustafsson, eds. *The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge: The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850–2020.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022.
DOI: 10.5117/9789463728867_CH08

Introduction: A Sense of Crisis

The International Federation of Institutes of Advanced Study (IFIAS) was founded in 1972 as a network-based international organization for the promotion of interdisciplinary research addressing problems of global import. Sixteen years later, a commemorative volume was published where some key officials reminisced about the organization's history and achievements. IFIAS' origin was traced to discussions at the fourteenth Nobel Symposium in 1969, titled "The Place of Value in a World of Facts."[2] Alexander King – second Chairman of IFIAS – noted that the symposium, in which he participated, was planned during "one of the crisis points of our century, in which widespread dissatisfaction with many aspects of our science-based and materialistic society suddenly erupted." He pointed especially to the student revolt, the emergence of anti-establishment groups like the hippies, and the sudden environmental awakening. This, he said, was the "atmosphere in which the symposium was held. [---] It was clearly the right moment to reassess the place of science in society and in relation to human values."[3]

The main authors of the IFIAS volume were three Swedes, two of whom had been among the organizers of the Nobel symposium: Nils K. Ståhle, former CEO of the Nobel Foundation and first Chairman of IFIAS, and Sam Nilsson, a physicist and engineer who became the first Director of IFIAS. The Swedes agreed that Nobel Symposium 14 had been marked by a sense of urgency because of "the widening gap between the younger and the older generation," the environmental crisis, and a general sense that science was losing touch with "the humanities." All of this influenced the agenda of the symposium: "perhaps [it is] symptomatic that the initiative came from the humanists who, at that time, were more sensitive to the new 'vibrations' in society."[4]

The years around 1970 were indeed ripe with discussions about issues variously labeled "world problems," "problems of the modern society," the "predicament of mankind," the "problematique," or the "crisis of civilization."[5] This has been described as a general crisis for modernization theory – that is the idea that western welfare-oriented liberalism (and, in a European context, social democracy) would continue to deliver exceptional levels of

2 For edited versions of symposium papers and a transcript of discussions, see Tiselius and Nilsson, *The Place of Value*.

3 King, "Introduction," p. xxvi.

4 Ståhle, Nilsson and Lindblom, *From Vision to Action*, p. 4.

5 Agar, "What Happened"; Andersson, "The Future of the Western World"; Schmelzer, *The Hegemony of Growth*, pp. 258–266.

economic growth and provide technical or technocratic solutions to medical and economic problems, for example, while at the same time exporting market economy and democracy globally, not least to the so-called Third World.[6] One aspect of the crisis was the student revolution with many young people reacting, sometimes violently, against the politics of modernization, including the environmental consequences of technoscience, Cold-War and Third-World policies notably but not only in Vietnam, and market-economy driven consumerism. Student radicals and technocratic elites shared a sense of crisis but both groups tended to view the other as part of the problem.[7]

Nobel Symposium 14, which is the focus of this chapter, would deal with world problems in general and also constituted an attempt to foster dialogue between established elites and radical students, with around forty of the former and ten of the latter participating in the sessions (the students gave no papers though). The organizers acknowledged that the generation gap was among the world problems and argued that the students should be heard out, not least because they represented the future.

Interest in the future, or more specifically "futurology," provided another tension-filled common ground between students and elites at the symposium. In futurology (or futurism or future studies – there were different labels sometimes representing different political tendencies), the future was envisioned not only as a domain for political or economic planning but as a research problem that called for the mobilization of interdisciplinary expertise.[8] By 1969 it had become part of the vocabulary of pop-culture, left-wing radicalism, and Cold-War strategizing and was also taking a technocratic turn with its employment in government or corporate prognostication.[9]

Several symposium organizers and participants engaged with futurological issues from a technocratic perspective.[10] After the event, symposium-attendant Arthur Koestler even wrote a novel, *The Call Girls* (1972), satirizing the symposium as an example of futurological naïveté.[11] As we will see, the student radicals too saw themselves as engaged on a futurological project

6 Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future*, chs. 6–7.

7 Schmelzer, *The Hegemony of Growth*, ch. 7.

8 I use the term futurology as that was the one mostly used by the actors, student radicals as well as organizers.

9 Andersson, The *Future of the World*, esp. chs. 1, 10.

10 Members of the organizing committee and speakers are listed in Tiselius and Nilsson, *The Place of Value*, pp. 8–10. About futurological interests of organizers and participants, see e.g., Block, *Framtidsmiljö för utbildning*; Calder, *Unless Peace Comes*; Carl-Göran Hedén's archive, Futorologi I–III, Karolinska institutet (KI), F1A:7; McHale and Cordell McHale, *The Futures Directory*, p. 383; Nilsson and Block, *Framtiden*.

11 King, *Let the Cat*, p. 350; Koestler, *The Call Girls*.

but with a different orientation than the establishment participants. They represented a visionary and system-critical tendency opposed to the technocratic variety.[12]

The themes of crisis and futurology were connected. As Jenny Andersson has pointed out, discussions such as those at the symposium were often steeped in an alarmist discourse where the future was not only of interest but at stake.[13] So for example did the symposium's main organizer Arne Tiselius explain, in a preparatory discussion about the program, that its *raison d'être* was the contemporary "situation of catastrophy [sic]."[14] It was imperative, he said, that scientists broke free of sterile specialization and developed a sense of social responsibility.

All of this makes Nobel Symposium 14 a prominent example of various trends in the years of perceived crisis around 1970. It was unusual in three senses: because of its association with the status and prestige of the Nobel Prizes (with a quarter of the participants being or later becoming laureates); because it included student radicals representing the future as well as one of the important world problems; and because it was "cross cultural" in that it included representatives of all Nobel-Prize categories and also social science, about to join the Nobel club later in 1969 when the Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel was awarded for the first time, to symposium participant Jan Tinbergen together with Ragnar Frisch.[15]

This chapter will investigate the role of arts and humanities at the symposium and in relation to the perceived crisis, in particular the generation gap and the not well-defined problem of values. The humanities embodied a different kind of tension than that between student radicals and elites, namely that between utility and waste, productivity and luxury. The combined focus on "value" and "facts" in the symposium title indicated that the humanities were important for the success of the cross-cultural approach to world problems which the organizers advocated. But a sense of crisis permeated the humanities themselves at this juncture which, unlike

12 Already a month before the symposium took place it was acknowledged that the organizers were aware of these tensions: Block: "Vetenskapen och framtiden."

13 Andersson, *The Future of the World*, ch. 8.

14 Arne Tiselius, *Nobel Symposium* (undated memorandum in English on "Some questions to be discussed within the framework of the proposed program"), p. 2. In Uppsala universitets arkiv, Institutionen för naturvetenskaplig biokemi, Arne Tiselius: Nobelstiftelsen (Uppsala University Archive, Department of Biochemistry, Arne Tiselius: the Nobel Foundation) (UUA INB ATN), F13:5.

15 The term "cross cultural" (*tvärkulturell*) was used frequently, e.g., in Tiselius, "Opening Address," p. 12.

the dwindling trust in science at the time, indicated not that they were too powerful or even harmful but that they had too little to offer by way of alleviating social or other ills, not least because they seemed not at all to be future-oriented. In Sweden the expression "crisis of the humanities" was to become broadly discussed in the 1970s and a cliché thereafter.[16] The rhetoric was partly inspired by a UK discussion, not least C. P. Snow's essay *The Two Cultures* (1959), which was soon translated into Swedish (1961). In Sweden, Snow's critique of literary culture was translated into a discussion about the relationship between academic science and humanities, which added fuel to a more general marginalization of the humanities from the late 1950s to the 1970s.[17]

As Hampus Östh Gustafsson has shown, the humanities were broadly criticized for being of little utility from the point of view of a Social Democratic policy agenda focused on technological development, growth, and "rational" social planning. He notes that academic humanists in general were ineffective in responding to such criticism and that, as a consequence, the idea to "adapt [the humanities] to a scientific model" became central to Swedish knowledge politics in the early 1960s.[18] This ambition characterized also Nobel Symposium 14 but it did not exactly succeed. As will become evident in the following, the failure to align arts and humanities with more technical or technocratic approaches to world problems was not a symptom of the crisis of modernity that inspired the symposium agenda, but rather of the fact that the humanities – in the eyes of scientists, social scientists, and student radicals alike – had not even become modern enough to merit serious attention. As we will see, some humanists at the symposium (and perhaps those who declined an invitation to participate) seemed to confirm that diagnosis.

A Cross-Cultural Nobel Symposium

Nobel symposia had been held since 1965. Funded by a research foundation created by the Swedish central bank, *Riksbanken*, they were aimed at small groups of elite scientists and scholars from areas pertinent to the five (soon to be six) prize categories. Nobel Symposium 14 was different in that it was

16 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, pp. 244–245.

17 Eldelin, *"De två kulturerna."*

18 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, pp. 240–265 and *passim*. "humaniora behövde anpassas utifrån naturvetenskaplig förebild." Cf. Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization."

cross cultural and would address world problems from scientific as well as social-scientific and humanist angles (which some later symposia would also do). It would break the mold of the symposia's elitism by creating a public space, or arena, for interaction between intellectual elites, media, and the general public.

As we have seen the initiative came from the Swedish Academy responsible for the choice of literary Nobel laureates. In early 1966 its perpetual secretary Karl Ragnar Gierow suggested a sypmosium on the problem of atomic research.[19] After some hesitation, he got scientific backing as Arne Tiselius – Nobel Laureate biochemist, former President of the Nobel Foundation, and hence a pillar of the Nobel system – supported a modified version of the scheme, giving the symposium a "broadened and 'modernised' scientific foundation."[20] The focus on atomic research was replaced by a wider approach, to discuss ways to mobilize the vast stockpile of knowledge already at hand so that it could be optimally utilized to solve problems on a global scale. Nuclear issues receded into the background and focus was directed toward other world problems, including the generation gap. The importance of cultural issues in diagnosing problems was acknowledged through the emphasis on "value" whereas *solutions* were to become associated with "facts."

At the planning stage it seemed as if the humanities might play a more prominent role in the symposium. As the Paris student revolt erupted in May 1968, Gierow was on a visit to the writer Arthur Koestler – an advisor to the organizers – in Tyrol, where they "yodeled together" a program for the symposium rather different from that which was finally adopted. Its tendency was humanistic with speakers like the futurological writer and architect Richard Buckminster Fuller, the linguist and literary historian Walter Jens, and the psychologist Jean Piaget. Several talks, it was suggested, should take their ques from literary works – Goethe's *Faust* and Shaw's *The Doctor's Dilemma* – and it was suggested that Herbert Butterfield should speak on whether we can learn from history. Butterfield was invited but declined and the same was true for other prominent humanists or artists, like philosopher Raymond Aron, theologian Krister Stendahl, Walter Jens, and Igor Stravinsky.[21] The only humanists on their list to make it to the

19 Karl-Ragnar Gierow to the Board of the Nobel Foundation, February 11, 1966; Gierow to the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, March 11, 1966; Gierow to Arne Tiselius, March 17, 1966. UUA INB ATN: F13:5.

20 Gierow to Tiselius, March 17, 1966, UUA INB ATN: F13:5.

21 Raymond Aron to Sam Nilsson, March 28, 1969; Krister Stendahl to Sam Nilsson, April 7, 1969; Herbert Butterfield to Sam Nilsson, February [?] 27, 1969; Walter Jens to Sam Nilsson, undated

symposium were art historian Ernst Gombrich and Koestler himself; they would be joined by the Brandeis philosopher Henry D. Aiken and the poet W. H. Auden. As the program was finalized, the idea that arts and humanities would play a prominent role in the discussions on world problems seems to have faded, though as we will see humanistic issues were addressed in some sessions. The tendency was rather, like in Swedish knowledge policy at the time, to view them as possible auxiliaries to science.

In his opening address, Arne Tiselius discussed the importance of arts and humanities from such a perspective. Science produces true facts, he said, but values are subjective; humans are irrational and not always convinced by science-based arguments. It was therefore necessary to "find the way to [a person's] mind" in order to make "him [...] *engaged*" by important facts, like Rachel Carson had succeeded in doing with *Silent Spring*.[22] Similar concerns had been raised by microbiologist and organization-committee member Carl-Göran Hedén during preparations for the symposium, when its preliminary title was "Science, Arts and Peace." He focused on the psychological capabilities of literary authors to dissect "patterns made up of interactions between individuals and groups." As authors were however part of those patterns themselves Hedén argued, as Snow had done in *The Two Cultures*, that they would have much to gain from the "stimulus of contacts with some outstanding specialists in the natural sciences and medicine." This might help them formulate values that reflected emotional needs rather than "some outdated -isms."[23] Hedén's approach was technocratic and, though he sometimes seemed more positive to arts and humanities there was no room for them in the outline for a program attached to the remarks quoted here. Overall, Hedén seems to have seen the value of the humanities as constituting a psychological counterbalance to pernicious ideologies such as Marxism and nationalism.

As we will see, the view that arts and humanities were of little practical value in and of themselves was seconded, at least implicitly, by several symposium participants including the students and a few humanists. An especially explicit example is Gunnar Myrdal's choleric reaction when he, as one of two Swedes, was invited to contribute a paper. He criticized

telegram. Stravinsky's name appears on a list of invitees ("Inbjudningslista Nobelsymposium 14") dated November 29, 1968. All in UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

22 Tiselius, "Opening Address," p. 14. Cf. Tiselius, *Nobel Symposium* (undated memorandum in English), p. 2, UUA INB ATN, F13:5.

23 Carl-Göran Hedén, "Science, Arts and Peace – A conference on Alfred Nobel's ideas in the light of our predictable future," undated memo in English, p. 1, UUA INB ATN, F13:5.

the cross-cultural ambition, claiming the issue of values must be treated *scientifically*, which ought to have excluded the humanities as well as practical politics:

> The borderline to journalism, literature and art should have been sharply drawn. The accidental fact that there are Nobel prizes also in literature and peace should not be permitted to conceal the fact that there is, or should be, a gulf of difference between the objectives in these two major realms [science including social science vs. the humanities and politics] of intellectual exertions.[24]

Myrdal's outburst was undiplomatic but nevertheless symptomatic of the trend since the 1950s to define the humanities as less "scientific" and less relevant than the social sciences – a position adopted also by sociologist Torgny Segerstedt, a central figure in policy for research and higher education in this period and together with Myrdal, the only Swede who gave a regular paper at the symposium.[25]

The Generation Gap

Last in his opening address, Tiselius presented a "unique" aspect of the symposium, the participation of the so-called World University Study Group (WUSG), who were expected to voice opinions different from those of the more established speakers. The radicalization of youth, in particular students, was seen as symptomatic of an emerging, and very dangerous, divide between value systems in western societies. The study group was expected to provide a reality check from this perspective. They also represented the futurological tendency of the symposium: "They belong to that future which we are going to discuss."[26]

The student movement in Sweden, as elsewhere, was fueled by opposition to various reforms aimed to streamline university education. More importantly in this context, student radicals voiced a broad critique of the universities' inability to address contemporary predicaments such as war,

24 Gunnar Myrdal to the Organizing Committee for Nobel Symposium 14, January 9, 1969 (in English). UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

25 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, pp. 187–198.

26 Tiselius "Opening Address," p. 15.

global inequality, and environmental degradation.[27] Another common denominator among the radicals was a demand for "democratization," interpreted as collective decision-making and opposed to "technocracy."[28] In his magisterial overview of Swedish student radicalism in this period Alexander Ekelund writes that the "most fundamental aspect" of the students' intellectual radicalism was the question of "values and scientific objectivity" – that is to say, the same problem that defined the agenda of Nobel Symposium 14, and understood in the same context (world problems).[29] The technocratic tendencies decried by student radicals were the same as those associated with the marginalization of the humanities. But in 1969 this had not led to an alliance with the beleaguered humanists, except when it came to opposition against philistine university reforms.

Media coverage of Nobel Symposium 14 was carefully staged by the organizers and expectations of media impact were high. They seem to have been fulfilled but on the national level in a sense that the organizers had not planned, as a lot of press reporting focused on the student radicals. After the first symposium day, the conservative broadsheet *Svenska Dagbladet* published, on its front page, a large photo of Nobel Laureate biochemists Arne Tiselius and Jacques Monod with the headline "Good Morning, Super-Brains!"[30] This referred to an intervention by the study group. Carrying NLF badges and Mao pins, they had transmitted that greeting to the participants through the loudspeaker system. Margaret Mead was quoted as saying that she thought the participation of the study group was the most encouraging aspect of the event.[31]

The study group distributed flowers to the participants along with a booklet, *To Superminds* [not "super-brains"] *with Love*. In an interview a student said that researchers were too isolated in their fields of expertise and that they should pay more attention to for example generational antagonisms and future studies [*framtidsvetenskapen*]. Judging from press reports and the WUSG booklet, this was a general theme in the students' contribution to the symposium.[32]

27 On student radicalism in Sweden, see above all Ekelund, *Kampen om vetenskapen*, chs. 2–4. See also Josefsson, *Året var 1968*; Östberg, *1968*.

28 Ekelund, ch. 5.

29 Ekelund, p. 575. "värderingar och vetenskaplig objektivitet."

30 Lundborg, "Good Morning."

31 [J. B.], "Teknisk kolonialism"; Lundborg, "Nobelsymposiet." The badges and pins were noted in [Unsigned], "Ungdomar irriterar."

32 [J. B.], "Teknisk kolonialism."

The study group was edgily presented as constituting a provocative element, a "time bomb."[33] If so, the bomb had been set by the organizers. Sam Nilsson and Carl-Göran Hedén had over a six-months period coached the students in literature seminars around "[a]ttitudes and values." Fifty books and articles were discussed, a good many of them futurological. A card index of relevant quotations was created from which the booklet, with "provocative or challenging" questions arranged according to the symposium session topics, was produced. The study group were instructed not to make lengthy statements during discussions but rather to sprinkle them with "spicy" comments.[34]

The booklet was mildly spicy. Its tone was established on the cover, with a cartoon depicting a number of world problems and comments indicating a general suspicion concerning the integrity of the "superminds." On the following page was a more professional illustration depicting a poor African man behind a plow with a missile or possibly a space capsule in the sky above. The symposium participants were asked to identify and to suggest solutions to the problem indicated by the cartoon, that progress in one area might hinder progress in another.

The WUSG consisted of ten young males mostly in their mid-twenties that had been invited through contacts with a few radical organizations: LASITOC, Young Philosophers [*Unga filosofer*], and U-Action [*U-Aktion*].[35] Their affiliation to these groups along with a list of eighteen topics that they were engaged on and areas where they were active were presented in a table. LASITOC was an international theosophical group founded in 1964 to address environmental and post-colonial issues.[36] Six members of WUSG claimed affiliation with LASITOC, among them its founder Jan Fjellander, an arts student and self-proclaimed futurologist [*framtidsforskare*].[37] Young Philosophers were engaged in anti Vietnam-War activities as well

33 [Unsigned], "En tidsinställd bomb." The comment was made by symposium coordinator Sam Nilsson; "tidsinställd bomb."

34 *To Superminds With Love*, "Introduction," dated September 13, 1969, UUA INB ATN, F13:4. The booklet has no pagination and will be quoted referring to sections. See also Arne Tiselius and Sam Nilsson, "Nobelsymposium 14: Rapport till Nobelstiftelsen," dated January 1970, p. 2, UUA INB ATN, F13:2; Sam Nilsson to Arne Tiselius, undated, UUA INB ATN, F13:4: "provocerande eller utmanande"; "kryddad."

35 *To Superminds With Love*, "Introduction," UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

36 Nilsson, "The UN Conference," pp. 12–14. On LASITOC and its network, see also Nilsson, *NGO Involvement*, pp. 18–21. For the theosophical affiliation of LASITOC, see photocopied material in the archive of Carl-Göran Hedén at KI, Hedéns framträdanden i radio och TV medier Vol II, deriving from the Theosophic Youth Group [*Teosofiska ungdomsgruppen*].

37 [Unsigned], "Ung attack," p. 23.

as the relationship between research and politics. U-Action, finally, was concerned with Third-World issues.[38] Most popular among the study group's areas of interest were "futurology" (eight), art and music (seven), social science (six), and (with five each) environmental issues, cybernetics, philosophy, and journalism. Only three claimed to have an interest in politics (of the established kind, presumably).[39] The overall impression is that the group was characterized by activism (a choice by the organizers) and what Fjellander described as "searching for knowledge for the future."[40]

The tendency of the booklet is "critical" in that quotations and comments often indicate critique of western societies in areas like science and education, the environment, the north-south divide, armament, and war. Two sources with many quotes stick out: futurological literature and an anonymous publication in the same genre by a US government "special study group," *The Report from Iron Mountain* (1967), the latter being a hoax satirizing Cold War futurology of the Herman Kahn type, abhorred by the student radicals who, among with many others, mistook it for the real thing. The longest futurological excerpt by far, however, was from leftists Johan Galtung and Robert Jungk who emphasized democratic values in contrast to technocratic forecasting. The use of quotations hence indicates the tensions within futurology at this time, between establishment technocracy and visionary radicalism.[41]

The booklet covered the generation gap in a section containing a long text apparently written by the study-group members themselves. They concluded that the generation gap was really a knowledge gap, reflecting that younger people were much better informed than their elders. Adult education was proposed as a solution to this problem.[42] In general, the booklet's message on this issue was that, because of their generational vantage point, the students were able to unmask technocratic authority as represented by the establishment symposium participants. The generation gap was defined as a knowledge gap *and* as a value gap; the generational divide was described in Leninist fashion with the students as a radical vanguard and their elders as in need of re-education.

38 On Young Philosophers, see Ekelund, *Kampen om vetenskapen*, ch. 3.

39 *To Superminds With Love*, "World university study group profile," UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

40 Nilsson, "The UN Conference," p. 12 (from an interview with Fjellander in 2003).

41 See e.g., Hedén, "Anpassning eller undergång?"

42 *To Superminds With Love*, "Adult education," UUA INB ATN, F13:4

Some of these points were elaborated in a xeroxed *Wusg bullet-in* written and distributed during the symposium. It contained interviews with symposium participants and criticism of their lack of social concern and their affiliation with the military-industrial complex. Though the *bullet-in* did print Auden's poetic contribution at the symposium, *Ode to Terminus*, interviews were only with scientists and engineers, not with scholars or writers from the humanities or with social scientists. To the students, the fact-value conundrum seems to have been of interest mainly from the point of view of technoscientific elites, in particular "people over 35" to whom being a "guest of the Nobel Foundation seems to be very impressive."[43]

The position of arts and humanities in this field of intellectual and moral tension was apparently not an issue. A few quotes in the booklet concerned their importance for creativity, but they seemed to have nothing special to contribute to the discussions of concrete world problems, of ideology, or of values. Students and elite participants shared the future- and problem-oriented outlook that was associated with the marginalization of academic humanities at the time.

The last day of the symposium proper, the generation gap came into focus as two of the public evening lectures at *Börssalen*, a venue belonging to the Swedish Academy, were dedicated to the topic. News reports focused on the self-appointed provocateur Konrad Lorenz, who analysed youth culture from ethological and quasi-anthropological perspectives.[44] In an interview published before the lecture, he said the youth acted "as if they belong to another culture," comparing them to "[n]ative tribes in Africa." Members of youth subcultures wanted to *kill* their elders Lorenz suggested, only five weeks after the "Manson family" murders in Los Angeles. This, he said, was not a moral condemnation but a theoretical perspective that should guide future research.[45]

According to a news headline after Lorenz' lecture in *Börssalen* the ethologist had "tamed the students."[46] Apparently he did this by repeating his claim that youths were hateful and that they had become like an alien tribe.[47] Philosopher Henry D. Aiken said on the same occasion that it was

43 The *Wusg bullet-in*, issues 1–2, contained interviews with Jacques Monod, Joshua Lederberg, John Robinson Pierce, Carlos Chagas, Glenn Seaborg, Mikhail D. Millionschchikov, and Linus Pauling. UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

44 Lorenz described himself as a provocateur. See Matz and Lindström, "Hur ser ni."

45 Ehrenmark, "Konrad Lorenz." "som om de tillhörde en annan kultur"; "Infödingsstammar i Afrika." Cf. [unsigned], "Har människan"; Matz and Lindström, "Hur ser ni."

46 [Unsigned], "Lorenz tämjde"; Lundborg, "Beteendeforskare på Börshuset."

47 [Unsigned], "Lorenz tämjde." Cf. Lorenz, "The Enmity Between," p. 400.

the young who saw themselves as a "race apart" revolting against established institutions but, in contrast to Lorenz, affirming their right to do so even in sexual matters, praising their seriousness and calling for collaboration across the generational divide.[48] Anthropologist Margaret Mead, described in the press as more radical than many student leaders, claimed that the young constituted an "alien generation" that had to find its own way.[49] She called them "natives" and those over forty "immigrants."[50] Arthur Koestler associated the student revolt with nihilism caused by a scientism that drained western culture of values.[51] He exemplified by pointing to Lorenz' biologism as an example of "ratomorphism," understanding humans as if they were rats or, in Lorenz' case, geese.[52]

Hence three interpretations of the generation gap were presented by the established symposium participants: that it was a crisis phenomenon caused by a tribal hatred of the older generation (Lorenz), a crisis phenomenon caused by scientism (Koestler), and an often sound reaction against broader problems in society (Aiken and Mead). All of them touched upon the question of values, and the latter three vaguely indicated a constructive role for arts and humanities – Koestler indirectly through his criticism of scientific reductionism, Aiken and Mead by affording a positive role to ethics and education respectively. Of these Aiken, a writer on university issues including the student revolt, was most articulate.[53] He came down firmly on the side of the young, not least because he saw in them a "sustained religious seriousness and [...] tolerance for all genuine expressions of the sense of the holy and the wonderful."[54] As we will see this advocacy of arts and humanities found little resonance with the symposium as a whole.

As for the students they mostly stuck to the Leninist interpretation of the generation gap. At *Börssalen*, they lived up to moderate expectations of youth activism by staging a "happening" – a nod, at least, to the political efficacy of art of the anti-establishment kind, described by

48 [Unsigned], "Lorenz tämjde." "en främmande ras." Cf. Aiken, "Youth and Its Rights," pp. 375–376.

49 Öste, "Margaret Mead"; [Unsigned], "Lorenz tämjde"; "okänd generation"; Lundborg, "Beteendeforskare på Börshuset."

50 Lundborg, "Margaret Mead."

51 Hallén, "Ungdomsrevolt mot tomhet." Cf. Koestler, "Rebellion in a Vacuum."

52 Wickbom, "Arthur Koestler."

53 See e.g., Aiken, *Predicament of the University*, where the last chapters are an adaption of Aiken's paper at the symposium: "Youth and Its Rights," pp. 360–383.

54 Aiken, "Youth and Its Rights," p. 378.

Lorenz as "people who throw up on a table and stand on their heads."[55] Among the audience applauding the performance were several Social Democratic ministers, notably Olof Palme – a few weeks from becoming Prime Minister – and Minster of Disarmament and future Peace Laureate Alva Myrdal.[56]

One paper printed short interviews with nine students of which eight were members of the study group.[57] The headline, "Young attack against the Nobel symposium," accentuated the negative. Five of the interviewees were critical, for example complaining about the bourgeois dominance among the speakers and their indifference in the face of world problems. The latter comment, by British PhD student Peter Harper, may have referred to one of the few humanists present, Ernst Gombrich, who did say that the world problems were likely insolvable (see below). Four students were more positive, emphasizing the accessibility of the participants and their willingness to discuss important issues.[58]

The three evening sessions at *Börssalen* were open to the public and to journalists but non-participants were not allowed to attend the day-time sessions at a conference center outside of central Stockholm. These discussions were however covered in a 24,000-word transcript in the symposium volume. According to the transcript much of the discussions covered future-oriented topics, sometimes in a science-fiction kind of way and sometimes in a more concrete fashion. As for the student contributions, they were almost completely omitted in print. Only four comments were registered, none more than a few sentences and all anonymously attributed to a generic "student."[59] At the symposium's final press conference, the study group was praised for having brought attention to important political issues, above all those of the Third World, something which the transcript does not reflect.[60] Comments by some organizers after the event critical of the students' impertinence and politics confirm that

55 According to an anonymous profile of Staffan Hildebrand, a member of the study group and a well-known social-democratic youth politician, the group had been invited to "torch" [*kasta brandfacklor på*] the elite participants at the Nobel Symposium. The same metaphor was used in another unsigned article. See [Unsigned], "Frågor av studenter." On Lorenz, see Wickbom, "Konrad Lorenz."

56 [Unsigned], "Lorenz tämjde"; Lundborg, "Beteendeforskare på Börshuset." Lorenz commented in a similar fashion on the youth problem in Ehrenmark, "Konrad Lorenz."

57 The interviewees overlap with but are not identical with the group listed in *To Superminds With Love*, UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

58 [Unsigned], "Ung attack."

59 [Unsigned], *Discussion*, pp. 450, 466, 471.

60 [Unsigned], "Driv utvecklingen."

they intervened rather more than what the transcript shows.[61] If the press coverage exaggerated the political one-sidedness of the students, as for example Tiselius argued, the official symposium publication in effect made their views invisible.[62]

The Place of Humanities

Two symposium sessions leaned more than the others toward the humanities. The title of the second, "The teaching of knowledge and the imparting of values," signalled a focus on the arts-and-humanities theme of values; the title of the third session, "The new republic – scientist, humanist and government," seemed to imply a focus on the importance of science as well as humanities for policy. In the second session, Ernst Gombrich's ruminations on "the parrot cry of relevance" and W. H. Auden's comments on the epistemological and moral character of art and science, though interesting and perhaps too intellectually advanced for the occasion, contributed little to the problem-oriented agenda of the symposium.[63] Gombrich implicitly criticized it by refuting demands for relevance, claiming that many of the world problems were insolvable.[64] In the third session biochemist Ivan Málek talked about creativity, sociologist Torgny Segerstedt gave a systematic overview of futurology (in four pages), scientists Linus Pauling and Glenn Seaborg advocated technocratic solutions to various world problems from a mildly socialist and established policy perspective respectively, and Otto Klinenberg did the same from a psychology perspective. The only arts person in the session was Arthur Koestler who addressed the theme of values by attacking the idea of value-free science, dear to the heart of the symposium's technocratically inclined participants, including Pauling, but criticized also by Gunnar Myrdal.

It was the biochemist Jacques Monod who gave the most talked-about paper on values, in a session on "The menace and the promise of science." Monod

61 August Schou, "Nobel Symposium XIV. Stockholm September 15–20, 1969," undated, pp. 6–7; idem, "Kommentarer till Nobelsymposium XIV," dated October 2, 1969, pp 1–2; both in UUA INB ATN, F13:2. The first of these documents was much more harshly worded than the second and was possibly meant for Tiselius' eyes only. Similar critique was vented in Nils K. Ståhle, "Iakttagelser från Nobelsymposium 14," September 22, 1969, UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

62 Arne Tiselius and Sam Nilsson, "Nobel Symposium 14: Rapport till Nobelstiftelsen," dated January 1970, p. 5; [Unsigned], "Ungdomarna besvikna."

63 Auden, "Freedom and Necessity," pp. 135–142; Gombrich, "Art and Self-Transcendence," p. 129.

64 Gombrich, "Art and Self-Transcendence," p. 130.

pointed to the "phenomenal destructive potential of the scientific method," indicating not the bomb but "the destruction of ideas and concepts."[65] This theme was addressed by several participants. It had, consciously or not been put on the agenda through the organizers' choice to name the symposium after a well-known book from the 1930s by psychologist Wolfgang Köhler which dealt with the science-values issue.[66] Monod's solution was scientistic: to create a new value system from scratch based on axioms. He believed such a system should take the biological foundation of ethics into account and several other participants agreed. Joshua Lederberg's "futuristic" piece on "The Perfection of Man" hesitantly argued in favor of Julian Huxley's idea, that a new humanism or even religion could be founded on insights from evolutionary biology; C. H. Waddington speculated that ethics might, in analogy with Chomskyan linguistics, be biologically grounded. Like these scientists, and also Lorenz, Koestler put an evolutionary spin on the question of values but less optimistically, blaming moral shortcomings on evolutionary "screws loose somewhere between the neocortex and the hypothalamus."[67]

As we have seen, the initiative behind the symposium came from the Swedish Academy's perpetual secretary Karl Ragnar Gierow. He was part of the organizing committee and attended the symposium, though not as a speaker. In the press he provided it with an essayistic post-mortem focused on the question of values. He quoted Gombrich who had related an anecdote about his former teacher Wolfgang Köhler. In 1935, Köhler and a few friends had spent a last fearful night in Berlin before fleeing Nazi Germany playing chamber music. "Such is," said Gombrich, "the place of value in a world of facts."[68] Gierow reflected on this from the point of view of the symposium's bleak premise, that humankind faced a crisis it might not survive:

> Such was the situation also for the symposium, because such is the predicament of humanity, waiting and wondering who or what will come up the stairs and pound on our door. But with the difference that we have

65 Monod, "On Values," p. 21.

66 Köhler, *The Place of Value*.

67 Koestler, "The Urge to Self-Destruction," p. 300; Lederberg, "Orthobiosis"; Waddington, "The Importance of Biological," pp. 95–103.

68 Gierow, "Randanteckningar vid ett symposium." The quote was in English but what Gombrich wrote (p. 132) was actually "I cannot think of a better illustration of the place of value in a world of facts."

> nowhere to escape and the chamber music does not exist that is fit for even passing the time.[69]

This, then, was Gierow's response to the question of the value of arts and humanities in the face of overwhelming world problems: they will not even serve as a distraction. Consequently, in summarizing the symposium, the humanist Gierow portrayed himself as an outsider, an observer to a discussion conducted mainly by natural and social scientists, with humanists seemingly being afraid to grapple with such an "ethereal phenomenon" as values.[70] He described Monod's attempt "to make ethics a scientific subject" as the symposium "in a nutshell," hesitantly agreeing with the biochemist that a new system of values had to be founded not on tradition but on "a complete tabula rasa."[71]

Throughout the discussions on values ran the theme of science criticism. The organizers were critical of scientific isolationism and the lack of scientific coordination – especially in the face of world problems. The students were critical of modern science not only because of its destructive capabilities but because it was allied with the military and represented technocratic power run amok, an analysis supported by Linus Pauling.[72] Several scientists acknowledged that science had led to disenchantment and suggested remedies founded on science, in particular evolutionary theory. The humanists Koestler and Gombrich both decried scientific reductionism but offered no remedies whereas their colleague Gierow sided with the scientists. Auden provided a poetic comment in the concluding stanzas of *Ode to Terminus*, where he wrote that scientists "to be truthful / must remind us to take all they say as a tall story" and that damnation awaited those poets who "to wow an / audience, utter some resonant lie."[73] Auden alone put any kind of moral obligation on arts and humanities, thus acknowledging their importance in a time of crisis. It is ironic that nonsense was made of

69 Gierow, "Randanteckningar vid ett symposium." "Sådan var också symposiets situation, ty sådant är mänsklighetens predikament, i väntan och undran vem eller vad som ska komma upp för trapporna och bulta på vår dörr. Men med den skillnaden, att vi har ingenstans att fly och den kammarmusik finns inte, som ens kan fördriva tiden."

70 On the humanist as a (critical) outsider in Sweden, see Östh Gustafsson, "Mobilising the Outsider."

71 Gierow, "Randanteckningar vid ett symposium." "luftig företeelse"; "i ett nötskal." Monod was quoted in English.

72 Mead criticized the way education functioned as a power system but also argued that blaming science for world problems was misguided. Mead, "Education for Humanity," p. 424. See also Pauling, "Scientists in Politics."

73 Auden, *Ode to Terminus*, p. 811.

the stanza just quoted in the symposium volume, where it was disfigured by a misprint substituting "life" for "lie."[74]

The Vanishing Humanist

There is a parallel here with the theme of Steven Shapin's well-known paper on the "invisible technician" during the scientific revolution.[75] Technicians had been instrumental in modern science since its foundation but were made "transparent" by upper-class contemporaries and historians alike. The humanities have suffered a similar fate after World War II. In the presentation recently of a new history of humanities journal it was pointed out that despite the "impressive corpus of knowledge that the humanities have discovered, created, and cultivated over many centuries," their role in helping to produce theoretical and empirical foundations for any understanding of social and cultural developments, has often not been acknowledged.[76] One way of understanding this phenomenon, at least before the 1970s, is that the humanists' ways of knowing were appropriated and thus made invisible by the social sciences with their higher theoretical pretensions (also in parallel with the science-technology hierarchy). Though Nobel Symposium 14 was initiated by humanists it would exemplify this tendency, with science and social science stealing the show and with a general lack of appreciation of the humanities' relevance among elite and student participants alike. Gierow recognized this, blaming the humanists themselves for timidly avoiding the value problem.

The other organizers and the scientific participants understood the role of arts and humanities as subservient to the real problem solvers, primarily scientists and to some extent social scientists. Broadly speaking, the solutions that the organizers and many participants suggested, also to value problems, were scientistic or technocratic. This was true of the three organizers who had most influence over the symposium program, Arne Tiselius, Sam Nilsson, and Carl-Göran Hedén. Tiselius kicked off the symposium by defining the role of arts and humanities as an aid to make "the man in the street" more engaged by scientific facts. Like an unreformed modernization theorist, Nilsson argued during preliminary discussions that the goal was to mobilize a global technocracy: "the international of scientists must consider which

74 Auden, "Freedom and Necessity," p. 142.
75 Shapin, "The Invisible Technician."
76 Bod et al., "A New Field," p. 1.

international problems that might be ameliorated through research and where resources may be found to solve them."[77] Hedén expressed himself similarly, proposing "a global plan for political and economic structural reform."[78] In an article published shortly before the symposium he suggested that there was a connection between the high proportion of "humanists and lawyers" among politicians and government officials and their inability to deal with important problems that scientists and engineers could, given the chance, solve with one "coordinated and well-aimed fusillade."[79]

Similar tendencies were manifested in an internal evaluation of the symposium by Tiselius and Nilsson. They put much stress on its global impact. International media attention had been massive and predominantly positive they said. A journalist in the British magazine *Science Journal* had written that the symposium could mark "one of the turning points in the history of humanity" because of its strong emphasis on breaking scientific isolationism; symposium participant C. H. Waddington said in the same journal that it should be seen as a model for planning "priorities in societal developments for the near future."[80] Even the White House had been in touch asking to receive a copy of the symposium volume for Nixon's new futurological committee, "The National Goals Research Staff."[81] All in all the event was described as a great public-relations success for the Nobel Foundation, in particular because the overall message that scientific expertise should be mobilized to stake out policy options had hit home.

Tiselius and Nilsson emphasized that the symposium was well integrated with similar future-oriented initiatives internationally. From early on there was coordination with the planning of two other meetings, by the World Academy of Art and Science in New York in 1970 and the UN conference on the human environment in Stockholm 1972. Three conferences with futurological themes had been directly inspired by the Nobel symposium it was claimed, and the Rockefeller Foundation would arrange workshops

77 Sam Nilsson, "Några tankar inför tvärkulturellt Nobelsymposium," undated, p. 3: "vetenskapsmännens international måste överväga vilka nationella problem som kan underlättas genom forskning och var resurser kan framskaffas för att lösa dem"; UUA INB ATN, F13:5.

78 Carl-Göran Hedén, "Allmän bakgrund till programprioritering för Nobelsymposiet: Science, Arts, Peace and Human Welfare," 21 March 1968, p. 3: "en global plan för politisk och ekonomisk strukturomvandling"; UUA INB ATN, F13:5.

79 Hedén, "Anpassning eller undergång?," pp. 183–184.

80 Arne Tiselius and Sam Nilsson, "Nobel Symposium 14: Rapport till Nobelstiftelsen," dated January 1970, pp. 6, 9 (quote): "prioriteringar i samhällsutvecklingen för den omedelbara framtiden"; UUA INB ATN, F13:2.

81 Charles Williams (Acting Staff Director, National Goals Research Staff) to Sam Nilsson, September 25, 1969; UUA INB ATN, F13:4.

to plan future collaboration with the Nobel Foundation. One result of the Rockefeller workshops would be the creation in 1972 of IFIAS, for over a decade situated at *Ulriksdals slott*, a royal castle near Stockholm, and led by Sam Nilsson.

Considering the networks in which the symposium was embedded it may be viewed as a semi-successful attempt by the Nobel Foundation to establish itself in a transnational context of organizations probing technocratic solutions to global problems. IFIAS was an institutionalization of this ambition. Its goal was in a sense to practice what the Club of Rome preached in their first report, *The Limits of Growth* (1972), by promoting interdisciplinary research relevant to global problems like the sustainable use of natural resources. Their most important contribution, IFIAS would later claim, was to have started the discussion about human-induced climate change as early as 1972. The Club of Rome and IFIAS were dominated by scientists, engineers, social scientists, and businesspeople; the role of arts and humanities in this context was initially small.[82]

In post-war Sweden, sociology and economics consumed much of the oxygen that had been vital for the development of arts and humanities in the first half of the twentieth century, not least for history, still considered a politically relevant area of scholarship in those early decades.[83] The fact that Gunnar Myrdal and Torgny Segerstedt, the only Swedes presenting papers at Nobel Symposium 14, came from economics and sociology exemplifies this, as does the fact that the Prize in Economic Sciences was instituted in the late 1960s to be awarded for the first time in the fall of 1969. Like the Nobel Symposia, the prize was funded through a donation by the Swedish *Riksbank*. The fact that economic power on this scale was grafted onto the Nobel system in these years surely affected the character of Nobel Symposium 14; its spin-off IFIAS would likewise get funding from *Riksbanken* plus a number of private enterprises and foundations.[84]

The disintegration of modernization theory and the technocratic turn in futurology around 1970 both exemplify an instrumentalization of social thinking typical of the first post-war decades and, after the years of "crisis" around 1970, of an emerging neo-liberalism buttressed by the Prize in

82 On climate change, see Ståhle, Nilsson and Lindblom, *From Vision to Action*, pp. 16–17. On projects supported by IFIAS up until the mid-1980s, see ibid., pp. 100–122.

83 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, ch. 2.

84 Ståhle, Nilsson and Lindblom, *From Vision to Action*, pp. iii–iv, 9.

Economic Sciences.[85] Under these circumstances it is not surprising if arts and humanities seemed to vanish into the woodwork for a while. During the 1970s they would assume a role less instrumental than what had been suggested but not realized at Nobel Symposium 14 and more in line with student radicals' notion of what *critical* academic thinking ought to be like.[86] As former practitioners of student radicalism increasingly set the tone of academic scholarship, the humanities began, like the social sciences had done earlier, to adopt *theory* – to some extent of the Frankfurt variety but also influenced by the psychoanalytic ideas of Julia Kristeva and Jacques Lacan, and the socialist theories of Louis Althusser. As the ideas of Michel Foucault became central to this movement, the premises behind the fact-value distinction would effectively be deconstructed for generations.[87]

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Archives

The main archive used for this paper is that of Arne Tiselius at the Archive of Uppsala University at Uppsala University's main administrative buildning, the Segerstedt building (named after one of the symposium participants).

The huge archive of Carl-Göran Hedén at the Karolinska Institute, Stockholm, has also been consulted. It has not been possibe to utilize it fully, though, as large parts of it is uncataloged.

85 Offer and Söderberg, *The Nobel Factor*.
86 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, pp. 343–349.
87 Ekelund, *Kampen om vetenskapen*, chs. 6–7.

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About the Author

Sven Widmalm is since 2010 professor of History of Science and Ideas at Uppsala University. He is currently PL of the HERA-funded project "The Scientific Conference: A Social, Cultural, and Political History." Recent publications include *Communicating the History of Medicine: Perspectives on Audiences and Impact* (Manchester UP 2020, ed. with Solveig Jülich) and *Intellectual Collaboration with the Third Reich: Treason or Reason?* (Routledge 2021, ed. with Maria Björkman and Patrik Lundell).
Contact: sven.widmalm@idehist.uu.se

Impact, Policy, and Humanities Futures

9 Thinking the Human System

The Application of Humanities and Social Science Reasoning to Societal Problems

Jenny Andersson and David Larsson Heidenblad

Abstract
Between 1967 and 1972, Swedish futures studies emerged as a distinct political and intellectual endeavor. In this development, the humanities and social sciences played a special role, especially through the idea that human knowledge and knowledge about a "human system" could be brought to bear on societal problems and used to forge a new approach to the future. We focus here on two scholars, historian Birgitta Odén and geographer Torsten Hägerstrand, proposing that they were important figures in developing a new engagement with problems of social and human time in Swedish social science and humanities research.

Keywords: Sweden, Cold War, humanities and social science, system, values

Introduction

Between 1967 and 1972, Swedish futures studies emerged as a distinct political and intellectual endeavor. In this development, the humanities and social sciences played a special role, especially through the idea that human knowledge and knowledge about a "human system" could be brought to bear on societal problems and used to forge a new approach to the future. Integral to this development were two Swedish scholars, historian Birgitta Odén and geographer Torsten Hägerstrand, who took active part in shaping the field of future studies. In this chapter, we will

Ekström, A. and H. Östh Gustafsson, eds. *The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge: The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850–2020.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022.
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highlight their intellectual trajectories and their particular contribution to the field: an emphasis on the role of values in and for human development.

The construction of Swedish futures studies, drawing on specific conceptualizations of Odén and Hägerstrand, appears as a specific engagement with temporality in a context where humanities and social science research in many other places were caught up in different projects of temporal colonizations. The Swedish, and perhaps Nordic, approach to a social and human system with open temporalities can be situated in a global debate around systems theories, thoroughly inspired by the Cold War. Recently, an important literature in the history of social science has highlighted the influence of the Cold War on forms of knowledge, also outside of the particular American Cold War science nexus.[1] Knowledge production in the humanities and social sciences contributes to the shaping of temporality and the construction of forms of engagement with social time.[2] The Swedish case is of importance here. The mobilization of humanities and social science reiterated notions of a Scandinavian *Sonderweg*, particularly in the Swedish context in which the last years of the 1960s were marked by the development of more active state research policy and an increased awareness of research as the solution of a new set of problems.

These challenges were conceptualized as having to do with long term and transversal challenges to growth societies, and by ambitions to develop new cross-disciplinary perspectives around problem areas such as technology and human value change, peace and conflict studies, and environmental research. The construction of these problem areas drew on new conceptualizations within the general politics of knowledge regarding the role of the humanities and social science, as well as on new dimensions between cross-sectoral research, basic and applied knowledge, planning and policy relevance.

While these developments were international, indeed global, the Swedish trajectory – and the key role played by the humanities and the social sciences – was different. Hence, we here seek to demonstrate how a preoccupation with human values and the human system, made Swedish futures studies into a different intellectual endeavor that paved the way for a novel understanding of change, time, and human agency.

1 Solovey and Cravens, *Cold War Social Science.*

2 Camic, Gross and Lamont, *Social Knowledge.*

Futures Studies, Transversal Research, and the Cold War Situation

The reorganization of humanities and social science research in Sweden in the early 1960s reiterated specific institutional trajectories even if it mirrored transnational and international developments. As argued for instance by Fridjonsdottir, Swedish political culture was marked since the interwar period by a highly modernist and reformist approach to social science, a structure by which social democrat politicians "set the problem" and an army of social scientists proceeded to solve it. This problem-solving complex fell back on the organization of social science since the late eighteenth century, a period in which mainly sociology was closer linked to problems of state organization and national resource husbandry than before (even if this was a later development in Sweden than elsewhere).[3]

The "problem solving" orientation, in turn, reflected institutional convergences with for instance Germany, which was a model in the construction of Swedish social science from the mid–twentieth century on. Social science in many places was of course directly influenced by problems of statehood and modernity. In the immediate post war and early Cold War period, as scholars have recently argued, research gained a yet stronger role in Swedish society as a tool for building the welfare state. In the 1960s this included a stronger approach to the technical and natural sciences, an interest in new forms of application as opposed to basic science, and also, a reflection on which kinds of science could strengthen a societal culture perceived as unique and distinct. As Lundin, Stenlås and Gribbe show, a parallel of sorts emerged to what has frequently in the US been labeled the military industrial complex, where science, including social science and humanistic forms of knowledge, was mobilized for the purposes of national unity during war.[4]

In Sweden, there was no direct Cold War front, but ideas of neutrality strengthened ideas of self-provision and sustenance in an overarching notion of crisis preparedness and national effort. By the 1960s, a new set of state-industrial initiatives thus included new forms of socio-technical science such as systems theory, ecological economics, and futures studies, which could be motivated both as defense strategic interests and

3 Fridjondottir, *Vetenskap och politik*; Wagner and Wittrock, *Discourses on Society*; Wisselgren, *Samhällets kartläggare*.

4 Lundin, Stenlås and Gribbe, *Science for Warfare and Welfare*. See also Isaac, "The Human Sciences."

as having a new potential for policy and planning. These developments were in many ways direct parallels to the building of policy sciences in the US, the UK, and Germany (in response to the harnessing of science and technology in the Soviet system), and it is also clear that there were important transnational connections between Sweden and a much larger science policy debate.[5] Swedish historians have mainly emphasized the way that the science policy debate enacted key national myths and Cold War constructs, for instance when Lundin, Stenlås and Gribbe cite the nuclear physicist and member of the Swedish Atomic Committee, Torsten Gustafson, 1955, in a chapter on the technologies of tomorrow: "Sweden must build its own capacity, otherwise, we would lose our freedom of action."[6] But it matters that this specific notion of freedom of action was directly linked to reflections on the drawing in of human and social research into the projects of Marxism and liberalism elsewhere, and to a critical stance on such epistemologies.

The key architect of social science reasoning in Sweden in the Cold War era, Gunnar Myrdal, husband of Alva Myrdal who became the political architect of Swedish futures studies, set out this formulation of a specific systems independence in *The Objectivity of Social Research* in 1969, where he argued that there could be no strict value neutrality in social science. A social model like Sweden's, with a planned but essentially liberal economy, a vital democracy, and an in-between position between the blocs, had to find its own epistemological orientation. This became a core principle of Myrdalian thought in the 1970s and it had a huge influence on Swedish social science. Myrdal's criticism of objectivity was directly tainted by the Cold War situation, but his understanding of social science as active intervention fell back on the Myrdal's 1930s conceptions.[7]

The development of the policy sciences in Sweden was, similar to US and large parts of Europe, strengthened by the active organization of new fields in engineering and technology during the Cold War. Not least the role of the Royal Academy of Engineering, IVA, is important here. IVA was created in 1919 by Swedish business and engineering interests. In the 1960s, IVA, on behalf of a set of Swedish multinationals, began to take a strong interest in mainly technological systems analysis and defense applications.[8] What is

5 Andersson, "Choosing Futures"; Andersson, *The Future of the World*; Holmberg, "Historikerna blickar framåt."

6 Grandin, "Naturlig neutralitet"; Stenlås and Lundin, "Technology, State Initiative," p. 3.

7 Myrdal, *Objektivitetsproblemet.*

8 Lundin, Stenlås and Gribbe, *Science for Warfare and Welfare*.

key to this chapter, however, is that the new constellation that developed from the early 60s also contained active reactions against militarization and commercialization of research, and against the very idea of thinking the "system" as an essentially technological product.

This was a two-edged development: on the one hand, strong public figures such as Odén and Hägerstrand, and not least Myrdal, argued for a new value-informed and non-deterministic approach to systems thinking, on the other, they strongly advocated the public utility of the humanities and social sciences and sought to draw these further into state led research policy in a new way. Also, the humanities and social sciences were thus given a key role for neutrality, welfare, and a kind of forward-looking rationality that involved both deep forms of instrumentality and problem solving, and an essentially epistemological reflection on the human situation of the Cold War.[9]

The Swedish geopolitical situation between the blocs here translated into a specific idea of autonomy, freedom, and welfare. Over time this reconfiguration had a profoundly transformative role on the research landscape: in the ensuing decade, some of these initiatives gave rise to new transversal science policy attempts such as *Miljövårdsberedningen* [Board of Environmental Protection], based on a much different approach to the science policy complex than had been the case before. In the early 1970s, *Centrum för tvärvetenskap* [Center for Interdisciplinarity] was also established in Gothenburg by Latinist Emin Tengström. This paved the way for the integrative discipline of human ecology. A couple of years later, Linköping University was set up and structured around thematic interdisciplinary problem areas (rather than disciplines), and both future studies and system analysis were key to the so called Tema T-structure on societal relationships of technology (Hägerstrand, and the physicist Lars Ingelstam who was also part of the original futures studies group in 1967–1972 were both architects of this initiative).

In 1977, the research councils for the humanities and social sciences were brought together in HSFR (*Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet*), with the explicit purpose of bringing the HSS area closer to societal use and achieve cross sectoral collaboration.[10] The construction of this new landscape of research political platforms in HSS was both a reaction to the concentration of research efforts in industry, and a public strengthening of efforts to apply HSS reasoning to the complexities of the welfare state. It

9 Cf. Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*.

10 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1975:26.

reflected, in a still entirely pervasive way, the idea that research capacities could be harnessed for problem solving in advanced industrial societies, and that new phenomena of value reactions to growth and technology necessitated new conceptualizations of human-social-technological interaction.[11] An emerging focus on the advanced technological society thus reiterated the importance of the humanities as central to "*samhällsproblemen*" [societal problems] – to thinking a set of relations between societal and technological temporalities, between progress and emergent notions of systems crisis, and between human values and other forms of technological or economic change.

An important starting point for this was the creation, in 1962, directly influenced by such attempts in other European nations and by advice activities in the OECD, of the Board of Research [*Forskningsberedningen*], a new organ for discussing the organization of science, disciplinary contributions to national policy, and possibly overlapping themes between the disciplines. Hampus Östh Gustafsson shows a growing concern during the 1960s in particular with the humanities, which were seen as outside of statist efforts of planning and reform policy. These were now given a new role. The Board of Research was first an initiative focused on the technical and natural sciences, but grew to incorporate the social sciences and the humanities, charged with widening the human horizons of civilization in a highly technological society.[12] It laid the foundation for new notions of relevance and it also identified a set of transversal [*sektorsövergripande*] fields that broke with a previous organization of research and introduced themes of environmental knowledge and ecology, but also importantly, peace and conflict research and so-called futures studies. The Board of Research was in charge of following debates in the OECD's new Science Policy unit – where from the mid-1960s on there was a strong emphasis on "policy science" as a new and wider concept of planning for general welfare, and as a way of escaping problems of the growth society.[13] Both of the latter were key arenas of transnational collaboration from 1967 on, and the emphasis on planning tools came along with a broadening of policy objectives such as welfare. The setting up of a group for futures studies in the Board of Research in 1967 (and as a parliamentary committee in 1969) was an attempt to examine this transnational debate and its relevance

11 Ribbing, *Människan i tekniksamhället*.

12 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, p. 259.

13 Andersson, "The Future of the Western World," pp. 126–144; Schmelzer, *The Hegemony of Growth*.

for the Swedish HSS landscape, and future studies came to play a key role within the Board.[14]

Other fields discussed in the Research Board was psychology, education and adolescence (through Torsten Husén, professor of psychology and warfare),[15] and economics, with new developments such as indicators for quality of life. In 1969, the working group on futures studies was entrusted to Alva Myrdal, who had just returned from Geneva where she had presided the Social Science Council since 1955 (and thus overseen attempts to harness the potential of the humanities and the social sciences for cooperation and coexistence within UNESCO).[16] Connelly situates Alva Myrdal in the reformist eugenicist field, due to her activism in family planning between the 1930s and the 1950s. It needs to be pointed out however that Myrdal changed her views on eugenic control after the publication of *The Limits to Growth* report in 1972, which was widely read as a neo-Malthusian document, and which made Myrdal rethink the role of future research as an intervention in values, and not in demographics.[17]

Future research was a new field, which was not only transversal in terms of its attempt to open up inquiries pertaining to the long-term development of human, natural, economic, technical, and military systems for investigation, but also quintessentially hybrid in terms of its lack of disciplinary domiciliation. Future research developed, in different geographic contexts during the Cold War, into a form of planning, drawing on the active harnessing of computerized tools of decision science, forecasts or cybernetics, a managerial and corporate science, a defense and military strategic question, or, with some notable examples, into a philosophical or phenomenological questioning of the human condition in advanced industrial societies.[18] The Board of Research monitored developments within this field in parallel to how it followed the OECD science policy secretariat (which created the Club of Rome in 1968) and also prepared for the coming UN conference on the Environment in 1972.[19]

Future research had first been suggested in Sweden in a proposal that came from IVA in 1967. The proposal referred mainly to the need to monitor

14 Wisselgren, "From Utopian One-worldism," pp. 148–182.

15 See Husén, *Adolescensen*.

16 Andersson, "Choosing Futures"; Wisselgren, "Decentering Cold War Social Science"; Wisselgren, "From Utopian."

17 Andersson, "Choosing Futures"; Connelly, *Fatal Misconception*, pp. 145, 151.

18 Andersson, *The Future of the World*; Seefried, *Zukünfte*; Solovey and Cravens, *Cold War Social Science*.

19 Engfeldt, *From Stockholm to Johannesburg*; Paglia, "The Swedish Initiative."

developments in military and defense systems and strengthen research policy for military purposes and new applications [*tillämpad forskning*]. In the Board of Research, it was rather perceived that future research offered tools for a new kind of systems analysis that could be applied largely to problems of planning in an advanced industrial society with new ecological, social, and value related problems, and that future research could also be used to experiment the relationship between technology, participation, and societal structures in new ways. Many of these ideas came from the social democrat, pacifist, and mathematician Lars Ingelstam, who as member of the Research Board joined the working group for futures studies from 1971.[20] Ingelstam was central in the import of systems analysis to Sweden, and in rethinking it into a specific and distinct approach which drew actively on the interplay between technology, social structure, and human values in an essentially open approach to coming developments.[21]

This brought discussions directly into both social science and humanities thinking. We stress this human approach to the system, because while the history of futures studies and futurology has been given substantial attention in the last years, the focus has been on the deterministic forms of system analysis and the mainly American approach to "Cold War science."[22] A collateral damage of this research has been to neglect the alternative epistemologies and temporalities that also grew out of the Cold War situation from localities outside of the direct super power confrontation, for instance in the non-aligned movement or, importantly, in the Nordic countries where the Cold War situation gave rise to a "Third way" idea of neutrality and specificity. As suggested by Westad and others, the Cold War situation was not just armed conflict but really a metaphor for a human condition which included an increasing pace of technology and production and a struggle over sense making and belonging in high growth societies.[23] The Cold War was a framework for epistemological disputes that were quintessentially about world temporalities. The Swedish attempt to use systems analysis in order to develop an independent epistemological positioning on Cold War science is therefore interesting, and while there were attempts with future research in both Denmark and Norway, they do not seem to have had the same role.[24]

20 Jenny Andersson, interview with Lars Ingelstam, April 24, 2014.

21 Ingelstam, *Planeringens grundproblem*; Ingelstam, *System att tänka*; Ingelstam, *Teknikpolitik*.

22 See Andersson *The Future of the World*; Rindzevičiūtė, *The Power of Systems*.

23 Westad, *The Cold War*.

24 Stråth, "Poverty, Neutrality," pp. 375–401.

Swedish historians for a long time considered that the Cold War had little bearing on the circulation and impact of the Scandinavian humanities and social sciences due to the position of neutrality. It can be more correctly argued that the position of autonomy, or freedom of choice, in the Cold War situation directly influenced both the organization of research and the epistemology of the humanities and social sciences in ways that were then not just related to domestic welfarist needs but also to global considerations. As the example of Swedish future studies (which took an -s in an emphasis on plural time scales, *framtidsstudier*) and the arguments of the key intellectuals in the group shows, a stance of autonomy spurred a reflection on HSS-epistemology as a critical reflection on temporality and the human system. This, in turn, would have effects in terms of emphasizing and also over-emphasizing notions of Nordic singularity in the ensuing decades, but deserves to be revisited as an original path for scientific thinking and as an unexplored example of how the Cold War inspired a plurality of epistemological positions.[25]

Planning and forecasting were very much part of a struggle over influence and reflected both liberal and Marxist attempts to rationalize and manage social time. In both blocs, science and research were directly pulled into this logic, and mobilized as part of an effort to create predictability and control. As studies emerged of this complicated struggle of positions, it is important to note that there were other ways of engaging with the future and that some of those were designed directly to attempt to find human exits to the Cold War situation. As the initiative for Swedish futures studies was taken in the Board of Research, a key component was the ambition to construct a particular epistemological version of futures studies, built on a social approach to time, and on a hermeneutic dialogue between technology, societal relations, and value change. The approach to the future that this spawned was distinct from forms of prediction for instance in military applications – it led to an emphasis on the necessity to think through the human position in advanced industrial society, in relationship with nature (increasingly thought as the "human environment," as the UN conference was later entitled), and in a system of world relations where national and global futures were intrinsically related.[26]

The latter work of the so-called Secretariat for Futures Studies would reflect these dimensions and produce studies on work, stress, and welfare within the so-called Swedish model, as well as the role of this in an evolving

25 Marklund, *Bridging Politics*.
26 Huldt, *Sweden in World Society*.

system of international relations (the latter in one of the first projects of the Swedish secretariat for futures studies, through the work of Sven Tägil). The specificity of the Swedish futures studies debate was that it drew directly on the humanities and social sciences in an attempted new interdisciplinarity that would address this human situation, and as such the Swedish approach to futures studies stands out in a global field of approaches to a future system.[27]

Understanding Human Value Change: Birgitta Odén and the Future of Historicity

Stenlås and Lundin suggest that the organization of a new research policy in the 1960s led to a new kind of intellectual in the Swedish welfare state nexus that they chose to refer to as a "Reform technocrat." Their main examples here are engineers and planners deeply in tune with the applied turn of military industrial research. Our examples in this chapter, historian Birgitta Odén and geographer Torsten Hägerstrand, are arguably different: certainly reformist, but outspokenly non- or even anti-technocrat. Rather, their positioning in relation to social democrat policy and planning was one of sympathetic criticism and meta-diagnosis. Both incarnated a position, according to which the role of the scientist was also that of intervening on value questions in open debate with policy and publics. Both were quintessentially concerned with the public use of humanities and social science.

Birgitta Odén (1921–2016) was professor of history at Lund University and the only humanities scholar in the futures studies group led by Alva Myrdal. Odén's role in the groups' work was to examine the role values played in, and for, societal change. This theme was the focal point of her individual research report *Planering, värdestruktur och demokratisk participation* [Planning, Value Structure, and Democratic Participation], published as a supplement to the governmental report *Att välja framtid* [To Choose Future].[28] Odén had replaced Erik Lönnroth in the Board of Research in 1969 – and positioned herself against a source close, historicist perspective.[29]

Odén's report for the futures studies group was written with an explicit interdisciplinary agenda. She argued that there was a need for scholarly "partisans" that integrated, synthesized, and challenged, established

27 Andersson, "Choosing Futures," pp. 277–295.

28 Odén, *Planering, värdestruktur*; SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1972:59.

29 Jenny Andersson, interview with Birgitta Odén, June 8, 2004.

disciplinary bodies of knowledge. The great promise of future studies was, in her view, that it might have the capacity to bridge the divide between the two cultures and foster a genuine dialogue among natural and social scientists. This was necessary, she argued, if society was to tackle the major challenges ahead. She also saw intellectual resemblances between history and future studies. Both were temporal projects, in need of integrating various bodies of knowledge on time.

A central common point here between history and future to Odén was the question of values – which had been addressed in the 1950s and 1960s by *l'histoire des mentalites* of the Annales school, in ways that emphasized value change as structural, systemic, and linked to epochal changes in the history of capitalism. Odén's argument in her inlay to the futures studies group was that values were a structural component of history, but not predetermined. Rather, values were part of an active human engagement with time, and humanistic research about value change could both tell something important about the future, and act as a factor of change on that future in ways that to Odén were socially useful.

A historical approach to values would be a needed alternative to the value study revolution in the behavioral sciences – which to Odén were nomothetic and problematic. Systemic historical analysis might find, not predictability in value change, but connections between technological and demographic change, and value change, in order to better understand what in the late 1960s seemed like a "value revolution" in the words of a much disliked book, Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock* (which to Odén and most futurists appeared as an intolerable popularization of future rupture).[30] However, this perspective was also critical of historicism, or the idea that historians could help future research by outlining systemic causalities as based in the past. Odén was a great critic of Toynbee and suggested rather that the key element in historical value research for the 1960s and 1970s was to understand the different temporalities involved in value change. Why were certain values, such as child care, slow to change, while others, for instance the adherence to democracy, might be stable only in appearance?[31]

In her later essay "Stabila och föränderliga värden," [Stable and Changeable Values] Odén outlined this approach to values as a problem between historical and future time as a "social temporality" – an understanding of desires, fears, passive and active options for coming time. Social temporality changed understandings of facticity, and to Odén, historiographical scholarship was

30 Toffler, *Future Shock*.

31 Protocol, futures studies working group, May 18, 1971, Alva Myrdal archives (AMA).

limited by its obsession with source criticism and its rejection of all forms of prediction.[32]

Interdisciplinary scholarship had a personal resonance for Odén. She came from an academic family of natural scientists. Her father had been professor of chemistry in Stockholm and both her siblings were pursuing scientific careers. Notably, her younger brother Svante Odén (1924–1986) was a renowned Swedish scientist and the one who discovered, and raised the alarm, on the environmental hazard of acid rain.[33] This took place in the fall of 1967 which was a pivotal turning point in Swedish environmental history. During this historical moment a number of well-respected Swedish scientists sought to awaken the public and the politicians to the perilous situation at hand. The scientists' simultaneous, though not coordinated, activities were very successful. In particular, the chemist and social democrat Hans Palmstierna's book *Plundring, svält, förgiftning* [Looting, Starvation, Poisoning] became an influential bestseller. Furthermore, the intensified environmental debate in Sweden had global consequences. In December 1967, the Swedish delegation to the United Nations proposed an environmental conference to be held in the early 1970s. This became the first step toward the landmark UN conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in June 1972.[34]

However, the natural scientists who entered the public fray in the fall of 1967 were not the only Swedish group grappling with these issues. The Swedish Defence Research Institute was also well underway in various pursuits. In the spring of 1967, the head Martin Fehrm (1910–2001) and his colleagues began framing the looming environmental crisis as a national security issue. Moreover, Fehrm had grown convinced that environmental problems were not strictly scientific or technical issues – they were at heart societal and political challenges. Hence, in May 1967 he arranged a meeting, to which Birgitta Odén – as well as her brother Svante – was invited. Among the other participants were the political scientist Pär-Erik Back (1920–1988) and the economist Assar Lindbeck (1930–2020). Fehrm wished for them to provide him with knowledge of how society dealt with environmental hazards. He wanted to use this knowledge in models of systematic future planning which the military had developed for other ends. However, the three professors reported that no such knowledge base existed, as scholars in their respective fields had not previously taken an interest in environmental issues. They declared that basic research was

32 Odén, "Stabila och föränderliga värden," p. 160.
33 Lundgren, *Acid Rain*.
34 Larsson Heidenblad, "Mapping a New History."

needed and Fehrm agreed. Birgitta Odén was assigned to make plans for how the group could move forward.[35]

Hence, as the environmental debate took off in Swedish society scholars in the humanities and social sciences were working behind the scenes in order to make original contributions. Odén crafted detailed plans for a future-oriented interdisciplinary research program, including at certain stages natural scientists. Her ambition was to provide Swedish politicians with a strong and practical knowledge base which could improve their ability for long-term decision making. In parallel to developing the interdisciplinary research program she encouraged history students in Lund to conduct various pilot studies. At heart of her research program were so-called "trend studies" of how values and political attitudes toward natural resources and the common good had developed over the long term.

In the spring of 1968, the group crafted the application *Miljö, naturresurser och samhälle* [Environment, Natural Resources and Society]. Birgitta Odén had high hopes and ambitions. She wanted historical research to make a real political difference. In two influential journal articles from 1968, she proposed that the discipline of history should strive to become more of an applied social science. In this she was inspired by the surge in ambitious theoretical models and quantitative analysis.[36] However, the grand plans of the interdisciplinary group never materialized. In 1969, the funding body decided to support only the economists. Subsequently, the group fell apart and Odén – visibly discouraged – gave up on environmental history. Yet, there are obvious links between this early attempt and the later development of Swedish futures studies.

Birgitta Odén's conviction that historians should strive to produce societally "useful knowledge" kept growing stronger. In the fall of 1971, she publicly voiced her view on the relationship between academia and society in the so-called "forskardebatten" [the researcher's debate]. This was sparked by a controversial public speech of the aforementioned Hans Palmstierna at a trade union conference in Stockholm. Palmstierna had made an investigation of health hazards for industrial workers and realized that many Swedish scientists had double loyalties. In addition to their university jobs, they were also consultants for various large businesses. He feared that the scientists were first and foremost loyal to capitalist interests and thereby reluctant to look into health hazards of workers. The accusation sparked a heated

35 Larsson Heidenblad, "Miljöhumaniora på 1960-talet?"
36 Odén, "Clio mellan stolarna"; Odén, "Historiens plats."

debate where Palmstierna's position was fiercely criticized by scientists, politicians, business, and university leaders.[37]

Birgitta Odén sought to foster a moderating position. She described Palmstierna's speech as a "demagogical simplification" and "impermissible generalization." However, she also lamented that the discussion had deteriorated into a debate of the private morals of individual scientists. In her experience, scientists were neither more nor less moral than other people. Hence, the more important issue raised by Palmstierna was how the Swedish research landscape should be structured. Which different legitimate interests should scientists serve and how?

On a principal level, she was not opposed to collaborations between scientists and the private industrial sector. In fact, a small nation as Sweden could not dispense with this competence. Moreover, she believed that scientists were also stimulated by commissioned research and could find new impulses and application. However, she saw a risk that consulting scientists unilaterally were used to develop new product lines. This was obviously of great value for Sweden but not – in Odén's view – the only thing scientists should devote their energy to. Equally important was for scientists to study the unwanted side-effects of modern industrial society, such as environmental problems. From this broader point of view commissioned research was an indirect threat. "Society's resources for using top-expertise for strategic problem-oriented research are comparably small," she argued. What Birgitta Odén envisioned was a different kind of commissioned research. One who did not seek to increase profits but rather sought to create a better world for everyone. The client should be the "anonymous fellow man" rather than businesses or trade unions.[38]

Torsten Hägerstand and the Human Approach to Time

Odén's scientific views and her understanding that both the humanities and the social sciences had a specific responsibility for thinking through the challenges of modern society and the relationship between human beings and time resemble those of Torsten Hägerstrand, professor of cultural geography at Lund University and also a member of Alva Myrdal's group. Torsten Hägerstrand was an international star by the late 1960s due to

37 Larsson Heidenblad, *The Environmental Turn*.

38 Odén, "Samhället måste bygga." "Samhällets resurser för att utnyttja toppexpertisen för problemorienterad forskning förefaller vid jämförelse med näringslivets mycket små"

his work on time, but did not have the same notoriety in Sweden. Here he was mainly positioned as a philosopher of planning, and as such he was mainly influential during the late 1960s and early 1970s when not only the methods but also the overarching goals and objectives of planning (indeed its relationship to future, or futures) were being discussed.[39] There is very little academic work on Hägerstrand, which is striking in relation to the importance of his highly original work. It is tempting to see him in the context of other critical philosophers of modernity and transcendence, such as Lewis Mumford, Ivan Illich, and Eric Fromm (the latter was very influential on Swedish social democrat circles in the 1960s and 1970s).

Hägerstrand's so-called time geography had at its heart the idea that man himself was "the elementary particle" of the future, the smallest denominator of change. Change therefore had to be understood as limited by the scope or "reach" [*räckvidd*] of man – and this was physical, social, and psychological. This perspective on time led Hägerstrand to, in his report for the group, mount a substantial critique of linear and growth-oriented planning as detached from the limits of the "elementary particle" and as therefore always reaching beyond the scope of the human subject and transforming the relationship of democratic planning into a potentially subjectivizing and de-democratizing structure. Scope [*räckvidd*] was a central epistemological term in Hägerstrand's thought, referring to the physical and cognitive limits of human beings. Another term was the notion of life cycle, which in Hägerstrand's thinking extended not only to all living beings but also to objects. When Jenny Andersson interviewed him in 2004, Hägerstrand raised a coffee cup, dangled it and let it drop. "All animate and inanimate things have a temporal existence. This cup has a life cycle. It includes production, use and waste. Things live on in composite particles and substance, long after we have finished using them. In our social systems, we manage time without acknowledging these temporalities."[40]

In a memo for the futures studies group, Hägerstrand experimented with the notion of aggregate time as an alternative to GDP growth. Aggregate time was the totality of human time within the social system. To Hägerstrand this would be a more adequate gauge of social development – because exceeding the limits of aggregate time had human costs.[41] Through Hägerstrand, and Lars Ingelstam, who wrote a specific memo on planning for the futures

39 See Hägerstrand, *Om tidens vidd*; Nordström, *Trängsel i välfärdsstaten*; Thrift, "Torsten Hägerstrand"; Wikman, *Kulturgeografin tar plats*.

40 Jenny Andersson, interview with Torsten Hägerstrand, June 9, 2004. Taped recording.

41 Hägerstrand, memo December 29, 1971, AMA; Hägerstrand, *Om en konsistent*.

study group, these notions became understood as forming the basis for a new approach to long term planning in contrast to the ongoing economic and social planning. Long term thus stood for a life cycle and human generation approach, which would turn time into a more human construct, and force planning and policy structures of growth society to adapt to human reach.

It needs to be emphasized that the 1960s was a period of both Swedish and international debate on the activity of planning – a debate that focused on the limitations of linear planning and the failure through the post war era to plan for negative consequences and feedback effects. Planners thus entered into new transnational activities and associations during the decade. The most important of these was without a doubt the Club of Rome – of which Hägerstrand was not part, but which was studied and followed within the Board of Research and directly interested Alva Myrdal (through Hans Palmstierna). In the early 1950s, Torsten Hägerstrand became the pioneering leader of a new generation of innovative cultural geographers based in Lund. Hägerstrand took a profound interest in theoretical models and quantitative analysis, drawing inspiration from international scholarship and ongoing advances in the social sciences. In developing this new form of "planning geography" he collaborated closely with fellow geographer Sven Godlund. Together they sought to invigorate their discipline but also demonstrate the usefulness of cultural geography for the rational planning of society.

In the mid-1950s, Godlund moved from Lund to Stockholm to start working in various stately commissions. Through this new position he recruited, in close collaboration with Hägerstrand, other young "planning geographers" from Lund. In the 1960s, the models and methods developed by the cultural geographers had a profound influence on policy, notably on the major municipality block reform that created larger municipalities in order to better implement the social policies of the welfare state. This early part of Hägerstrand's career has recently received some attention, but the turn from "planning geography" to "futures studies" has not been explored.[42]

Torsten Hägerstrand embraced a thoroughly scientific worldview. While Odén wanted to bring history closer to the social sciences, Hägerstrand wanted for the social sciences to adopt the methods of the natural sciences. In 1969, he was interviewed for the Christian cultural journal *Vår Lösen* about the role of values and scholarly priorities in cultural geography. In

42 Wikman, *Kulturgeografin tar plats*. See also Lundin, *Bilsamhället*; Nordström, *Trängsel i välfärdsstaten*.

a letter to the editor, Hägerstrand lamented that the interviewer, a "traditionally schooled humanist," had been estranged by his "contemporary cultural geographical views." He underscored that there was an "increasingly widespread superstition" that knowledge developed through discussions, rather than by theoretically informed observations. Before natural scientific methods started to truly inform the social sciences, no reliable results could be achieved, he commented.[43]

In the published interview, Hägerstrand emphasized that cultural geography was a scientific undertaking seeking to construct general theoretical models. Hence, even though most Swedish geographers studied Swedish conditions, their theoretical findings could be applied anywhere, for example in foreign aid projects in the Third World. Hägerstrand stressed that the cultural geographer's scholarly undertaking was not driven by political values or worldviews. He considered it "one of the gravest mistakes of our time" that research was increasingly steered toward immediate practical needs. Scientific knowledge, Hägerstrand maintained, was best generated through "aesthetic needs": that is, the will to construct consistent and logical theoretical models that helped explain various observations.[44]

However, Hägerstrand also cherished that cultural geography was now put to use in national planning. He believed that the cultural geographer's studies could help politicians make more informed decisions about how to prioritize. Yet, the usefulness of this knowledge was dependent on scientific rigor and method – which were not to be conflated with political values. Hence, this knowledge could be used for various ends and in a multitude of political systems. However, on a personal note, Hägerstrand conceded that he had his reasons for wanting cultural geography to be applied more widely in the planning of society. He hoped it could be used to make the life of men as equal as possible. Moreover, he believed that in the long run the role of the political opposition would increasingly be "replaced by systematic social science."[45]

Additional glimpses into Torsten Hägerstrand's views on future studies and the humanities can be found in parts of his personal correspondence in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This material makes evident that he held speeches on futures studies for small local societies, participated in panel debates and symposia, and that he – together with Birgitta Odén – met

43 Torsten Hägerstrand to Carl-Henric Grenholm, April 14, 1969, Torsten Hägerstrand's archive (hereafter THA).

44 Bexell, "Intervju med Torsten Hägerstrand," pp. 369–373.

45 Bexell, "Intervju med Torsten Hägerstrand," pp. 369–373.

with the Danish future studies group in order to discuss the role historians could play in the development of this emerging field. Hägerstrand and Odén seem also to have shared an interest in longitudinal studies of individual "life-histories."[46]

Yet, Hägerstrand's view on the majority of humanities scholarship seems to have been rather negative. In a letter to a vicar in 1970, he stressed that "theology and humanities scholars should stop looking backwards. The past cannot be restored." Instead he wished that those who "ponder our values" should engage in the present and the future. Otherwise technological and medical development would make the backward looking humanities obsolete.[47] Moreover, Hägerstrand was reluctant to accept traditional historical explanations. He found them theoretically underdeveloped and too focused on empirical exactitude. In his view, historians tended to be wild makers of hypotheses and prone to overestimate anecdotal evidence. The historian's problem was the lack of a conceptual system that could demonstrate how events and occurrences generated new values.[48] To both Hägerstrand and Odén, there was an urgent need to contribute a social and humanistic understanding of the interaction between technological, economic, and value systems in order to understand dynamic temporalities.

Converging Trajectories: Concluding Remarks

The Alva Myrdal committee is an illustration of a specific understanding of the role of the humanities and the social sciences in the social construction of future time, that has to be understood from the specific context of assumptions of a Cold War "Third Way" of neutrality and solidarity for Sweden. Coming to the end of the chapter, we can again put this in the context of the literature on the social sciences and humanities in the Cold War, and suggest that this is an original contribution to the emerging history of the many forms of systems analysis that proliferated during the Cold War. Generally, systems analysis has been understood as a call to strengthened

46 Walter Ekstrand to Torsten Hägerstrand, April 1, 1970, THA; Stevan Dedijer to Torsten Hägerstrand, December 8, 1971, THA; Henning Friis to Birgitta Odén and Torsten Hägerstrand, August 16, 1972, THA; Torsten Hägerstrand to Tormod Hermansson, September 25, 1972, THA; Birgitta Odén to Torsten Hägerstrand, December 14, 1972, THA.

47 Torsten Hägerstrand to Georg Franzén, September 27, 1970, THA. "både teologer och humanister skulle sluta med att se bakåt. Det gångna kan inte återställas."

48 Torsten Hägerstrand to Olof Wärneryd, October 28, 1971, THA.

control and as embodying a "high modern" turn where social science was identified as a form of steering and planning of complex societies.[49] Here, the particular reflection on the multiple temporalities of a human and value governed system seems relevant, far outside of the Swedish context. The epistemological position of wanting to use science in order to increase the human reach (translated metaphorically to Sweden's neutral stance in the Cold War, to problems of reformist policy in a welfare statist culture, to democracy and participation in a high growth society), marked not simply an ambition of relevance, but also a concern with democratization and public accountability. Odén's and Hägerstrand's plea for history as social science and a more humane planning from the perspective of the "elementary particle" are a far cry from the technological determinism that is often described to, mainly American, systems theories.[50]

Throughout the 1970s, Torsten Hägerstrand and Birgitta Odén continued to grapple with the future and futures studies. Their viewpoints on the role of science and scholarship converged in important ways. Hägerstrand started to distance himself from the scientistic stance he had embraced in the late 1960s. By 1977, he openly argued that the natural sciences "should no longer be a model" for the social sciences and the humanities.[51] At heart of Hägerstrand's claim was his growing conviction that scientific specialization had become directly harmful to social development. "Science as it is practiced today," he stated, "is in itself deeply anti-ecological." Hence, it could no longer perform the reflection on human time that he considered vital to face problems of industrial society.[52]

At the conference "Man in Technological Society," arranged by The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities in January 1977, Hägerstrand thus focused on "the ecological crisis" and argued for a new integrative role of science and scholarship to counteract atomism. The label he tentatively proposed was "human ecology," which today is an established field in Swedish academia.[53] He believed that Sweden was particularly well-equipped to develop this new integrative undertaking, as the nation combined affluence with solidarity. Hägerstrand hoped Sweden could

49 Heyck, *Age of Systems*.

50 Odén, "Historiens plats." See Holmberg, "Historikerna blickar framåt"; Salomon "Historievetenskapens flirt med statsvetenskapen."

51 Hägerstrand, "Att skapa sammanhang," p. 192.

52 Hägerstrand, "Att skapa sammanhang," p. 189. "vetenskapen av i dag är i sig själv djupt anti-ekologisk"

53 See Hornborg, *The Power of the Machine*.

make a transition from "material welfare" to "cultural welfare," and thereby provide an example for the rich world.[54]

Another glimpse into the converging trajectories of Hägerstrand and Odén can be found in two parallel interviews from 1979. They were conducted by educators at the teacher training college in Malmö who sought to discuss how the learning outcome *framtidsberedskap* [preparedness for the future] could enter the school curriculum. Hägerstrand was sympathetic and argued for the need of a human – or social – ecology that combined insights from geography, history, and philosophy.[55] Hägerstrand's sentiments were mirrored by Odén, who stressed the need for ecological thinking and the need to develop a political and moral responsibility among the youth for future generations.[56]

Evidently, Torsten Hägerstrand's and Birgitta Odén's engagement with future studies paved the way for a shared and profound environmental concern. While this is discernible already in the 1960s, environmental issues kept rising on the agenda throughout the 1970s and rose to the fore in Sweden with the referendum on nuclear power in 1980. To Hägerstrand and Odén, the environmental crisis was a social and political problem. Hence, the natural sciences could not have a privileged position in relation to the social sciences and the humanities. What was needed was an integrative form of expertise that transcended disciplinary boundaries and specialization.

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Torsten Hägerstrand, conducted by Jenny Andersson June 9, 2004.

54 Hägerstrand, "Att skapa sammanhang," pp. 5–14.
55 Ingelstam and Wiberg, *Samtal om framtidsberedskap*, pp. 3–17.
56 Ingelstam and Wiberg, *Samtal om framtidsberedskap*, pp. 18–34.

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About the Authors

Jenny Andersson is professor of the History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University, and on leave from the French research council, CNRS. She is the author of several works on the history of social science and politics, including the 2018, *The Future of the World: Futurology, Futurists and the Struggle for the Cold War Imagination.*
Contact: jenny.andersson@idehist.uu.se

David Larsson Heidenblad is associate professor of History and deputy director for Lund Centre for the History of Knowledge (LUCK). He is the author of several works on the history of knowledge, environmental history, and academic writing, including *The Environmental Turn in Postwar Sweden: A New History of Knowledge* (2021) and *A Year of Academic Writing: Experiences and Methods for Early Career Researchers* (2021).
Contact: david.larsson_heidenblad@hist.lu.se

10 Borderline Humanities

Culture, History, Language, and Beliefs in Swedish Defense Research

Fredrik Bertilsson

Abstract
This chapter explores knowledge associated with the humanities that has been developed in practice-oriented research domains of the Swedish government to help solve societal challenges. I study the Swedish National Defense Research Establishment [*Försvarets forskningsanstalt*] (FOA). The concept of "borderline humanities" refers to research activities that did not abide by academic distinctions between the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. The study shows how knowledge on human culture, history, language, and beliefs developed in a research environment that drew on diverse fields of both research and practice. The chapter brings to the fore shared themes and concepts between different research fields and draws attention to how this affects the view of research impact.

Keywords: policy influence, government, civil defense, humanities impact, expertise

Introduction

How should we understand the societal and political significance of the humanities? With reference to both historical and present developments, some analysts underscore decline if not crisis while others emphasize increasing potential and growth. The latter assessment is linked with the transformations of research policy that have occurred over the last decade and are "framing a new generation of humanities knowledge" referred to as

Ekström, A. and H. Östh Gustafsson, eds. *The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge: The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850–2020.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022.
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"the humanities of transformation."[1] Primarily, this concerns the present development but may also inspire historical studies. A narrative of decline or marginalization may instead take as its starting point the many years during the postwar period when the humanities were conspicuously absent from Swedish research policy.[2] Indeed, the humanities were commonly denigrated in the political debates about the expert knowledge that was deemed necessary for responding to the challenges of the emerging Swedish welfare state.[3] These discursive processes arguably conditioned both the influence of the humanities and the career paths of humanities scholars and students. However, much remains undone as to studying the significance of the humanities in research arenas that were purportedly governed by these discourses of knowledge politics.

This chapter is concerned with humanities knowledge that has been developed and used in practice-oriented research domains of the Swedish government to help solve societal challenges. The driving hypothesis is that knowledge that is commonly associated with the humanities concerning, for instance, human culture, history, language, and beliefs has been developed and operationalized in domains outside the university that are rarely referred to in terms of the humanities. Thus, it is possible to contribute new knowledge to the history, organization, and impact of the humanities by examining the production and use of knowledge in these arenas. I focus on Swedish defense research, which is a largely unexplored arena in this regard. Through the Swedish National Defense Research Establishment [*Försvarets forskningsanstalt*] (FOA), humanities knowledge could have a substantial influence. FOA was a significant actor in the Swedish Total Defense, which in turn played an important role in the Swedish postwar government and society.

The aim of the chapter is to contribute new insights about the significance of the humanities in relation to Swedish public policy in the late twentieth century, focusing on the Swedish Total Defense. The chapter addresses the methodological question of studying humanities knowledge in contexts where research activities were not necessarily classified according to categories commonly used in academic contexts. The purpose of the chapter is to explore the research project called the Life Mode Analysis and Defense Planning Project ([*Livsformer och försvarsplanering*], henceforth referred to as the Life Mode Project). The Life Mode Project was carried out at the

1 Sörlin, "Humanities of Transformation," p. 287.

2 Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*.

3 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*; Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization."

Division of Human Sciences [*Avdelningen för humanvetenskap*] (FOA 5) at FOA during the second half of the 1980s and first part of the 1990s. The research results were published in reports and books as well as in FOA's journal for reaching a broader audience, *Foatidningen*. Public government commissions pointed out the general direction and context of Swedish defense research as well as the ambitions of specific research programs.

I deploy the concept of "borderline humanities" to refer to practice-oriented research at FOA that did not abide by academic distinctions between the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. The concept also points to research that defies any simple distinction between "basic" and "applied" research, and the research task of *either* critiquing political power *or* supporting government interventions. In addition, the concept is meant to capture how knowledge production at FOA engaged researchers as well as other professionals, in this case, defense planners.

I begin by anchoring the study in contemporary research on the organization and impact of the humanities. I then relate the Life Mode Project to political considerations and the risk and threat analyses that governed Swedish defense policy and Swedish defense research. Thereafter, I show how knowledge of human culture, history, language, and beliefs was articulated in The Life Mode Project. Finally, I discuss the empirical findings in relation to the politicization of the organization of knowledge and the divisions between knowledge about the natural, social, and cultural aspects of the human world.

Borderline Humanities: A Perspective on the Influence of the Humanities

A growing body of research is concerned with describing, analyzing, and assessing the contemporary as well as historical influence of the humanities.[4] An influential and productive route of analysis is concerned with the manifold ways in which humanities knowledge enter the political discussion and decision-making through circulating in the public sphere.[5]

4 Belfiore and Upchurch, *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century*; Benneworth, "Tracing How Arts and Humanities"; Benneworth, Gulbrandsen, and Hazelkorn, *The Impact and Future*; Drakeman, *Why We Need the Humanities*; Emmeche, Pedersen, and Stjernfelt, *Mapping Frontier Research*.

5 See Benneworth, "Tracing How Arts and Humanities"; the contribution by Östling, Jansson and Svensson to this volume; Salö and Karlander, "The Travels of Semilingualism."

Research evaluations are commonly underpinned by the notion that the influence of the humanities is slower, more unpredictable or less obvious than for instance the effects of technical knowledge and the natural sciences and medicine.[6] In other words, science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) is allegedly better suited for direct or instrumental applications while the humanities may instead gradually affect ways of thinking and acting, including how political or social problems and solutions are framed and how public interventions are motivated. Accordingly, the influence of the humanities concerns fundamental understandings upon which political and social problems, possible solutions and objectives are formulated.[7] These perspectives on the significance of the humanities are important for framing this analysis. However, the case that this chapter studies deviates in the sense that it had an explicitly applied purpose to contribute to the Swedish Total Defense.

FOA provides new opportunities for studying humanities knowledge in applied domains, but also challenges. A methodological matter concerns how to define and operationalize the concept of the humanities. As is well known, the meanings of the concepts of the humanities are historically situated and there are also differences between as well as within national contexts. While noting the difficulties of studying the humanities as a conglomerate concept, Bod, Kursell, Maat and Weststeijn seek a history of the humanities "aim[ed] at the history of the studies carried out on literature, music, theater, and the visual arts."[8] In a broader sense, the humanities can be defined as the making of knowledge of history, art, philosophy, language, and many other things that make up the fabric of humanity in fields of study such as pedagogy, psychology, philosophy, history, and anthropology.[9] A broader definition of the humanities inspires this study of extra-university research at FOA that did not use the same terms for organizing its research activities as universities do when they distinguish between the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. As will be evident below, research at FOA blurred these distinctions.

The inspiration of the analysis stems from the notion that it is becoming increasingly important to break down established barriers and instead

6 Budtz Pedersen, Grønvad, and Hvidtfeldt, "Methods for Mapping."
7 Ekström, "A Failed Response?"
8 Bod et al., "A New Field," pp. 4–5.
9 Holm et al., "Humanities for the Environment."

explore shared concepts and themes between different knowledge disciplines.[10] I argue that the Life Mode Project produced humanities knowledge. But it is not a question of relating the Life Mode Project to *either* the humanities *or* the social sciences. I am certainly not arguing that the Life Mode Project was *not* social science. It is more to the point to bring light on the limitations of using (academic) distinctions between the social sciences and the humanities in studying practice-oriented research outside of the university. The Life Mode Project – as well as other FOA projects – drew on scholarship that would sort under both the humanities and the social sciences.

Blurred boundaries between the social sciences and the humanities have implications for how the historical and contemporary significance of the humanities should be understood. Finding ways of including the humanities in studies on knowledge impact is a significant step toward re-evaluating the influence of the humanities on public policy. Talking in terms of the impact of the social sciences *and* the humanities on, for instance, Swedish public policy may seem insignificant. Arguably, it is not. In fact, the addition of the humanities to the more common analysis of the significance of the social sciences in public policy implies a much more prominent role of the humanities than is commonly assumed. It thus contributes to the broader discussions about re-assessing the merit and worth of humanities scholarship on government and public action.

Risk, Knowledge, Politics: FOA Human Science Research

Swedish defense research was extensive during the Cold War. It was perceived as a safety issue and therefore prioritized. Swedish defense politics and the ambition of nonalignment necessitated an ambitious defense research agenda.[11] For a long time, defense research took up a major portion of the public research budget. FOA was the central organization of Swedish defense research. It was established in 1945 as several research units founded in the 1930s and 1940s were brought together. FOA carried out much of its research in relation to the development of military strategy, weapons, and advances in military technology. FOA developed close relationships with the military industry as well as with national and international academic

10 Ekström, "A Failed Response?," p. 9.

11 Agrell, Stankiewicz, and Sigurdson, *Svensk försvarsforskning*.

environments.[12] FOA provided the Swedish government with science advice and methodological tools for planning and research.[13]

In many respects, FOA paralleled broader international trends. Major research initiatives during the Cold War supported the production of military and defense technology and weapons systems. The natural sciences, engineering, and technology were at the forefront of research efforts in many countries.[14] There was also a profound interest in human aspects of war and crisis. Developing the expertise on medical and psychological aspects of war was a priority. In Sweden, the Defense Research Commission that was appointed in the late 1960s called for a broader research agenda on the human being in relation to the defense and military.[15] Following the advice of the commission, the Division of Human Sciences at FOA was established in 1974.

FOA was divided up in several departments and divisions that researched many aspects of war and defense. FOA 5 was one of the five general departments at FOA. The research of FOA 5 spanned medical, physical, biological, psychological, social, and cultural aspects of crisis and war. A characteristic feature of FOA 5 was its openness to different approaches and methods, beyond the technical-medical approach that dominated many parts of FOA. Initially, FOA 5 prioritized subjects closer to the biological and medical aspects of human life. Questions concerning the consequences of various weapons including atomic, biological, and chemical warfare were looming large. Gradually, more studies were carried out on human behavior in combat and war. How humans interacted with and used technological instruments was explored to improve the construction of defense and military technology. Providing science advice for the training of pilots was also important.[16] For several decades, FOA was dominated by the natural sciences and technological expertise. The research operation was gradually more influenced by a "social scientific" and "relativistic" approach in the 1970s and 1980s.[17] This largely mirrored the contemporary development of academic research.

12 Agrell, *Vetenskapen i försvarets tjänst*; Agrell, *Svenska förintelsevapen*; Gribbe, *Stril 60*; Lundin, Stenlås, and Gribbe, *Science for Welfare*; Stenlås, "Rise and Decline."

13 Kaijser and Tiberg, "From Operations Research."

14 Aronova and Turchetti, *Science Studies*; Ichikawa, *Soviet Science*; Oreskes and Krige, *Science and Technology*; Wolfe, *Freedom's Laboratory*.

15 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1970:54, *1969 års försvarsforskningsutredning*; SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1972:8, *1969 års försvarsforskningsutredning*.

16 Ström, *Humanvetenskaplig forskning*.

17 Franzén, "Råd och dåd," p. 27.

The research priorities of FOA were commonly guided by the international development and Cold War politics. The threats of arms race, nuclear war, and a foreign invasion were key in Swedish defense policy, but the security analysis gradually expanded and included other risks and threats in addition to military ones.[18] From the 1970s onwards, Swedish defense commissions drew attention to the security implications of the increasingly complex society and interdependent world.[19] While this provided new opportunities for international co-operation and peace, new risks were also advanced. The safety and well-being of the civilian population came to the fore, which essentially meant that the entire Swedish population became an object of FOA 5 research. In the late 1980s, and solidified after the end of the Cold War, so-called peacetime risks came to the fore in new ways. Questions concerning societal vulnerability, the interdependence between the civil and the military defense, and methods for supporting civil defense planning and public preparedness became more significant in FOA research from the 1980s onwards.[20] The Life Mode Project developed against the backdrop of this changing security landscape.

Culture, History, Language, and Beliefs: The Life Mode Project

The notion of the "vulnerable society" emerged in Sweden in the 1970s and sparked a new wave of research on the organization and behavior of the Swedish society in extreme situations, crisis, and war. At FOA, a large research project called "SKRIK – Society in war and crisis" [*SKRIK – Samhället i krig och kris*] was carried out between 1983 and 1989. The SKRIK project had a broad scientific base that included for instance chemistry, physics, technology, and engineering. It was a co-operation between several FOA research divisions at FOA. Indeed, FOA commonly prided itself for combining different fields of research and knowledge.[21] In one of the approximately seventeen reports that were produced in the SKRIK project, Ebbe Blomgren, researcher at FOA 5, noted the importance of acknowledging the historical and cultural conditions of human behavior. Blomgren implied an integrative approach and the potential of the humanities in advancing defense research

18 Eriksson, *Kampen om hotbilden*; Oredsson, *Svensk oro*, pp. 188–200.

19 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1976:5, *1974 års försvarsutredning,* pp. 132, 151; SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1984:62, *Med sikte på nedrustning*, pp. 40, 62.

20 Carlstedt and Fredholm, "Beteendevetenskaplig forskning," pp. 224–225.

21 Anderberg, "Förord," pp. 5–6.

on the Swedish society in war and crisis as he drew on methods and theories developed in history and ethnology as well as sociology.[22]

The question of Swedish culture became an explicit concern in the Life Mode Project. The project was initiated by FOA researchers rather than being a commissioned government project. This illustrates the possibilities for researchers to formulate their own research questions and methodological and theoretical approaches without neglecting the role of contributing to policy. The Life Mode Project meant to produce a better understanding of the Swedish population in crisis and war. The research was primarily addressing Swedish civil defense planning. It explored the support the population would need in the event of large-scale emergencies.

The Life Mode Project was carried out by four to six researchers mainly with sociological backgrounds. It ended following the general downsizing of Swedish defense research. Considerable parts of FOA 5 were transferred to the present-day Swedish Defense University and Karlstad University in the mid-1990s. At the time of the Life Mode Project, there were joint seminars with both defense and public civil contingencies actors as well as with academic researchers at the universities in Gothenburg and Karlstad. The Life Mode Project was informed by but was also informing the interest of the public sector and university environments. The project was part of international research co-operation through, for instance, the European Research Group on Military and Society (ERGOMAS).

The Life Mode Project should be viewed against the backdrop of the historically contingent division of knowledge interests and separation between the "natural," "social," and "cultural" aspects of human life, which also conditioned FOA research. Particularly to the point is the separation in Sweden between the social sciences and the humanities introduced in the early 1960s. This division had major consequences. Simply put, the social sciences came to play an important role in relation to the emerging sectoral research that provided specific areas of the Swedish public sector with advice for guiding policy making while the humanities developed mainly within the universities.[23]

The Life Mode Project drew on theories and methods developed in disciplines that in academic contexts are associated with both the social sciences and the humanities. Sorting the project under one or the other label would arguably be misleading. It is also not possible to relate the research objectives of the project to either the social sciences or the humanities. This is

22 Blomgren, *Befolkningen under krig*, p. 67.

23 Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*.

especially evident in the studies of Swedish culture. Life Mode Analysis was considered a way of describing, explaining, and understanding why people in different settings and circumstances exhibit different actions, mindsets, and values. The "multicultural approach" of the Life Mode Analysis that was developed by scholars of the so-called Copenhagen School of Ethnology was deemed especially valuable by FOA researchers in the Life Mode Project.[24] A cornerstone of the Life Mode Project was that the Swedish population should not be regarded as a homogenous mass.[25] The Life Mode Project was rather based on the assumption of profound cultural differences between different parts of Swedish society.[26] This notion drew on several core areas of humanities knowledge: culture, history, language, and beliefs or values. Indeed, one of the most important consequences of recognizing this cultural diversity was the notion of how the common (Swedish) language and specific words could have completely different meaning in different cultural contexts within Sweden. In addition, the concept of culture made it possible to bring light on how distinctions between men and women were made.[27]

The core theory of the Life Mode Project was developed on the concept of "neoculturation." The basic premise was that actions during emergencies are governed by pre-crises living conditions and everyday habits, and that people will seek to maintain or re-establish their culture or "the old everyday life" in the event of a disaster.[28] Empirical studies of peacetime living conditions would therefore contribute to constructing a theory of the mechanisms guiding the behavior of the population in crisis or war. According to the Life Mode Project, these insights were indispensable for defense planning.

Historical knowledge came to the fore in relation to the application of the research project to civil resistance, a research assignment that commenced in 1990 and ended in 1993. It was an assignment for the Delegation of Non-Military Resistance [*Delegationen för icke militärt motstånd*], a branch of the Swedish government. The purpose was to explore the social causes and conditions of civil resistance through historical case-studies. The research articulated the interests of central government, municipalities, and other public actors or institutions rather than the public debate at large. The project was thus geared more toward affecting political decision making

24 Jakobsen and Karlsson, *Arbete och kärlek*, p. 51.

25 Blomgren, Jakobsen, and Karlsson, "Livsformsanalys"; Jerkeby and Karlsson, *Drivkrafter*.

26 Jakobsen and Karlsson, *Arbete och kärlek*, p. 13.

27 Jakobsen and Karlsson, *Arbete och kärlek*, pp. 15–17.

28 Fredholm, "Motstånd mot ockupationsmakt," p. 48; Fredholm and Jerkeby, "Att leva i ockuperat område," p. 100.

than informing the broader Swedish public.[29] The long-term objective of the project was to develop a theory on human action in war and crisis that could be used in defense planning and for preparing actions of civil resistance.[30]

One way of furthering the analysis of the Life Mode Project as an example of how humanities knowledge has been developed is to depart from a definition of the humanities based on a circular argument. Accordingly, the humanities become what humanities researchers, teachers, and students do and are recognized by others as doing. This way of reasoning certainly has merit. However, it is problematic as it implies that there can be no production of humanities knowledge outside of recognized humanities institutions or the work of humanities scholars. Indeed, there are many examples of scholars trained in other disciplines contributing to humanities scholarship, perhaps most commonly in the field of history. This asks questions on whether the opposite might be true as well, that is, if humanities scholars are producing social science or natural science knowledge. Or if there is an asymmetry as it were between the humanities and other knowledge disciplines, where the humanities are more easily accessible for scholars not formally trained in the humanities than vice versa. Potential differences indicate how professionalism is understood and how gatekeepers operate in different scientific contexts.

I argue that the Life Mode Project is an example of how humanities knowledge was produced in the applied arena of Swedish defense research. This is not to say that everything that has to do with, for instance, producing insights or making claims about the past, or that all discussions about human language, beliefs, and culture, is or should be recognized as humanities research. For example, much scholarship explores how history is produced in a wide variety of settings that do not necessarily engage professional historians. This form of history making is usually criticized by historians for lacking the rigor or quality that historical research should meet; indeed, it may even be viewed as a misuse of history.[31] As for culture, much anthropological research has, for instance, been devoted to exploring how corporations produce what they refer to as organizational culture, which evidently differ from anthropological studies of the culture of organizations.[32] In addition, many everyday and political understandings of certain phenomena as "cultural" are far from the ambitions of cultural studies scholars.

29 Fredholm, "Förslag till forskning."
30 Jerkeby and Karlsson, *Drivkrafter*, p. 7.
31 MacMillan, *Dangerous games*; Tosh, *Why History Matters*.
32 Garsten and Nyqvist, *Organisational Anthropology*.

New Concepts for Thinking and Acting: Impact on Government

The Life Mode Project addressed the needs of the Swedish government and public agents. However, it did not uncritically advance government activities. The project was critical about core assumptions of the Swedish defense concerning, for instance, the view of how external threats or pressure would increase the coherence and loyalty of a nation and its population.[33] Instead, FOA researchers pointed out how extreme situations tended to enhance social boundaries and conflicts between different parts of the population.[34] In addition, Jan Ch. Karlsson, researcher at FOA 5, pointed out how there was no specific "Swedish" way of conceiving threats, risks, or what was worth protecting.[35] This suggested that key concepts of defense planning should be rethought.

Emphasizing cultural diversity was relatively uncontroversial or may even have been regarded as common-sense in many academic contexts in the 1980s and 1990s. However, in the context of the Swedish Total Defense, the notion of loyalty and social cohesion as essential to the maintenance of national security played a quite different part.[36] Crisis or war would naturally pose serious challenges and a very real risk of social fragmentation. Cultivating national unity, loyalty, and solidarity was therefore considered a political task.[37] Worth mentioning is that a key aspect of this community building in relation to the Total Defense was the open and democratic public debate. The essential aspect of furthering a democratic discussion was stressed by defense actors.

When the notion of Swedish cultural homogeneity was problematized in the Life Mode Project, it was not about trying to advance social or political disruption. The intention was to further the understanding of the cultural heterogeneity of the Swedish population for informing and improving Swedish civil defense planning. Two specific purposes were advanced.[38] Firstly, the Life Mode Project stressed the necessity of rethinking and dispensing with previously held core assumptions on the homogeneity of the Swedish population and the ability to foresee human action in crises. Secondly,

33 Fredholm and Jerkeby, "Att leva i ockuperat område," p. 102; Jakobsen and Karlsson, "Inledning," p. 9; Molander, *Människan i krigssamhället*, p. 73.

34 Blomgren, Karlsson, and Jakobsen, "Livsformer och försvarsplanering," p. 7.

35 Karlsson, *Att söka svenskheten*; Karlsson, "Finns svenskheten?"

36 Fältström, "Totalförsvarets syften."

37 Prop. 1985/86:100, "Regeringens proposition," pp. 35, 119.

38 Karlsson, Jakobsen, and Blomgren, "Mekanismer," p. 25.

the project underscored the importance to elucidate how the values and assumptions of the defense planners affected defense planning. Researchers argued that the defense planners tended to draw on their own perceptions and values rather than on empirical evidence. The cultural biases of the planners were thus generalized and forged into defense plans that did not reflect the cultural diversity of the Swedish population.

Moreover, making the most of the expertise of researchers and planners would require a clarification of their different professional roles and of how the collaboration should be organized. According to Karlsson, Jakobsen and Blomgren, the dominant understanding in the defense setting was that scientists should produce empirical facts that could be translated into methods and predictable activities for reaching predetermined goals.[39] They also noted that research was commonly criticized for not being able to live up to these expectations. Conversely, they stressed that the complexity of the civil defense required different forms of knowledge and research application. A better understanding of the preconditions of applying research was deemed essential for communicating and improving the utility and impact of the research results. According to the researchers themselves, they could not foresee the behavior of the population nor could they predict the future and give recipes for how specific interventions should be planned.[40] Researchers should instead produce basic theories and explanations for the planners to draw on. The insights and experiences of the planners would in turn contribute to refining these theories. Only when the expertise of the researchers and planners could be integrated was it possible to create what was referred to as scientifically based defense plans.[41] Understood as co-production of knowledge, the cooperation between researchers and, in this case, planners is also a form of research impact.[42]

Unsurprisingly, the empirical material displays little evidence of direct influence on specific defense plans. In addition to some of the problems concerning the direct implementation of the notion of cultural diversity mentioned above, the processual nature of the impact of the humanities is also essential. The Life Mode Project meant to inform the knowledge base of defense planning in terms of facilitating alternative conceptual foundations. This was intended to support later efforts of planning and preparedness. A significant lag is to be expected before such influence is

39 Karlsson, Jakobsen, and Blomgren, *Realism*, p. 51.
40 Karlsson, Jakobsen, and Blomgren, *Realism,* p. 43.
41 Jakobsen and Karlsson, "Avslutning," p. 112.
42 Jasanoff, *States of Knowledge*; Widmalm, "Samverkan".

evident. The influence would likely not be displayed in for example specific plans but in the discussions preceding or surrounding them. There is also a chance that the plans would be classified.

The Life Mode Project was presented in FOA's own journal, *Foatidningen*, through which the project reached a significantly larger readership than the public actors that the project explicitly addressed.[43] The publicity of the project eventually led to a briefing before the Supreme Commander, which furthered the status and integrity of the project at FOA. Another form of influence should also be mentioned. Many peacetime efforts of strengthening the Swedish defense was about manifesting to foreign powers that the Swedish people would never give up in defending the country and resisting an occupation.[44] Displaying a strong defense would accordingly deter a potential enemy attack. The Life Mode Project was part of achieving this general objective.

This implies new political roles compared to how the humanities are effectively excluded from the knowledge/power nexus of the state and government when the marginalization of the humanities is stressed. Studies influenced by Michel Foucault bring light on how science and expert knowledge operate to enable the governance of human behavior and subjects to achieve specific objectives. Accordingly, knowledge production is not viewed as disinterested or apolitical theorizing. Instead, experts produce insights that make human conduct amenable for political programing and intervention.[45] Furthermore, in this line of reasoning, expert knowledge contributes to bringing into being that which it purportedly merely describes, which entails the conceptual manufacturing of the populations that public interventions are targeting.[46] Providing the Swedish Total Defense during the Cold War with science advice suggests a potentially broad domain of application as the Total Defense reached into many if not all parts of Swedish society. The Life Mode Project did not provide the Swedish government with ready-made instructions for population management, but it was nevertheless a means of supporting government activities for managing the behavior of the population in extreme situations and emergencies. It brought Swedish cultural diversity into the domain of defense and security operations and made it into an

43 Blomgren, Karlsson, and Jakobsen, "Livsformer och försvarsplanering"; Karlsson, Jakobsen, and Blomgren, "Mekanismer."

44 See Prop. 1985/86:100, "Regeringens proposition," p. 119.

45 Rose, *Powers of Freedom*.

46 Hacking, "Making Up People"; Ingram and Schneider, "Making Distinctions."

object of polititical governance. In addition, through its application on the efforts of furthering civil resistance, it went beyond the efforts of merely protecting civilian lives and supported the mobilization of the population to potentially engage with or confront enemy military.[47]

As mentioned, the Life Mode Project entailed criticism of some of the crucial assumptions underpinning the civil defense planning. It brought to the fore the shortcomings of centrally planned and orchestrated activities and instead stressed the benefits of supporting local initiatives in critical situations.[48] This supports the view of the use of humanities knowledge for providing general concepts upon which more direct activities or solutions can be worked out. It also illustrates the transformative potential of the humanities as one of assessing and revising fundamental understandings of society and the human being for enabling new ways of thinking and acting. One of the interesting aspects of the Life Mode Project is that it did this in the applied context of the Swedish defense research. It illustrates how insights were developed within a governmental framework for advancing criticism and change as well as for supporting government activities.

Concluding Remarks: The Natural, Social, and Cultural in Crisis, Defense, and War

Contemporary crisis and disaster management studies stress the importance of knowledge and research from many different scientific disciplines to create better understandings and responses to contemporary challenges.[49] The boundaries between the "natural," "social," and "cultural" are continuously renegotiated. Medicine and quantitative social sciences have long had an important influence while several scholars have recently noted a cultural turn of disaster research.[50] Anthropological, historical, and cultural studies, among others, have explored the systems of meaning that are activated in relation to critical situations. Anthropology is also an example of an academic discipline that eludes a fixed distinction between the humanities and the social sciences. While (cultural) anthropology is sorting under the humanities faculty at some

47 Jerkeby and Karlsson, *Drivkrafter*, unpaginated preface.
48 Blomgren, *Befolkningen under krig*.
49 Baez Ullberg and Becker, *Katastrofriskreducering*.
50 Ekström and Kverndokk, "Cultures of Disasters"; Holm and Illner, "Making Sense of Disasters."

Swedish universities, (social) anthropology belongs to the faculty of social sciences at others. Media and communication studies is another example of an academic discipline that is moving across different university faculties. In addition, there is a military strand of research. The American Department of Defense engaged anthropologists both domestically and overseas, openly as well as covertly, during and after the Second World War as well as in different phases of the Cold War.[51] In the present as well as historically, cultural knowledge has generally become most important to the US military in relation to the implementation of military operations abroad.[52]

In contrast, the Life Mode Project supported the Swedish Total Defense, and especially the civil defense that was concerned with domestic operations for protecting the lives and health of the civilian population in the event of an enemy attack or other major emergencies, rather than with facilitating military actions on foreign soil. The Life Mode Project has more in common with contemporary research on the cultural aspects of civil contingencies and crises. Much FOA research was publically available. FOA research that was put into public circulation reached a considerably broader audience than did research that exclusively addressed a small number of defense agents. This facilitated the influence of FOA research on the contemporary public debate.

The modern organization of knowledge, knowledge politics, and research policy regimes produce and reproduce distinctions between objects and subjects of knowledge production and their impacts. This is linked to the basic distinction between the social, natural, and cultural world and understandings about how these separate spheres may be examined. The Life Mode Project, resonating with broad strands of humanities knowledge, provided an understanding of how culture, language, history, and beliefs should be taken into account for devising effective civil defense plans and policy. Through the concept of borderline humanities, the chapter shows how humanities knowledge was produced in close alignment with the social sciences, how such knowledge was further developed in projects that included the natural sciences, and how it depended on the cooperation with practitioners in the form of defense planners for implementation.

51 Mandler, *Return from the Natives*; Price, *Cold War Anthropology*; Wax, *Anthropology at the Dawn*.

52 McFate, *Military Anthropology*.

The chapter thus contributes an empirical case of the transformative potential of the humanities that goes beyond discursive and policy analyses of the marginalization of the humanities during the postwar era. It also illustrates the limits of studying the humanities as a consolidated practical knowledge production outside of the university. Rather than stressing the separation between the natural, social, and human sciences in applied contexts, this study shows how knowledge on human culture, history, language, and beliefs developed in an environment that drew on multiple fields of both research and practice.

The intention is not to suggest or try to further new ways of categorizing research activities. Nor should the relative significane of different research fields be seen as a zero-sum game of gains and losses. The point is rather to bring to the fore shared themes and concepts between the humanities and social sciences and draw attention to how this affects the understanding of research impact. The chapter thus points to the limitations of applying academic distinctions to knowledge production and influence outside of the university. It also points to the limits of studying the societal role of the humanities by exploring discourses, political debates, or policy language. This may contribute to further research seeking to render open new empirical fields for analyzing and assessing the impact of the humanities in practice-oriented research domains. It may also affect the notion of what counts as legitimate knowledge in relation to, for instance, risk, security, and defense policy.

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About the Author

Fredrik Bertilsson (PhD) is a researcher at the Division of History of Science, Technology, and Environment at the KTH Royal Institute of Technology. His research concerns knowledge management and research policy. He is exploring the influence of the human sciences on Swedish civil defense and public risk and crisis management.
Contact: fredrik.bertilsson@abe.kth.se

11 "Humanities 2000"

Legitimizing Discourses of the Humanities in Public Debate and Research Policy at the Turn of the Century

Anna Tunlid

Abstract
This chapter analyzes the legitimizing discourse of the humanities in two different public debates in Sweden at the end of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The first debate concerned the marginalized role of the humanities and their relation to the broader public, while the second was strongly influenced by current research policies, which had a strong focus on scientific excellence, innovation, and economic growth. While reactive strategies dominated in the 1980s legitimizing discourse, I will argue that more generative strategies developed during the early 2000s, particularly through an attempt to redefine the concept of "usefulness" beyond the instrumental connotations commonly associated with the concept.

Keywords: knowledge ideal, legitimizing discourse, humanities, public debate

Introduction

In 2000, the Swedish daily newspaper *Göteborgs-Posten* published several articles on the future of the humanities. It could have been just another opportunity for the press to wring its hands about "the crisis of the humanities"; this time, though, the perspective was more forward-looking, and tried to define a role for the humanities beyond the standard crisis discourse. In a rapidly changing world, how were the humanities to be a contemporary guide, and not only learned retrospection? And how were they

Ekström, A. and H. Östh Gustafsson, eds. *The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge: The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850–2020.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022.
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to legitimize their existence, beyond references to Enlightenment values and classical *Bildung*? As *Göteborgs-Posten*'s editor said, the questions were urgent and needed to be taken seriously: the humanities had to find new arguments and engage in some self-criticism instead of lamenting their situation.[1] Significantly, the title of the first article in the series read: "Don't complain – convince. There is much to do for the arts subjects which can justify their existence."[2]

The articles were published under the heading "Humaniora 2000" [Humanities 2000] and were a call to define the roles for the humanities in the new century. However, this also alluded to a recent parliamentary commission of inquiry, "Forskning 2000" [Research 2000]. Later characterized as a political manifesto for a new research policy by its chairman, the commission argued for increased funding of independent, basic research, because it would promote both research of a high international standard and Sweden's economic growth. Under the new policy regime, resources were to be reallocated from social science and humanities research to natural sciences and technical research.[3] This proposition once again provoked a debate about the quality of humanities research and its value to society, reviving the "crisis of the humanities" rhetoric.

The Values of the Humanities

The notion that the humanities were in crisis was by no means a new theme in public debate or even research policy. The marginalization of the humanities in Swedish knowledge politics had been a gradual process as the welfare state evolved, although marginalization should be understood as a relative concept. After 1945, the entire research and education system in Sweden expanded exponentially, including the humanities; it was only in relation to other research fields the humanities had been marginalized.[4] However, in the 1970s there was an urgent sense of crisis among humanities scholars, and "the crisis of the humanities" was firmly established in public debate and to a certain extent in research policy.[5]

1 Van Reis, "Situation humaniora."

2 Rudbeck, "Klaga inte – argumentera."

3 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1998:128, *Forskningspolitik*. In public debate, the report was usually referred to by the commission of inquiry's name, Forskning 2000. See also Benner, *Kontrovers och konsensus*, pp. 169–187; Eklund, *Adoption of the Innovation Concept*, pp. 101–119.

4 Ekström, "A Failed Response?"

5 Östh Gustafsson, "Discursive Marginalization"; Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*.

The above development was not unique to Sweden. The supposed crisis of the humanities is an international phenomenon, and so universal that the meaning of "the crisis" rarely is specified in current debates. It can refer to anything from a lack of resources to the diminishing value of the humanities in society.[6] As literary scholar Geoffrey Harpham has claimed, crisis has become a "way of life" for many scholars in the humanities, adding that it risks concealing the distinctive worth of the humanities and their contribution to academic knowledge and to society. Harpham argues for the importance of focusing on the strengths of the humanities, the possibility of collaborating with other disciplines on fundamental problems, and how to engage with non-academic society. The humanities have to articulate the value of their knowledge, beyond knowledge for its own sake.[7]

Other scholars have pursued similar arguments, emphasizing that the focus of debate should be on the humanities' distinctiveness and possibilities. Defense is thus not the only way to respond to the alleged crisis of the humanities; even more important is to clarify what the humanities are about and how they contribute to the current knowledge system and to society. However the crisis or claims about the humanities' worth and significance are examined, the analyses need to be context-specific. As historian of ideas Hampus Östh Gustafsson has pointed out, there has hardly been one lasting crisis, but several crises as well as different ways to argue for the value and significance of the humanities.[8]

This chapter explores the Swedish public debate about the crisis of humanities in two periods, and how scholars and others have discussed the humanities' meaning, significance, and contribution to academic research and society. The first of the debates was in the mid-1980s and concerned the humanities' public role; the second was in the early 2000s and was strongly influenced by the official research policy of the day, which was strongly focused on scientific excellence and economic growth. The two debates constituted distinct examples of how the crisis of the humanities was articulated together with arguments used to legitimize humanities research. In each case, the legitimizing discourse was shaped by a complex set of factors, including the broader knowledge policy regime and official research politics in the strict sense. Thus expectations of humanistic knowledge on

6 Östh Gustafsson, "The Humanities in Crisis."

7 Except for Harpham, "Beneath and Beyond," see Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*; Engberg-Pedersen, ed., *Humanities in the World*; Sitze, Sarat and Wolfson, "Humanities in Question"; Sörlin, "Humanities of transformation", who all, from different viewpoints, discuss the humanities' distinctiveness and possibilities in contemporary society.

8 Östh Gustafsson, "The Humanities in Crisis."

the part of a variety of interests in society, like the funding and governance of public research, affected the legitimizing discourses. The two examples studied here illustrate the tensions between reactive strategies, driven by a sense of marginalization, crisis, and the need to defend a position, and more proactive strategies, trying to develop new arguments to promote the humanities and their role in society, then and in the future. While the reactive strategies dominated in the 1980s, I will argue that more generative strategies evolved in the 2000s.[9] As I will demonstrate, this involved a redefinition of "usefulness" beyond the instrumental connotations commonly associated with the concept.

The legitimizing discourses are analyzed using a typology developed by the theorist of science Aant Elzinga, who distinguishes between three ideals of humanistic knowledge: traditional, pragmatic, and critical.[10] A traditional knowledge ideal holds that the humanities matter for their own sake: they have intrinsic worth and are not justified by their social usefulness. It is closely related to the humanities' mission to provide *Bildung* [bildning] and plays a significant role in interpreting a nation's cultural heritage, although without referring to any specific usefulness or application. The pragmatic ideal sees the instrumental value of knowledge. The belief is that the humanities should adapt to changing social conditions and contribute to economic and social development. By focusing on the usefulness and applications of knowledge, the humanities can thus demonstrate their value to society. Finally, the critical ideal focuses on the emancipatory value of the humanities and the responsibility to generate knowledge which contributes to citizens' self-understanding as critical and reflecting members of society. The critical ideal could also align with certain aspects of *Bildung* such as emancipation and critical reflection. Compared to the traditional ideal, it looks to the future rather than reinterpreting the past, its purpose being to extend democracy throughout society and support common societal interests.[11] It should be noted that these ideals of knowldge are ideal-typical, which means that they often coexist, and that different arguments and aspects are emphasized depending on context.

9 For the reactive versus generative in relation to the legitimization of the humanities, see the introduction to this volume and Ekström, "A Failed Response?"

10 Elzinga, "Humaniora i en tid"; see also Andersson and Elzinga, "Ideals of science"; Elzinga, "Humanioras roll." The three-part typology is reminiscent of Jürgen Habermas's three knowledge-constitutive interests – the interpretive, the technical, and the emancipatory – though only equating to the emancipatory interest.

11 Cf. Gimmler, "Practicing the Humanities."

Continued Marginalization of the Humanities

The public debate about the humanities in 1984–1985 took place when the future-oriented, rational planning of the Swedish welfare state was disintegrating. An extensive sectoral research policy, designed to improve the knowledge base in certain government agencies, was under pressure because the ability to solve large, complex societal problems by sectoral research was increasingly questioned. A moderate, gradual reform of research policy was attempted in order to strike a better balance between basic and applied research. However, the importance of publicly funded research for technological development and economic competitiveness was still emphasized, and the usefulness of science, a key factor in the past policy regime of rational planning, continued to play a prominent role.[12]

What constituted the usefulness of research was unclear, though. According to a Governmental Commission Report, assigned to investigate the general state of research at Swedish universities in the early 1980s, the meaning of usefulness was too narrowly defined, to the point that it was considered one of the main problems for research and in particular the humanities. As the commission claimed, the social usefulness of research was not confined to economic usefulness and material applications; it had to comprise concepts such as value and meaning. In this view, the humanities were obviously useful for understanding and interpreting events and developments in society.[13]

The commission's more positive view of the humanities could also be discerned in other policy documents. When the government presented its research bill a couple of years later, it did indeed mention the humanities, albeit in very brief and general terms. According to the government, the humanities had intrinsic worth in a democratic society, being essential for cultural life and facilitating international contacts. However, despite the positive rhetoric, only limited resources were allocated to humanities research. As Jan Annerstedt and Andrew Jamison noted, the government did not realize that the humanities could be anything else than a "residual high culture," able to keep a watchful eye on industrial development.[14]

Despite changes in attitudes, the emergent research policy of the 1980s did not pay much attention to the humanities. This was broadly speaking a continuation of the previous regime, in which the humanities seemed

12 Benner, "Den enfaldiga forskningspolitiken"; Benner, *Kontrovers och konsensus*, pp. 20–22.
13 SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1981:29, *Forskningens framtid*, pp. 45–46.
14 Annerstedt and Jamison, "Visst har vi valmöjligheter!" "finkulturell restpost"

largely marginalized compared to the natural and social sciences. However, as will be seen, the 1980s debates on the humanities were only partly due to external factors such as a perceived lack of resources; it also concerned a struggle between different views on value in the humanities research community.

The 1980s debates had been preceded by the edited volume *Humaniora på undantag?* [Humanities Set Aside?], which was published in 1978 and became influential in subsequent discussions about the status of the humanities in Sweden. It was published when there was a widespread belief among scholars in the humanities that their field was marginalized relative to other fields of knowledge. According to a report by Statens humanistiska forskningsråd [HFR, Research Council for the Humanities] in 1973, the humanities in Sweden received less funding compared to other Scandinavian countries.[15] The situation led the historian of ideas Sven-Eric Liedman and other scholars to ask whether the weak position of the humanities in Sweden reflected an internal crisis in the research field. The question was investigated in a research project funded by HFR and resulted in *Humaniora på undantag?*, which argued that the prompt reasons for the crisis of the humanities were a narrow focus on empirical studies and a lack of theoretical ambitions and social relevance. In response to this situation, the authors argued for the application of critical perspectives and the development of the humanities' ideological functions.[16] As a result of the book and the ensuing debate, more scholars defended the distinctiveness of their respective knowledge field, and particularly the importance of critical perspectives.[17] However, the arguments mobilized in the late 1970s were challenged by other knowledge ideals when "the crisis debate" returned in 1984, demonstrating that the views presented in *Humaniora på undantag?* were not shared by everyone, especially not the Marxism and critical theory that characterized several of its essays.

Sweden, a "Developing Country"

The starting point of the debate in the mid-1980s was a series of articles in one of Sweden's leading newspapers, *Expressen*, by the literary scholar

15 Statens Humanistiska Forskningsråd, *Humanistisk och teologisk forskning*. The report is analysed in Östh Gustafsson, "Planlös forskning?"

16 Östh Gustafsson, "Mobilising the Outsider."

17 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, pp. 366–367.

Lars Lönnroth. Lönnroth had recently returned to Sweden after almost twenty years abroad, first at the University of California, Berkeley, and then at Aalborg University in Denmark.[18] Back in Sweden, he found the state of the humanities "shocking," claiming that Sweden had become "a cultural developing country" where the humanities were "set aside." The number of academic positions in the humanities was significantly lower compared to other countries, publications were fewer and of inferior quality, and scholars had lost their status in public life. Society was in the grip of soulless bureaucracy and technocratic expertise. To remedy this depressing situation, Lönnroth said that scholars had to return to the greatest questions for the humanities – the questions of "beauty and truth, life and death," and their wider context. Scholars should act as "knights of the light," vigorously pursuing their mission as educators and communicating cultural heritage to the public. Only then could Sweden recover from being a "spiritual developing country."[19]

The term *ljusets riddarvakt* or "knight of the light" was an explicit reference to the space epic *Star Wars*, in which the Jedi knights, representing the light side of the Force, fight dark powers. By acting as "knights of light," scholars would bring freedom and enlightenment to the people. Constructing a narrative of decline, Lönnroth traced the origin of this ideal of the humanities to the late nineteenth century, claiming it had since been compromised by reactionary forces and gradually pushed aside as modern society evolved. However, it was now time to bring the traditional ideal to life, although, as Lönnroth said, without the old associations of chauvinistic patriotism. The mission was to communicate the humanities' knowledge and ideas to the public in the tradition of popular education and *Bildung*.

Lönnroth's articles and the traditional ideal of knowledge they represented sparked a wide-ranging public debate about the value of the humanities and the role in society of humanities scholars. While several commentators agreed with Lönnroth's suspicion of the bureaucratization of society and his exhortation to scholars to take on a more active role in public life, there were also critical voices. The way out of academic isolationism and marginalization was not nostalgia for a bygone era or an imagined golden age, neither should humanities scholars act as "knights of the light," guiding

18 Lönnroth, *Dörrar till främmande rum,* pp. 335–349. Lars Lönnroth was son of historian Erik Lönnroth, one of the most influential scholars in Sweden in the twentieth century and a key figure in government research policy.

19 Lönnroth, "Avskaffa kulturbyråkraterna!"; Lönnroth, "Humanisten och kulturbyråkraten"; Lönnroth, "Till vapen ljusets riddarvakt!" "skönhet och sanning, liv och död"; "ljusets riddarvakt"; "andligt u-land"

the public toward the meaning of life. Instead, their task was to critically examine established views, ask difficult questions, and speak truth to power. Rather than "knights of the light," scholars should be like the slave on Caesar's chariot, whispering words of warning (almost like a gadfly). And instead of emphasizing the values of *Bildung*, the humanities should be revitalized by engaging in international discussion and developing theoretical perspectives like critical theory and postmodernism.[20] In the public debate, there was thus a struggle between two legitimizing discourses: one based on a traditional knowledge ideal, the other on a critical ideal.

These positions continued to be debated the following year (1985) in the wake of "Humanistveckan" [the Humanities Week], a public event organized for the first time at Swedish universities where scholars gave public lectures and discussed the societal role of the humanities.[21] Behind the initiative was the historian of science, Tore Frängsmyr (1938–2017), who had frequently discussed the situation from a moderate, traditional viewpoint, and Arne Ruth, editor-in-chief for the cultural section of the daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. The plan was to demonstrate the range of competencies to the public and how scholars could take a more active role in society. The event was funded by Forskningsrådsnämnden [Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research], which was responsible for assisting Swedish universities with public outreach or *tredje uppgiften* [the third mission], communicating their research outside academia – a mission codified in the Swedish Higher Education Act.[22] The government's emphasis on outreach could thus be used to present the value and importance of humanities research to the public.

The events of the Humanities Week were reviewed in favorable terms by the daily press, which presented it as something of a folk festival.[23] According to Frängsmyr, the public's enthusiasm was unequivocal and overwhelming, and he hoped that politicians would realize that humanities scholars were dealing with the important issues of worldviews, history, and contemporary society. As he said, no one could continue to claim the humanities were "hobby-oriented luxury research."[24]

20 "Visst finns en framtid." The article referred to a discussion between Lars Lönnroth, Anna Christensen, Hans Furuhagen, Bengt Göransson, and Arne Mellberg. See also Lysell and Olsson, "Humaniora är ingen allsång!"; Thavenius, "Guldåldermyt eller Gärdsgårdsrealitet."

21 Frängsmyr, *Universitetet som arena*, pp. 297–298.

22 The two first missions were education and research. See Bragesjö, Elzinga and Kasperowski, "Continuity or Discontinuity?"

23 See several articles in *Dagens Nyheter*, March 25, 1985 under the headline "HumanistExtra."

24 Frängsmyr, "Humanistveckan."

Not all were as enthusiastic, however. The debate about fundamental values and relevance to society continued, this time flagged as "the humanities ideology." Critics felt that the event and its program represented an ideology they characterized as anti-modern, antisocial, and anti-theoretical. This ideology served as a common framework, bridging differences between periods, various other ideologies, and classes, but was a way of legitimizing the existing society. Instead of concealing conflicts in society and academia, the argument of the critics went, humanities research should be conducted "in opposition and as resistance."[25] In a concluding article, a year after his first claims that Sweden was a developing country, Lönnroth defended the new humanities ideology, claiming it had rescued the humanities from the Marxist sectarianism of the 1970s.[26]

The dispute about the humanities ideology thus concerned the "inner" academic development of the humanities in terms of their theoretical renewal *and* their societal role. Interestingly, and somewhat unexpectedly, the traditional knowledge ideal was mobilized along with scholars' self-identity as the ones who should bring the light to the people – potentially a return to the elitist attitudes abandoned by several humanities scholars in the face of the rise of a progressive, egalitarian welfare state.[27] Apart from this role, the ambition to reach out to the public could be appreciated by some who advocated the critical ideal. According to Liedman, the specialized, theoretical perspectives represented by the critical ideal were essential to the humanities, but they were not sufficient. The humanities, like all other scholarly endeavors, had to demonstrate their wider usefulness and establish a dialogue with the public.[28] In this respect, there was thus some consensus between the two knowledge ideals, despite the profound differences otherwise.

The Social Usefulness of the Humanities

The debate did not only concern the struggle between the ideals of traditional and critical knowledge, it was also about the ideal of pragmatic knowledge

25 Forser and Tjäder, "Fler frizoner." Forser had been the editor of *Humaniora på undantag?* and was one of those more critical of the humanities in the 1970s. For more critical perspectives, see also Liedman, "Ut med vältalighet"; Löfgren, "Det nya riket"; Löfgren, "Ordningsmän och stöttepelare"; Zern, "Humanism med monopol?"

26 Lönnroth, "Men vi har fortfarande långt kvar."

27 See Hampus Östh Gustafsson in this volume.

28 Liedman, "Räcker specialiserad forskning."

and the usefulness of the humanities. At least in part, these aspects concerned the relation between the humanities and the social sciences. In the 1980s, several humanities scholars developed a strong aversion to what they regarded as the ever-growing bureaucratization of society, which was sometimes linked to the rising influence of the social sciences. One example was the legal scholar Anna Christensen, who claimed that contemporary society was marked by an administration thriving in symbiosis with the dominant sciences, by which she referred to the natural sciences and the modern sciences concerning "human nature." Their purpose was to identify general principles and laws, with the ultimate aim of planning and control, which made them administratively useful. The humanities, on the other hand, were thought to be based on a conception of man as a creative, free-acting subject, which made humanities-generated knowledge less useful from an administrative perspective. Therefore, the humanities could not, or should not, attempt to be part of the bureaucratic policy culture.[29] This attitude contributed to a state of affairs where the humanities were considered to be in opposition to the administrative functions of society, a position which diminished their social relevance and ruled out a pragmatic, legitimizing discourse.[30]

Not everyone agreed with this view, of course. In 1986, just a couple of months after the public debate about "the humanistic ideology," Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet [HSFR, the Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences] published the report *Kulturvetenskaperna i framtiden* [The cultural sciences in the future], written under the leadership of historian Birgitta Odén.[31] The report emphasized the humanities' usefulness, stating that they already had, and should have, administrative functions in contemporary society. Even if these functions were disparaged by some scholars, it was a fact that the humanities not only had ideological functions.[32] The HSFR worried about the division between the social sciences and the humanities, and stressed the importance of their collaboration, suggesting that each represented perspectives that were equally necessary for the future society. The council thus developed a strategy of legitimization that underscored the social usefulness and relevance of the humanities, while simultaneously attempting to reduce

29 Christensen, "Kunskap som livserfarenhet"; cf. Liedman, "Humanioras frigörelse."

30 For the "outside" position, see also Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*, pp. 92–101.

31 *Kulturvetenskaperna i framtiden*. The government had commissioned the HSFR to investigate how conditions for the humanities and social sciences might be improved.

32 Odén had previously argued that the humanities had practical uses, Odén, "Humaniora som tillämpning." See also Jenny Andersson and David Larsson Heidenblad in this volume.

the epistemological tensions between the two areas of research. From the viewpoint of the humanities, this could be interpreted as a strategy to regain positions that were undermined with the emergence of the welfare state. However, the interest in this ideal of pragmatic knowledge seemed rather limited among humanities scholars outside the research policy context.

The Race to the Bottom

In 2005, there was a fresh debate about the crisis of the humanities, though this time in a very different policy context. Since the late 1980s, there had been several reforms of the Swedish research system's organization, governance, and funding, leading to a complex mix of missions and goals.[33] The Governmental Commission Report, *Forskning 2000* [Research 2000], which was mentioned above, had introduced some themes for the new century's research policy.[34] The commission was stern in its criticism of sectoral research and the trend of prioritizing research based on the immediate usefulness of science. As it asserted, useful research results did not come to order – that was against the nature of science. Historically, independent, basic research had contributed the most useful research results, and its promotion was the best way to ensure both international high-quality research and research of social relevance.[35] The inquiry foreshadowed two of the goals of the research policy of the 2000s: to promote "world-leading research," often organized in "centers of excellence", and to contribute to innovation and economic growth.[36] Another trend was the growing influence of New Public Management and evaluations, with the result that research was increasingly assessed using bibliometric standards and ranking lists. In the 2000s, an "evaluative policy regime" had thus been firmly established.[37]

The public debate in 2005 was sparked by an article in *Dagens Nyheter* by the historian of ideas Sverker Sörlin, who argued the Swedish humanities had

33 Öquist and Benner, *Fostering breakthrough research*.

34 The investigation was chaired by the physicist and University Chancellor Stig Hagström. The commission of inquiry represented strong academic interests. See Benner, *Kontrovers och konsensus,* p. 182.

35 Hagström and Dahl, "Forskningspolitiken måste ges ny inriktning"; SOU [Governmental Commission Report] 1998:128, *Forskningspolitik*; see also Benner, *Kontrovers och konsensus*, pp. 169–187.

36 See Widmalm, "Innovation and Control" for the importance of innovation to Swedish research policy and its link to New Public Management.

37 Sörlin, "Humanities of Transformations."

no international acclaim. Scholars contributed to their own marginalization because of their inability to concentrate on large, bold projects and their resistance to international publishing. According to Sörlin, they were intent on their "race to the bottom." There was thus an urgent need for some self-reflection on the part of humanities scholars, but also, as Sörlin pointed out, a new research policy for the humanities. Sörlin's claim started with the recent international university rankings by the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (*THES*), where none of the Swedish universities were among the top fifty for humanities subjects. Once again, Swedish humanities were outperformed by their Scandinavian colleagues, of which the universities of Oslo, Copenhagen, and Helsinki were among the top ranked.[38]

The *THES* rankings in 2004 were one of the first global university rankings, and immediately received a great deal of attention, being described as a sign of the worldwide "battle for excellence" and the emergence of the "world-class university" discourse.[39] Based on a range of indicators such as academic reputation, staff–student ratios, and citation metrics, the university rankings were considered to reflect the quality of the universities. Although the rankings soon came under fire for various reasons, ranging from their methodology to whether it was possible to measure and compare such complex organizations as universities in this way, they attracted a lot of interest from students, policymakers, and other stakeholders, because they were considered to contribute to the transparency and accountability of the universities' performance. As Sörlin's article demonstrated, they also lent themselves to national discussions about performance in specific areas of research.

However, Sörlin's demand for a policy shift regarding the humanities seemed far-fetched. Just a couple of weeks after his article, the government presented its research policy bill, *Forskning för ett bättre liv* [Research for a better life], proposing the direction of national research policies for the next four years. Although one goal was to improve citizens' opportunities "to live a good life," the bill paid little attention to the humanities. Its stated aim was to allocate long-term funding to strong research environments in order to support research of the highest international standard, giving priority to medicine, technology, and research supporting sustainable development. The reason for this, according to the research bill, was international excellence; funding should be allocated to researchers who succeeded best in international competition and built attractive, internationally prominent

38 Sörlin, "Botten är nådd."

39 Hazelkorn, *Rankings and the Reshaping,* p. 4; Rider et al., *World Class Universities*.

research environments. Only in this way could Sweden become a "leading knowledge nation." Apart for some extra funding for gender studies, the humanities were hardly mentioned.[40]

Redefining Usefulness

Sörlin's article and the research policy bill triggered a fresh debate about the crisis of the humanities, including the questions of their role, value, and purpose. Compared to the debate twenty years before, the focus had shifted somewhat. In the 1980s, the debate revolved around the role of the humanities in the public sphere and a struggle between different ideals of knowledge; in the early twenty-first century, it was official research policy, with its emphasis on international, world-leading research, economic growth, and innovation, which shaped the context of the discussion. Some critics targeted the research bill for not considering the state of the humanities. According to an article by twenty-four historians, the government had jumped on the research funding bandwagon by concentrating resources on a few "cutting-edge" researchers. Their argument was that the natural and technical sciences had served as models for a massive flow of funding to such research environments, but this way of organizing scholarship was not suited to the humanities, which developed "from below" and were based in a diversity of environments of various sizes and competing research paradigms. Moreover, the pronounced focus on strong research leaders paid no heed to the question of gender, as large research groups of this kind were usually led by male professors.[41]

Closely linked to the criticism of strong research environments were discussions about the concept of "excellence" and how it should be measured. Usually, bibliometric methods were used, which according to humanities scholars caused several problems. One was that bibliometric methods confused quantity with quality, another that it entailed "Anglo-American narrowness," since the primary databases was focused on English-language publishing.[42] Once again, the argument went, publishing norms in the natural and medical sciences were used as models for other fields, including the humanities. However, several scholars emphasized the importance of

40 Regeringen, *Forskning för ett bättre liv.*

41 Andersson et al., "Den humanistiska forskningen hotas."

42 Brändström and Blückert, "Humaniora oundgänglig resurs"; Lewin, "Kvantitet är kvalitet." For a critical review of bibliometrics, see Gingras, *Bibliometrics and Research Evaluation*.

publishing internationally, arguing, as Sörlin had done, that the humanities had to be less provincial and increase their international presence. What was required was both national *and* international publications.[43] Moreover, regardless of publishing culture, in order to revitalize and become more intellectually dynamic the humanities in Sweden had to develop in international contexts and networks.[44]

Under the pressure of this new research policy, humanities scholars thus defended their distinctiveness, made attempts at self-criticism, and took on board the novel expectations. But how did they claim legitimacy? A first reflection is that compared to the debate in 1984–1985, there were only a few who referred to traditional knowledge values or the communication of cultural heritage, although some still claimed that the humanities should contribute to "a rational and never-ending conversation about the interpretation of human existence."[45] Instead, a legitimizing discourse arose where the pragmatic and the critical knowledge ideals intersected, emphasizing the usefulness of the humanities and their critical values. The discourse was not uniform – several lines of arguments co-existed, combining elements from both the pragmatic and the critical knowledge ideals. While some argued from the position of critical theory, others expressed more general views about the value of critical reflection, asserting that the essential task of the humanities was to challenge power and established notions, and to ask "difficult questions."[46]

Critical attitudes were usually, but not always, combined with ideas about the humanities' usefulness. However, usefulness rarely referred to instrumental values. Instead, there were attempts to problematize the narrow conception of usefulness that humanities scholars felt dominated public discourse and in the government's research policy, focusing on economic competitiveness and growth. As literary scholar Margaretha Fahlgren argued, the concept of usefulness had far more to it. Knowledge of society, cultural memory, and human experience as well as the ability to think critically, to reflect, and take a stand on value issues, should all be counted as useful.[47] When Sara Danius, a scholar of literature and aesthetics,

43 Myrdal, "Mätning pågår."

44 Ambjörnsson, "Varför överge ordet historia"; Danius, "Bekämpa mossigheten"; Helgesson, "Öka det globala utbytet."

45 Piltz, "Det mänskliga." "Humaniora för ett rationellt och aldrig avslutat samtal om hur humanum, de mänskliga villkoren, ska tolkas"

46 See, for example, Cullhed, "Gråt inte!"; Larsson, "Uppdaterad humaniora." "de besvärliga frågorna"

47 Fahlgren, "Omfördela resurser."

referred to the value of democracy, she claimed the humanities as the place "where society examines itself and becomes aware of itself."[48]

Yet another position was to argue that the humanities demonstrated their usefulness in collaboration with other disciplines on major societal challenges such as climate change and how to manage large and complex systems. Modern knowledge society – a recurring concept in contemporary policy rhetoric – presupposed that scientists and engineers would collaborate with humanities scholars and social scientists.[49] Although the latter was rather uncommon, the discussion showed an increased interest among humanities scholars to reflect on the social relevance of their knowledge.

There was every reason to carefully consider the knowledge ideals and value of the humanities, including their societal relevance and, not least, how to communicate with society. This was apparent when the government presented its next research policy bill in 2008, *Ett lyft för forskning och innovation* [A boost for research and innovation], focusing on how academic research of the highest international standards could support long-term economic competitiveness and contribute to sustainable growth. To achieve these goals, significant funding was allocated to "strategic research areas."[50] Of some twenty strategic areas, only one comparatively small area seemed open to the humanities and social sciences, and even then it focused on conditions for economic growth; the others were all in medicine, natural science, and technology, with topics ranging from diabetes to climate modelling.[51] Although some of the strategic areas addressed complex societal problems, the humanities were not included.

Despite the neglect of the humanities in the research policy bill, this time public debate was limited. Among those who nevertheless participated, there was both criticism of the narrow definition of usefulness and continuing self-criticism: once again it was claimed that the humanities had failed to convince the non-academic audience of their usefulness to society. As the historian of ideas Karin Johannisson argued, there was a questionable

48 Danius, "Bekämpa mossigheten." "Ty vad är humaniora? En plats där samhället granskar sig självt, och blir medvetet om sig självt"

49 Magnusson, "Humanioran ger konkurrensfördelar."

50 Compared to the strong research environments, the strategic research areas were selected not only for having world-class research, but also because they were of societal interest and suitable for collaboration with public bodies and industry.

51 Regeringen, *Ett lyft för forskning*. SEK 1.8 billion was earmarked for strategic research, of which the humanities and social sciences received SEK 30 million. For a critical analysis of the bill, see Widmalm, "Innovation and Control."

attitude among some humanities scholars, who said they were not interested in demonstrating the usefulness of their research, instead arguing it had value for its own sake. This was unacceptable, countered Johannisson. Every scholar should be able to explain the usefulness and importance of their research. However, she continued, it was not only scholars who should be blamed for the marginalization of the humanities. Considering the rapid development of knowledge in science, medicine, and technology, it was astonishing that politicians did not realize the need for the humanities and social sciences to interpret the meaning and significance of these developments.[52]

The concept of usefulness continued to be debated in relation to complex problems and future global challenges such as global warming, the financial crisis, and the resource crisis. An increasingly common view was that perspectives drawn from the humanities would have to be included if society were to meet all its challenges.[53] Despite the limited debate, many humanities scholars were deeply concerned by the situation.[54] Yet there was also a call to stop dwelling on crisis and look ahead. As literature scholar Anders Cullhed argued, the humanities' crucial mission had to be taken seriously – it was not a relic from 1968 but a perspective that pointed to the future. He called on his colleagues to "Don't cry, start research!"[55]

Concluding Remarks

The legitimizing discourses of the debates studied here developed in situations where the humanities were felt to be clearly marginalized in relation to other research areas. However, their contexts differed in several respects. The 1984–1985 debate was a reaction to the notion of a humanities crisis current in the 1970s, and particularly the mobilization of Marxist and critical theory as a way of restoring legitimacy. The debate was conducted against the background of their marginalization due to lack of resources and the political priorities of the welfare state, which in various ways disadvantaged humanities research. The conflicting views in the debate revealed different interpretations of the humanities, their purpose and identities, and their

52 Johannisson, "Inget nytt."
53 Magnusson, "Humanioran ger konkurrensfördelar."
54 Bauhn et al., "Varför så tyst?"
55 Cullhed, "Gråt inte!"

relation to society. The mobilization of the traditional knowledge ideal, and especially the view of the humanist scholar as the "knight of the light," taking on the role of guide for Sweden's citizens, gave the debate its reactive tone. This role had long since been considered obsolete in the egalitarian context of the welfare state.[56]

When the crisis of the humanities resurfaced in the early 2000s, the situation had changed. An evaluative policy regime, which had gradually replaced the rational planning regime of the welfare state, was at its peak, and official research policies emphasized the importance of science for innovation, economic growth, and social utility. This was the backdrop to the 2000s debate, in which the humanities scholars' sense of marginalization was at least as deep as it had been in the 1980s. Again, the situation engendered reactive and defensive strategies. However, being at the bottom (to use Sörlin's metaphor), the legitimizing discourses included more generative, or proactive, arguments about the value of the humanities and their role in society.

A clear sign of a more constructive role for the humanities was the redefinition of the concept of "usefulness" to include broader perspectives, over and above instrumental values and economic utility. A new legitimizing strategy emerged at the intersections of the pragmatic and critical ideals, drawing on constructive problem-solving, critical perspectives, and an ability to reflect on society and the world. After decades of crisis rhetoric, the debate of the 2000s may thus be taken as a turning point, in the sense that it was a change for the better.[57] This was not only true of the humanities in Sweden, of course. As the historian Virginia Davis has argued, the value of the humanities in tackling the problems facing the twenty-first century have been recognized around the world.[58] Others have made a similar case.

However, despite this more productive development, it is important to remember the plurality of the humanities. The new strategy to legitimize the humanities must not be allowed to slide into a misplaced belief that it is the humanities' unique mission "to save the world."[59] Like other disciplines, the humanities have, and should have, several tasks, ranging from specialized basic research to interdisciplinary (integrative) applied projects. Moreover, as Stefan Collini, scholar of intellectual history and English

56 For a similar metaphor of the "guide of the souls," see Östh Gustafsson in this volume.

57 Cf. Östh Gustafsson, "The Humanities in Crisis."

58 Davis, "Humanities."

59 Engberg–Pedersen, *The Humanities in the World*, p. 10.

literature, has claimed, we would do well to drop the abstract category of "the humanities" and instead focus on the activities of specific disciplines or topics. It bears remembering that all disciplines have their ups and downs in terms of funding, theoretical renewal, and student enrolment.[60] If we take into account both the plurality and distinctiveness of the humanities and the commonalities with other disciplines, we may find that they have multiple strategies for handling future crises without falling back on reactive defensiveness.

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About the Author

Anna Tunlid is researcher in History of Ideas and Sciences at Lund University. Her research includes the relationship between knowledge production and various societal and political interests. Her latest publication is "Prenatal Diagnosis: The Co-Production of Knowledge and Values in Medical Research and Public Debate" in *Movement of Knowledge: Medical Humanities Perspectives on Medicine, Science and Experience* (Nordic Academic Press, 2020). Contact: anna.tunlid@kultur.lu.se

12 Forging the Integrative Humanities

Policies and Prospects

Anders Ekström

Abstract
Drawing on the results of this volume, this chapter reflects on the role of the integrative humanities in contemporary knowledge policies. It identifies a long-standing tension in the history of the humanities between, on the one hand, an orientation toward integrative knowledge production, social responsiveness, and communication, and, on the other hand, a marginalizing tendency of reactive critique and disciplinary-bound self-reflection. The chapter situates the continuous relevance of this tension in the context of three overlapping policy regimes, and the emergence of a modern framework for policy work in Sweden in the last half-century. The chapter concludes by taking a more normative approach, arguing that a principal contribution of the humanities to contemporary knowledge politics lies in their public orientation.

Keywords: integrative humanities, knowledge politics, policy regimes, publicness, history of humanities

The Integrative Humanities

Reflecting upon the position of the humanities within the modern university system is not as straightforward as it first appears. First of all, it involves an idea of the humanities as *the humanities* not only in organizational terms but also in the sense of an epistemic whole that shares a particular history and set of values. Second, any such reflection necessarily builds on an understanding of the historical trajectory of the modern university, and what this entailed for humanistic knowledge practices. Third, the word

Ekström, A. and H. Östh Gustafsson, eds. *The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge: The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850–2020.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022.
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"system" resonates with a process of differentiation and entanglement between universities and scientific fields within the overall framework of the expansion of research and higher education in modern societies, especially after World War II.

Taken together, this calls for approaches that are both local and historically situated but with a comparative and global outlook. This volume contributes to such an analysis by approaching the shaping of the humanities on a national scale within a comparatively long historical period, spanning from the era of the vanishing of natural history in the early nineteenth century to the notorious "crisis of the humanities" in the postwar era. Such a comprehensive approach has several advantages as noted by Rens Bod and others.[1] One is that it allows us to identify long-term patterns and analytical themes, which might inform and deepen more narrow and detailed case studies.

In this volume, we have seen how the history of modern disciplines co-existed with continuous negotiations of a set of boundaries that were key to the conceptualization of the humanities as an integrated area of knowledge. One was the relation to other compound notions such as the natural and social sciences. Another was the impact and delineation of humanities knowledge in emerging and vanishing public arenas. A third set of boundaries related to the role of the humanities as practical knowledge in the context of various social, political, and military applications. A fourth concerned the configuration of the humanities within impact regimes and future making, and how their position shifted between the center and margins of knowledge politics over the last 200 years.

The contingency of these boundaries reveal that the history of the humanities was not an even process of differentiation, marked by increasing particularization and branching out of individual disciplines with different epistemologies and topical orientations. Rather, nuancing standard narratives of the history of scientific knowledge as a history of specialization, what can be concluded from this volume is that the positioning and organization of the humanities in Sweden from the mid-nineteenth century and onwards was to an equal degree shaped by issues related to interdisciplinary, integrated, cross-sectional, and public forms of knowledge. Not only does this perspective enable a variety of approaches to the broader history of knowledge; it should also be taken as an antidote to anecdotal critique and a golden age perspective on the history of the humanities in the modern era.

In this concluding chapter, I will keep to the local and comparative track but expand the time frame to include the present. Here, the focus is on impact

1 Bod, *A New History*.

regimes, and more precisely, three major and overlapping shifts in postwar research policies, and how they related the role of humanities research in relation to other scientific areas and society at large. In the contemporary context of so-called challenge-driven research and "the third research policy regime," new expectations have been raised regarding the contribution of social, cultural, and historical knowledge to complex transformative processes with no other limits than the planetary.[2] This development entails new patterns of collaborative research, shifting styles of societal engagement, and the emergence of integrative forms of knowledge that are not always aligned with existing epistemic and institutional boundaries. It calls for less rigid distinctions between the production and communication of knowledge, and policies that encompass both research and education.[3] Taken together, this should encourage us to investigate the potential contribution of the humanities to this ongoing shift in knowledge politics, which necessarily also involves identifying the limits for such contributions.

Policy Regimes, 1960s to 2020s

In the introduction to this book, we proposed a distinction between "knowledge politics" and "policy regimes," with the first referring to long-term balances, interactions, and shifts of orientations between areas of knowledge, and how they were legitimized in societal contexts; and the other referring to formulations and priorities in contexts for policy making such as governmental commission reports and research bills, and how they were negotiated and incentivized in environments for research and higher education, and the overall organization of universities. Obviously, this should be conceived of as a working distinction, meant to highlight broader tendencies and identify levels of analysis in a history of knowledge that spans the last two centuries.

2 For more detailed discussions about this development and what it might entail for humanities research, see Ekström and Sörlin, "The Integrative Humanities"; Sörlin, "Humanities of Transformation." For a discussion of how this turn resonates with theoretical developments in the human and social sciences, see for instance Domanska, "The Paradigm Shift."

3 In the long perspective of the history of knowledge, spanning from the emergence of modern disciplines in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this development might be conceived of as a more advanced form of specialization, in which the "high specialization" and compartmentalization of knowledge in the modern era has become increasingly insufficient in the context of late modern complexity regimes, which requires socially responsive, communicative, and multi-specialized knowledge environments. For a more elaborated version of this argument, see Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*, chapter 6.

Zooming in on policy regimes, and their institutional framework, we need to operate on a more limited timescale. Although periodizations are provisional and open to further empirical inquiry, there is some consensus regarding the major developments and shifts in European postwar policy regimes.[4] In the Swedish case, it makes sense to distinguish between three overlapping regimes. They followed on a period of early formation in the 1940s and 1950s, most notably through the foundation of area specific research councils for medicine (1945), natural sciences (1946), social sciences (1947), and the humanities (1959). This structure was enlarged and changed in the following decades, most notably in this particular context through the administrative merger of the research councils for humanities and social sciences in 1977.[5] Eventually, an environment for policy work was created with its own networks and institutional nodes, seasons, and procedures. It was further established through the Government's Science Advisory Board, which was set up in 1962 and became crucial for the preparation of the Swedish research bills every fourth year, a procedure that started to take shape in the mid 1970s and received its present form in 1982. Taken together, these initiatives reflected the massive expansion of the university sector in the postwar era, and especially the continuous growth of research investments. In Sweden, this development has continued to the present day.

As Hampus Östh Gustafsson has demonstrated, a policy discourse focused on the instrumentalization of scientific knowledge in terms of rational planning began to shape in Sweden in the 1930s and 1940s.[6] It was underpinned by ideas of knowledge as a key driver in the ongoing process of democratization. Public investigations and government commission reports on the university sector began to appear in Sweden in the 1930s and 1940s. These genres created a continuity in policy ideas and language, and interacted with emerging institutions such as the research councils, the formation of authorities and institutes related to welfare policies in the

4 For suggestions of periodizations and national comparisons, see, for example, Benner and Sörlin, "Shaping Strategic Research"; Campbell and Pedersen, *The National Origins*; Ekström and Sörlin, "The Integrative Humanities"; Hughes, ed., *European Competitiveness*; Lundvall and Borrás, "Science, Technology and Innovation Policy"; Ruivo, "'Phases' or 'Paradigms'".

5 For detailed accounts of the history of research policy in Sweden, see, for example, Benner, *Kunskapsnation i kris?*; Elzinga, "Forskningspolitik i Sverige"; Elzinga, "Features of the Current"; Nybom, *Kunskap – politik – samhälle*; Pettersson, *Handslaget*; Premfors, *Svensk forskningspolitik*; Stevrin, *Den samhällsstyrda forskningen*; Tunlid and Widmalm, *Det forskningspolitiska laboratoriet*; Wittrock and Elzinga, eds., *The University Research System*.

6 Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*, principal argument on pp, 45–46; and for a fuller historical account, chapter II.

1950s and 1960s, and eventually the enlargement and fundamental rescaling of the university landscape in the 1960s and 1970s.

Within the framework of these broader developments, three overlapping policy regimes eventually emerged between the 1960s and the 2020s. The first (1960s–1970s) was characterized by a continued focus on technocratic planning and the future-oriented scientism of the 1950s and 1960s. It was marked by a nationalist orientation, especially through its emphasis on the importance of industry-led growth, and increasingly shaped by Cold War sentiments. Its view on knowledge production was firmly anchored in the linear model, which translated into far-reaching ideas about the role of scientific knowledge and research-based planning in social and economic development.

The second regime (1980s–1990s) was bound up with the language of economic globalization, which created an ever-increasing focus in research policies on technology, innovation, and national(istic) competitiveness. During this era, the time span of the expected impact of research investments was shortened as the progressivist notions of the previous regime became overshadowed by sector-specific economic applications. Without detailing the introduction of neoliberal incentives in the public sector, which in Sweden went back to the 1970s, the second regime also became a decisive force in the bibliometrification of the scientific self. Also, it was during the 1980s and 1990s that knowledge itself was turned into an "industry" in post-industrial societies, giving rise to a new set of policy formulations centered on the "knowledge economy" and "knowledge society."

The third regime (2000s–2010s) reflected international developments through an increasing orientation toward "the grand challenges" of the new millennium. A transformative agenda which went beyond a more narrow focus on innovation for national profit started to develop, for instance in discussions about values of "social robustness" and "directionality" in research.[7] This tendency was enhanced by amounting knowledge of anthropogenic climate change in the early 2000s, reactions to the financial crisis in 2008–2009, and the growing influence of a globalizing discourse on sustainability that was symbolized by the adoption of the UN Agenda 2030 in 2015. Since then, complexity rather than innovation has been the key phrase in policies and strategic thinking in universities, which increasingly tend to emphasize the importance of integrative forms of knowledge production in

7 See, for example Ekström and Sörlin, "The Integrative Humanities"; Goddard, Hazelkorn, Kempton and Vallance, eds., *The Civic University*; Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons, *Re-Thinking Science*; Schot and Steinmuller, "Three Frames"; Stirling, "Keep it Complex!"; Thrift, "The University of Life."

the context of large-scale problem solving. A crucial feature of the complexity regime is how it plays out as a conflict of temporalities, focusing on the one hand on the urgency of the connected crises of late modernity, and on the other on the importance of long-term policy frameworks, institutional robustness, and the care for knowledge as an infrastructure in dealing with the most pressing challenges of contemporary society.[8]

The Mismatch Between Policy, Humanities, and Society

The humanities often came late to policy. We have seen glimpses of reactions and responses to aspects of these three policy regimes in various chapters of this book. For example, Östh Gustafsson shows how classical modes of legitimacy, which are highlighted in Hammar's chapter, became increasingly out of sync with postwar arguments about the relation between knowledge and democracy. Siapkas' study exemplifies how individual disciplines struggled with demands of scientification and social relevance. Jansson deals with philological and historical expertise as applied forms of knowledge. Bertilsson traces humanistic knowledge in military applications and civil defense research. Andersson and Larsson Heidenblad point to the contribution of historians and geographers to future thinking in a welfare state context. Landahl and Larsson takes a long view on the disconnection of large parts of the humanities from the modern school system. Östling, Jansson, and Svensson discuss multiple public arenas for the circulation of humanities knowledge in postwar Sweden. In Widmalm's case, science typically spoke to policy in ways that mobilized humanist ideas and values but not humanities scholars. Tunlid's chapter, finally, in focusing on public and characteristically defensive debates, documents the persistence of doubts regarding the societal status of the humanities well into the twenty-first century.

These case studies thus show how the humanities moved in and out of different contexts of relevance from the mid-nineteenth century and onwards. Together, they convey a distributed history of the spheres of interaction of humanities research, enabling a more nuanced understanding of how modern knowledge production transcended the logic of disciplines. And yet, in relation to emerging policy frameworks during the great expansion of the knowledge sector, the humanities took a less responsive and increasingly reactive position. This manifested in

8 Cf. Ekström, "Kunskapen är en infrastruktur"; Ekström, "A Failed Response?"

a persistent tendency among humanities scholars to refute or, without much success, critically appropriate policy notions originating somewhere else rather than claiming a part in shaping them. Since the 1980s, when Swedish research policies became increasingly coordinated and more pronounced, this reactive mode of critique was repeatedly expressed in arguments about the principal mismatch between the humanities and notions of applicability, usefulness, innovation, and knowledge for national growth.[9]

The other side of this growing discord between the humanities and policy work was the lack of expectation on the humanities in official policies. For example, it is striking that the humanities were completely absent in Swedish research bills in the 1980s and 1990s.[10] Looking back at this period, one would have expected that the turbulent ending of the Cold War, rising complexities of globalization, new digital infrastructures, and the emergence of anthropogenic climate change as a major theme in public discourse, would have created a concern with deep and far-reaching historical changes and forward-looking value formation. Instead, the second policy regime continued to be heavily centered on short-term economic growth, national competitiveness, and technical innovation as remedies to social and cultural pressures.

Indeed, this should remind us that policy often came late to society. One reason for this is its discursive and historical path-dependency, which was conditioned by the establishment of policy-making institutions and routines in postwar society; another is that such work is governed by the seasons of political procedures rather than the rhythms of scientific knowledge production. In general, as policy itself has evolved into an influential rhetoric of action in the university sector, the risk of erratic strategies in complex institutional settings has increased accordingly.

Obviously, the orientation of research in any area never simply reflected the priorities of policy. If anything, pointed strategies and economic incentives on a national level tend to boost areas that are already well trodden by independent research. For example, this was shown by a survey of granted applications in the humanities and social sciences to the Swedish Research Council in 2010–2017, which concluded that issues such as climate and

9 These aspects of the history of Swedish humanities have been discussed in a growing literature in the last decade. See, for instance, Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*; Ekström, "A Failed Response?"; Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization"; Östh Gustafsson, *Folkhemmets styvbarn*; Salö, ed., *Humanvetenskapernas verkningar*.

10 Cf. Ekström and Sörlin, "The Integrative Humanities."

environment, migration, democracy, mental health, and gender were well represented by successful bottom-up research proposals and prioritized in applications to open calls long before and independently of thematic calls or other strategic initiatives within these areas.[11]

Broadening Impact

Following the overall pattern of European research policies, contemporary Swedish policy discourse typically oscillate between the second and third regime: on the one hand the innovation and national growth agenda that was formulated under the umbrella of the "knowledge economy" in the 1980s and 1990s; and on the other hand the grand challenges agenda that emerged in the early 2000s, emphasizing the complexity and global scale of ongoing changes in human societies.

The overlap between these two models is apparent in public debates, official policy documents, university strategies, and multi-source funding schemes. This creates an interesting mix of competing incentives and possible synergies between different motivations for research investments. But the overlap between the different regimes is also a source of dissonance and potential conflict. Simply put, the most fundamental cause of friction lies in the way that the first understands knowledge as the basis for more capitalism, while the other turns to knowledge for dealing with the consequences of capitalism. In the last two decades, however, there has been a tendency toward broader and more diverse impact definitions, which creates a certain distance to the nationalistic and short-sighted economistic language of the second policy regime.

In official research (if not education) policies in Sweden and Norway this shift involved a new emphasis on the humanities. In the 2010s, government initiatives and research bills in both countries pointed to the importance of strengthening humanities research in order to address social and cultural dimensions of major societal transformations.[12] For example, in Sweden a governmental commission in 2015–2016 outlined a ten-year national strategy for research, which stated that the human and social sciences provided "an important knowledge base for finding solutions on major contemporary problems and challenges." It also pointed to the particular contribution of the humanities of "knowledge to other subject areas and interdisciplinary

11 *Forskningsöversikt 2019*, pp. 16–17.

12 *Kunskap i samverkan*; *Humaniora i Norge*.

research," and their overall relevance to cross-sectional collaborations and knowledge exchange with a wide range of public and private organizations.[13]

In the local context, these statements represented a modest but nevertheless notable change in policy language even as they coexisted with the linear model of innovation for profit. Indeed, the overlapping regimes and their conflicting impact definitions were merged in the title of the Government's report: "Collaborating for knowledge – for society's challenges and increased competitiveness." But in comparison to previous research bills the report did nevertheless signal a shift of emphasis from national to global scales, and from linear to complexity models. In some respects, this also modified the unreserved trust in technological solutions and short-term incentives for economic growth that characterized policy discourse in the 1980s and 1990s.[14]

From the perspective of research and its environments, this shift resonated with a growing sense of the inadequacy of modern disciplines in addressing the transformative pressures of global warming, migration, and political polarization. In response to these and other interrelated "challenges" a new understanding has emerged, suggesting that universities need to foster socially responsive and integrative modes of expertise. Indeed, as Christopher Newfield argues, this era "require[s] interdisciplinary expertise, hybrid methods, and continuous creativity on the part of the whole population."[15]

Again, this development, and how it translates into prescriptions for new modes of knowledge production in official policies, was preceded by the improvisations of research. In the humanities and beyond, this has been reflected in a growing number of niches for multi-, inter-, and postdisciplinary work, as exemplified by integrated research fields such as the medical, digital, and environmental humanities. In Sweden as in many other countries, this development goes back to the late twentieth century, and has manifested in various collaborative initiatives, research programs, new organizational units, and occasional strategic initiatives in major universities.[16] So far, depending on funding systems as much as

13 *Kunskap i samverkan*, pp. 92–93. Quotes in my translation from the Swedish original, which reads "… en viktig kunskapsbas för att finna lösningar på vår tids stora problem och utmaningar"; "… kunskap inom andra ämnesområden och till tvärvetenskaplig forskning."

14 Edgerton, "'The Linear Model'"; Ekström and Sörlin, "The Integrative Humanities"; Stirling, "Keep it Complex!"

15 Newfield, p. 5. In general, there is an increasing emphasis on interdisciplinarity in contemporary policy language; for comparisons and historical perspectives, see Graff, *Undisciplining Knowledge*.

16 For a brief history, see Ekström and Sörlin, *Alltings mått*, especially chapter 10.

disciplinary conventions, this development has been more pronounced in research than in education.

Looking to the future, this calls for policies that correspond with changes in society and research. In Swedish universities, this should involve continuous efforts to support a culture of knowledge production that is responsive to research-driven initiatives of an integrative orientation. Due to path dependencies in the national system, four aspects are especially crucial. The first is to steer policies toward issues of long-term institutional capacity, making universities less sensitive to the high visibility/short term impact logic of the second regime. The second aspect is to increase mobility on all levels, fostering parallel structures of interaction between research groups and their particular knowledges. The third and most promising, given its long period of fallow in the Swedish university system, is reforms with the potential of strengthening collaborations on educational programs across the human, social, and natural sciences, which in the Swedish case requires a major increase and redistribution of the resources per student ratio. Finally, a fourth aspect concerns the public responsibilities of universities and research, and more specifically the reintegration of the contexts for the communication and production of knowledge, which became increasingly separated in the last decades of the twentieth century and under the influence of the second policy regime.

Mobilizing the Humanities

Future efforts toward broadening the impact of the humanities in universities and society at large might thus look toward their generalist past. They can also be influenced by various bottom-up and mid-sized integrative initiatives that have emerged around the world in the last two decades.[17] Productive niches in the intersection between established fields typically combine translational and disciplinary skills, and foregrounds the social nature of scientific work and its public resonances. The public responsibilities of the humanities are cultivated through its non-specialized orientations. We should continue to expect their leading scholars to work in multiple genres and languages, and in both local, national, and international contexts. In comparison to the social and natural sciences, the humanities have the

17 This development was surveyed and discussed in a project with the Swedish Research Council in 2015–2016, which I conducted together with my colleague Sverker Sörlin; for a summary, see Ekström and Sörlin, *Integrativa kunskapsmiljöer*.

advantage of being less affected by the instrumentality of bibliometric reward systems.

But other aspects make it more difficult to mobilize the humanities. One is the overwhelming predominance of reactive and deconstructive *forms of critique*. As I have argued elsewhere, this orientation has to be explained in the context of the relative marginalization of the humanities in relation to other scientific areas in the second half of the twentieth century, and the outsider positions this fostered among humanities scholars and students.[18] The decisive impetus for this development in Sweden was not the theory revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, but the knowledge politics of the 1950s and early 1960s and the priorities of emerging institutions of the welfare state. In the post-war context, the human sciences were inevitably tied to the past while other fields of knowledge, especially technology and the social sciences, became surrounded by a progressive aura of the future. This pattern was reinforced by the tremendous expansion of the university sector in the following decades. Eventually, it shaped a culture of critique within large areas of the humanities, which reacted to any policy initiative as an external intrusion into their cherished margins. It conditioned a protective attitude toward disciplinary environments and a lack of inclination to engage in institutional reform. Together with an understanding of "critique" as a goal in itself, which in Sweden often has been described as "the critical mission of the humanities," this has in many ways limited the articulation and influence of humanities knowledge. It has also worked as an obstacle for institutional renewal and more generative positions of what might be thought of as *building critique*.

Another aspect concerns *styles of research* and especially the individualism of humanistic research practices. It is aligned with a consistent tendency of understanding humanistic work in terms of authorship rather than knowledge production. As much as this notion supports important values intrinsic to arts and humanities research and its public impact, it has weakened the articulation of their knowledge claims in university-wide and integrative contexts. Again, one of the most resourceful strands of humanistic research traditions is their persistent commitment to communication and knowledge transfer. This is where any attempt to scale up the impact of the humanities needs to start, especially if the purpose is to build collaborative environments for research with the potential to traverse disciplines and scientific areas.

18 Ekström, "A Failed Response?"; Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalization."

Finally, there is also a need to address the Weberian theme of *academic activism*. After the very productive and challenging developments in cultural theory in the 1980s and 1990s, and the empirical focus it brought on the historical and political mechanisms of representational violence and the naturalizing and normalizing forces of language and other cultural practices, there has followed a second and paradoxical wave of cultural essentialism connected to struggles of identity politics and the surge of nativist thinking. The assumption that we can only speak for and share the experiences of the particular groups that we ourselves belong to goes against the core values of academic and public life by denying the very possibility of cultivating self-distancing forms of critical reflexivity. This essentialist position has nevertheless formed the basis for a strand of academic activism intent on policing both cultural and epistemic boundaries. What is needed in academic activism is precisely the opposite – an undisciplining engagement with the abstract collectivities and institutional values that make up the inner life of academic publics and how they reflect on the building of society itself.

This, I argue, is where we need to place our policy efforts in universities today. The humanities are crucial for the care and responsibility for the future of universities as public institutions. In an era defined by polarizing forces and growing mistrust of knowledge and the autonomy of its institutions there are many reasons to return to the deceptively simple question of the gathering places we share and the values they convey. Full-scale universities are integrative environments in themselves. They gain their distinctive institutional characteristics through the diversity of expertise and articulations of knowledge. Cultivating these aspects of academic work will be increasingly urgent in addressing future transformations. Forward looking university policies encourage multiple institutional structures, foster a culture of internal mobility, and commit to the productivity of the in-betweens. In terms of the publicness of universities, such strategies resonate with a fundamental need to restore a sense of building critique in European societies themselves.

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About the Author

Anders Ekström is professor of History of Science and Ideas at Uppsala University. He has published broadly on modern cultural, intellectual and media history and theory. Among recent publications is *Times of History, Times of Nature: Temporalization and the Limits of Modern Knowledge* (Berghahn Books, 2022; with Staffan Bergwik). His current research is focused on the history of publicness and cultural processes of temporalization.
Contact: anders.ekstrom@idehist.uu.se

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The Humanities and the Modern Politics of Knowledge: The Impact and Organization of the Humanities in Sweden, 1850-2020 addresses the shifting status of the humanities through a national case study spanning two centuries. The societal function of the humanities is considered from the flexible perspective of knowledge politics in order to historicize notions of impact and intellectual organization that tend to be taken for granted. The focus on modern Sweden enables an extended but still empirically coherent historical analysis, inviting critical comparisons with the growing literature on the history of the humanities from around the world. In the Swedish case, the humanities were instrumental to the construction of modern societal institutions, political movements, and professional education in the second half of the nineteenth century, while in the twentieth century, the sense of future-making shifted toward science and medicine, and later technology and economy. The very rationale of the humanities was thus put under pressure as their social contract required novel negotiations. Their state and connections to society were nevertheless of a complex and ambiguous character, as is demonstrated by this volume whose contributions explore the many faces and places of the modern humanities.

Anders Ekström is professor of History of Science and Ideas at Uppsala University. He has published broadly on modern cultural, intellectual and media history and theory. Among recent publications is *Times of History, Times of Nature: Temporalization and the Limits of Modern Knowledge* (Berghahn Books, 2022; with Staffan Bergwik). His current research is focused on two areas: the history of publicness, and cultural processes of temporalization in the context of climate change.

Hampus Östh Gustafsson is a researcher at the Department of History of Science and Ideas, Uppsala University, currently engaged in a project on collegiality and history of universities. His doctoral thesis concerned the legitimacy of the humanities in twentieth-century Sweden. Recent publications include articles in *History of Humanities* and *History of Education Review*.

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