

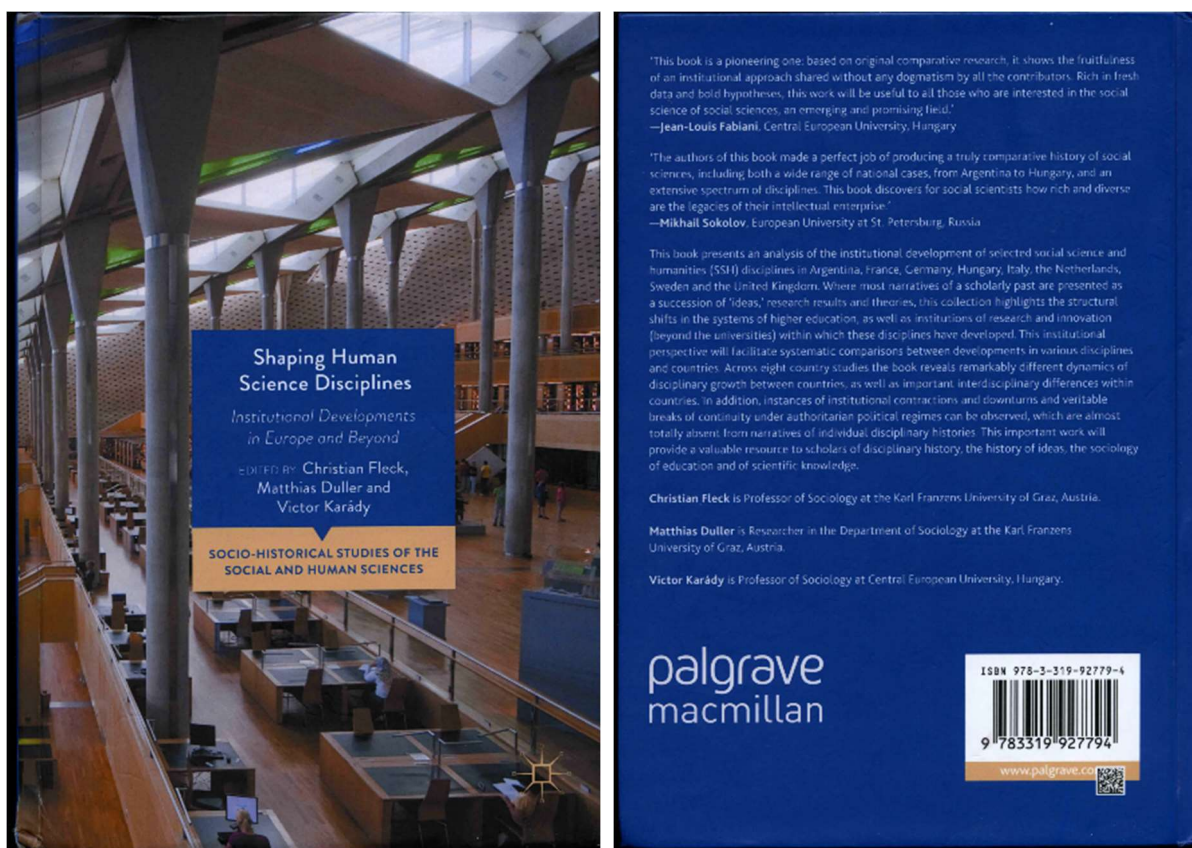
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Tobias Dalberg, Mikael Börjesson & Donald Broady,

"A Reversed Order. Expansion and Differentiation of Social Sciences and Humanities in Sweden 1945–2015", pp. 247–287 i Christian Fleck, Matthias Duller & Victor Karády (eds.), *Shaping Human Science Disciplines. Institutional Developments in Europe and Beyond*.

Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences

Palgrave Macmillan, The Netherlands 2019



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A Reversed Order: Expansion and Differentiation of Social Sciences and Humanities in Sweden 1945–2015

Tobias Dalberg, Mikael Börjesson and Donald Broady

Introduction

Swedish social sciences and humanities have expanded dramatically since 1945. The augmentation has been especially strong in the 1950s, 1960s and 1990s. This is part of a general enlargement of the higher education sector, which has transformed from an elite system, only recruiting a few percent of the youth cohort, to admitting almost half. The expansion has been very uneven, however. The social sciences have surpassed the humanities in a number of aspects such as student enrolment, research financing and demand for their expert knowledge. Thus, a long-established order has been reversed. Further, the expansion has

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facilitated increased differentiation, both in terms of creation of new disciplinary chairs and divisions within disciplines. In this chapter, we study this development on the basis of an analysis of seven disciplines.

The Particularities of the Swedish Case

Nineteenth-century Sweden was a poor rural country in Europe's Northern periphery. The change during the latter half of the twentieth century, from a largely agriculture-based economy to a close integration into the global economy and very high general domestic product per capita was dramatic. This transformation was accompanied by a long Social-Democratic political dominance covering the major part of the twentieth century, and the development of a large and omnipresent welfare state. Although since the 1990s, Sweden has, in some areas, taken the lead in the rapid neoliberal turn of the economy—as in the deregulation (or reregulation) and privatization of the public sector—the starting level was, by international comparison, a rather egalitarian distribution of resources and public welfare institutions, that has still kept much of its legitimacy among Swedish citizens (although less so within the political field).

Swedish higher education and research played an important role in this transformation. Research in technology, science and medicine was crucial for industrial development and the social sciences were equally decisive for the formation of the welfare state (Lundin and Stenlås 2015).

Many of the changes in the Swedish system of higher education are similar to those in other developed countries. These similarities concern expansion periods resulting in a more complex landscape of educational institutions and programs, increased internationalization, and (in the Swedish case since the 1990s) marketization, reregulation and the introduction of new public management models.

Despite these recent turns toward what has been called academic capitalism (Slaughter and Leslie 1997), peculiar to Swedish is the lasting, comparably strong, legitimacy enjoyed by the conception of higher education as a public good and as a democratization project with an

emphasis on widened social access (Börjesson and Broady 2016). This implies state-owned educational institutions (there are almost no private ones), no tuition fees anywhere (with the exception of students from outside the EU/EES since 2011), comparably generous financial aids and loans to all undergraduates since the mid-1960s, and currently even state funding in the form of a good four year, full-time salary for all accepted Ph.D. candidates. There is a general political consensus on the importance of higher education and research. Even in times of economic crises, the sector has—regardless of which political party or coalition is in power—been subject to smaller cuts than other sectors, sometimes even receiving increased funding. In addition, given Sweden's relatively small size and dependence on its export industry, international relations and influences have preconditioned the development of both the industry and the higher education sector. Finally, we should also stress the tight connection between higher education and research. Publicly-funded research is carried out at higher education institutions, very seldom at specific research institutes and every higher education institution is supposed to harbor research.

Analytical Dimensions

In this section, we will present the theoretical framework and the analytical dimensions employed for the study of social science and humanities in Sweden from 1945 onwards. Our ambition is to combine a structural and temporal approach. We take as our starting point the institutionalization of the disciplines and go on to link this to their social transformation.

There are good reasons to place the development of disciplines within the wider framework of higher education and its social transformation. First, the student body forms the material basis of the academic life of the discipline. It provides teaching opportunities and positions. Increasing the student body increases the number of positions and also the audience—within and outside of academia—for the knowledge produced. In fact, for the major part of the twentieth century, upper secondary and higher education were the main suppliers of positions for

trained Ph.D.s in the humanities and social sciences. In addition, the student body or, more precisely, the undergraduates and Ph.D.s, are the recruitment pool for the group of senior researchers in the disciplines.

Disciplinary Variations

Following Heilbron (2004: 35), we compare the disciplines with regard to their genesis and type while relating them to the specific national context. The genesis can typically be described as either differentiation of an existing discipline, upgrading of some kind of amorphous professional activity to an academic discipline, a synthesis of previously divided disciplines, or a combination of these factors.

A crucial aspect of modern disciplines, taking shape from 1750 to 1850, again drawing on Heilbron (*ibid.*: 27, 30), is that they primarily function as nexuses for assembling three historically separated activities: research; teaching or professional organization. This implies, as Heilbron advocates, that disciplines can be analyzed from the perspective of the weight of these three different activities (*ibid.*: 37). From a "bird's eye view," these three poles of activity correspond roughly to the structure of university faculties. In the late nineteenth century, the faculties of law, medicine and theology were primarily sites for the professional training of lawyers, medical doctors and priests, while the faculty of philosophy was divided between the teaching-oriented humanistic section and the research-oriented science section.

Transformations of Social Characteristics of Disciplines

One way to determine the weight of different activities is to simply compare the number of students, research students, academic positions and other institutional developments, such as professional organizations, journals and extra-academic institutions within and between disciplines. A discipline with a lot of students, but few professors, might be thought of as oriented toward teaching, but the ratio between these two categories may still indicate a larger weight of research activities than another discipline. We are thus working in a spirit close to the branch of

Durkheimian sociology that deals with the study of groups, their number and their distribution—the so called *morphologie sociale* (Mauss and Fauconnet 1901; cf. Bourdieu 1984: Chapter 4).

In order to account for the social morphologies of the disciplines, we will draw on a diverse material. In order to count the number of students, we have relied on individual level register data from 1977 onwards (corresponding to the organizational changes described below) and statistical yearbooks and memos for earlier periods. Doctoral students have been counted in a similar way, combining individual-level register data for some disciplines from 1971 onwards with dissertation bibliographies for the earlier periods. The numbers of professors and other teaching categories have been collected from listings in state calendars.

Educational and Disciplinary Fields

While social morphologies trace the development of transformations over time, we use the Bourdieusian concept of field to capture the structure of higher education and research at a given moment. Further, the notion of field implies adding a dimension of power and accounting for relations within and between disciplines. It is thus important to distinguish between a field of higher education (Bourdieu 1989; Börjesson and Broady 2016) and specific academic disciplinary subfields, such as the fields of history, literature or economics (Lebaron 1997). These are social microcosms, with their own specific stakes and rewards, whose development over time depends on internal struggles as well as their position in the hierarchy of disciplines. Disciplinary expansion and differentiation may be conceived as the increase or decrease in relative autonomy of certain subfields toward other disciplines and faculties within universities, as well as toward extramural institutions and fields.

Thus, there are fields at different levels with different prime agents. While the field of higher education is constructed primarily on bases of the students enrolled in higher education programs and courses at different institutions, in the fields of disciplines it is the professors, lecturers and research students that are the principal analytical entities. The former

is closer to a consumption field, while the latter is more of a production field, producing scientific works, ideas, theories, concepts, methods and people; namely specialists. Relating fields to Heilbron's three activities of disciplines, the field of higher education accounts for the educational dimension of a discipline, and lays open the structure of relations *between* disciplines, while the subfields of disciplines focus on the second activity, research, especially its *internal* differentiation. (This distinction is of course not absolute. In Bourdieu's analysis of Parisian professors in the four university faculties of humanities, science, law and medicine, differences between the faculties and disciplines are of central interest (1988).)

In this context, we will use the notion of the field of higher education and of specific disciplines in a heuristic sense. We will not perform any proper field analysis but, when relevant, refer to existing full-scale field analyses.

Disposition of This Chapter

First, in order to provide a context for the analysis of the individual disciplines, we outline the overall development of the higher education sector, its organization, funding, expansion and employment structure. Then we focus on, and compare, the institutional histories of the disciplines in terms of chairs, departments, external research funding, scientific journals and associations. The following considerations are based on studies of the social morphology of these disciplines including students, Ph.D.s, teachers and professors. We conclude by discussing the phases of establishment and consolidation of the disciplines and analyze the transformation of their profiles and internal order.

Background: The Establishment of a System for Higher Education and Research

In this section, we discuss the general conditions for Swedish higher education and research up to the mid-twentieth century which, by and large, comprises the history of a state-driven forming of a national *system* for higher education and research.

The Forming of a System of Higher Education

There have been higher education institutions in Sweden since the fifteenth century (the first university, at Uppsala, was founded in 1477). However, the growth was slow. If we exclude universities outside the current borders of Sweden, the second university was established in Lund in 1666 as part of the policy of "Swedishizing" the formerly Danish, and recently conquered, southern regions. Not until after the mid-twentieth century did Sweden obtain its third and fourth universities, when the private university colleges in Gothenburg and Stockholm were taken over by the state and given university status. In the eighteenth century there were also professional schools, mostly in the arts, which were joined by schools of medicine, engineering and agriculture.

A national public *system* for higher education took form from the latter half of the nineteenth century, at which time a set of conditions were put in place (cf. Agevall and Olofsson 2013: 5–7). The number of professional schools and university colleges that existed alongside the two universities was growing. The state became more active, taking over the financing and the control of the universities, including a regulation of the universities introduced in 1852 and a national office to coordinate their activities. During the twentieth century, new institutions were created and some existing private institutions were taken over by the state, increasing the size and scope of the national system. Currently, six of the former professional schools have obtained the status of universities (however, in contrast to the general universities, they have only one scientific domain each). This group includes high prestige institutions such as the Karolinska Institute, the Royal Institute of Technology and the Stockholm School of Economics.

The higher education system has historically been divided by types of institutions and fields of studies and still is. These two principles of division are intersected. Applied fields, such as engineering, agricultural sciences and fine arts, are most strongly represented at the professional schools, especially in the Stockholm region. Social sciences and humanities, which are the focus of this chapter, are predominantly associated with the universities and have grown out of the faculty of philosophy: in other words, the lower faculty in the medieval university structure.

The Division of the Faculty of Philosophy and Increased Specialization

At the end of the nineteenth century, increasing specialization shaped the state universities and their organization. At that time, there were still only two universities; Uppsala and Lund. An important step, taken in 1876, was the splitting of the faculty of philosophy into two sections: humanistic and science. At its inception, the section of humanities consisted of chairs in practical and theoretical philosophy, Semitic languages, political science, history, classical philology, modern European linguistics, Scandinavian languages and combined chairs of aesthetics, art and history of literature. Since both Uppsala and Lund were state universities, both they and their humanities sections had strong ties to the evolving educational system through the provision of upper secondary school teachers. To teach at upper secondary schools, one needed a degree in the subject one was to teach, and a subject that led to a degree needed an examiner; the professor. These strong ties between upper secondary school and the humanistic section at university level meant that changes in school subjects being taught often resulted in changes in the disciplinary structure at this section.

The privately founded and funded university colleges in Stockholm (1878) and Gothenburg (1891) were not tied to upper secondary education in the same way and could thus establish chairs in whichever field for which a private donor could be found. They did, however, stick to much the same disciplines as their university counterparts in Uppsala and Lund. Because of this, the rise in number of chairs within humanistic disciplines in the late 1800s was not so much a differentiation as an expansion. The first differentiation would take place during the first decade of the twentieth century, which saw chairs in geography established at the universities and in economics at the university colleges. European linguistics became differentiated into specific language chairs, such as roman, German or English. In 1908, it was decided that the previous *extraordinary* professors in history were to become ordinary, and from that moment history became numerically dominant for a large part of the twentieth century.

Shifting Balance Between Research and Teaching

The idea of the Humboldtian research university—that the professor should not only procure the teaching but also contribute to the production of knowledge—gradually became the new regime. This manifested itself in several ways. The hiring of professors came to put increasing weight on demonstrable scientific skill and, consequently, less weight on teaching ability or seniority. The 1876 reform that cleaved apart the faculty of philosophy was also a sign of this new regime since not only should the applicant for the chair demonstrate scientific skill but those who were to judge the skill level should be his disciplinary peers. This institution of experts, or hiring panels, was to be developed in the decades following the 1876 reform.¹

At the universities, professors were responsible for teaching a certain amount each week. The rest of the time could be used for meetings with the faculty and university boards as well as various other commitments such as being an expert in appointments of new professors, taking places in government commissions, or engaging in research. These commitments usually took a substantial amount of time to fulfill, and it was common—during times of intense commitments—to put one of the docents as acting professor to carry the teaching load. University departments were not common until the mid-twentieth century. University-based research was carried out by the professor, a couple of docents on scholarship and an assistant or amanuensis.

By the 1940s, a labor market for academics had evolved in addition to university and upper secondary school teaching positions. Despite almost no independent research institutes, there was a demand for scientifically trained personnel. Insurance companies demanded statisticians, often with a licentiate degree. The commercial sector sought degree-holders in languages, economics and statistics. In addition to the libraries and the archives, museums in Stockholm and Gothenburg now offered further positions, both as a result of new museums and new departments at older museums (Kock 1941).

¹See Blomqvist (1993) for a detailed account of these late nineteenth century transformations.

In Sweden, where dedicated research institutes were—and still are—few in number, the establishment of research council funding became crucial to promote research versus teaching. Organizing research financing in the form of research councils was the main current of Swedish research policy in the 1940s. All major fields were provided with a research council. Medicine was first in 1945, followed by natural science in 1946 and social science in 1947. Although the humanities would not formally get their own research council until 1959, from 1927 onwards they had been able to apply for funding from the Humanistic Fund (*Humanistiska fonden*).

In addition to the state-financed research councils, private foundations have played an important role research funding. Since 1917, the Wallenberg finance dynasty has placed large amounts in foundations that have invested significantly in Swedish research. Since the early 1960s the competing financial group—centered round the commercial bank Handelsbanken—has supported social sciences, and economical sciences, in particular. International private sources have also made significant contributions to research in social science and humanities. The Rockefeller Foundation, for example, invested large amounts in the establishment of social science and economics at the Stockholm University College.

Organization and Expansion of Higher Education and the Social Sciences and Humanities

A Swedish national system for higher education had developed by the mid-twentieth century, including two state universities, two private university colleges and a set of professional schools. This comprised almost 400 professors educating about 12,000 students. This system was about to undergo a far-reaching transformation, including a series of reforms, a vast expansion and disciplinary differentiation. This is also the period when the social sciences “took off,” surpassing the humanities in terms of research funding and in the number of students, becoming the largest of all educational domains.

Recent Reforms: Unification, Marketization, Internationalization

The Swedish system of higher education has been substantially reformed three times during the last 60 years: in 1977; 1993 and 2007.² These three reforms can be put under three very different headings: *unification*; *marketization* and *internationalization*. All of them created distinctively different conditions for the educational offer to take shape. In addition, a number of commissions have been vital to the development of the sector, the most important was appointed in 1955, which prepared the ground for the extensive expansion of the system in the 1960s.

The commission appointed in 1955 was given the task of meeting the rising demand for higher education that was expected to coincide with an increasing number of people reaching university age. The commission paved the way in two major ways for the extraordinary expansion of higher education enrolment that occurred during the 1960s (see below). First, the financing of the faculty of philosophy—open to all those who passed the upper secondary school exam (*studentexamen*)—was automatically tied to the numbers of enrolled students. This principle, *universitetsautomatiken*, brought about the financial conditions for universities to grow in a way that was not theirs to control; they had to adapt to demand. Second, the new position of university lecturer (*universitetslektor*) was introduced, with the main task of teaching. This increased opportunities for the higher education institutions to expand their permanent teaching staff beyond the professoriate. In addition to the 1955 commission, further initiatives were taken in the 1960s to facilitate expansion. The most important of these were: the introduction of general study loans; the geographical expansion of the universities; the establishment of outsourced regional branches of the old universities and the addition of two new universities, in Umeå 1965 and Linköping 1975 (Askling 2012: 43–49).

²The following section is based on Börjesson et al. (2014).

A further reform in 1977 was a result of a long process undertaken by the commissions largely appointed in the 1960s (UKAS, PUKAS and U68). The *universitetsautomatiken* had resulted in higher education becoming very costly. The watchwords for the commission of the Swedish Higher Education Authority (UKAS) in 1966 were “efficiency” and “throughput.” The answer to the problems was fixed study programs, though with some openings for local variation (HSV 2006: 10–11), and the introduction of a *numerus clausus* for all faculties. One of the most important and lasting contribution of U68 and subsequent government bills was the new definition of higher education. With the 1977 reform, higher education was to include a number of programs and institutions that had not been previously regarded as part of the sector. Overnight virtually all public postsecondary education—including previously nonacademic training of nurses or elementary school teachers—was administratively incorporated into *Högskolan*. This almost doubled the number of students in what was now officially categorized as higher education. A new type of institution, the university college, was introduced. These were mainly teaching institutions in regions where higher education had previously had no presence. Over time, their lack of resources for research has become increasingly problematic and certain initiatives to diffuse research resources have been implemented.

In 1989, a new higher education commission was appointed, which resulted in the 1993 reform. The government bill proposing this reform was named “Freedom for quality.” The bill was based on a combination of previously observed decline in quality of higher education and fear of further decline in the future. Enhanced quality was to be achieved by increased efficiency in resource management, as well as increased mobility and innovation. To reach these targets, a double strategy was utilized: higher education institutions were to be given enhanced autonomy with regard to organization of studies, the educational offer, student admissions, professor appointments, etc. This increased autonomy—understood as more power to the local university management and board—and institutional diversity were to be combined with economic incentives to be more productive. The shape and orientation of the educational offer and resource allocation would be determined by student

choice (Prop. 1992/93:1: 21–22). The reform implied the creation of market-like conditions in higher education (Bauer et al. 1999: 85–88).

The most recent higher education reform, implemented in 2007, might be described as the incorporation of the Bologna process degree structure (3 + 2 + 3, or 3 – 5 – 8 years) into the Swedish system. It began to take shape in 2002. In the Government bill *Ny värld—ny högskola* [New world—new higher education] (2004/05: 162) the most important watchword was “internationalization.” All other proposals in the bill can be interpreted as ancillary to this general intention. For example, the enhancement of quality is not only related to the benefit of those who get a better education, but also to its presumed effect on the attractiveness and position of Swedish higher education in international rankings.

A Transformation from Elite to Mass to Universal Access

The Swedish system of higher education has followed the global trend of expansion of the number of students (Verger and Charle 2012). The number of registered students has increased from 17,000 in 1950 to 431,000 in 2011—a 2500% increase. Relating the expansion to the schemes of Martin Trow (1974), this implied a transformation of an elite system into one of mass admission before then becoming a system of universal access. The expansion has not been linear and it is possible to identify six phases, all but two characterized by growth of different magnitude. The 1950s form a first phase with a steady increase from 17,000 to 37,000, implying more than a doubling in a decade and a yearly average growth rate of 8%. A second phase, in the 1960s, was marked by an exceptional expansion, with numbers rising from 37,000 to 120,000, tripling the number of students and an annual average increase of 12%. A number of factors explain this extraordinary expansion (Börjesson 2011). Until 1969, anyone with an upper secondary degree (*studentexamen*) was entitled to enroll in any of the liberal arts faculties (humanities, social science, theology and law). Limitations on the number of places were to be found only in some areas in the faculty of science, and at medical, technological and social institutes; i.e. more professional oriented institutions outside of the universities.

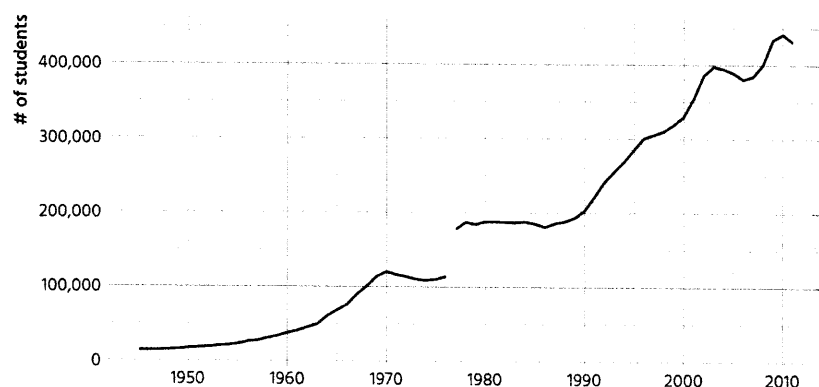


Fig. 7.1 Number of enrolled students 1945–2011

The rise in student numbers in the 1960s could, to some extent, be attributed to the extension in the number of places at the gymnasiums from which one could receive the *studentexamen*. Another important factor, as noted above in the policy context, was the introduction of the so-called *universitetsautomatik* in 1958, which meant that liberal arts faculties would be given teaching resources in proportion to the number of students enrolled. A third important factor was demographic: the generation born immediately after the Second World War, known as the baby boomers, very strong in numbers and now graduating from upper secondary schools (Fig. 7.1).

The subsequent period, phase three, covers the years from 1970 to 1976 in which expansion ruptured and numbers decreased. As we have said, the jump in the figures from 1976 to 1977, from 114,000 to 177,000, was a result of the changing definition of higher education, one of the most important traits of the 1977 higher education reform (see above). Simultaneously, measures were taken to establish a framework for a dimensioning of higher education that would be more in accordance with anticipated labor market demands. In 1979, the entire system became subject to *numerus clausus*, with the government deciding the number of places in each study program. The trend of non-expansion from 1970 to 1976 was carried over to the period 1977–1988 (phase four), when the numbers stayed at around 185,000. Not until in 1989 and into the 1990s did student numbers start climbing again.

The growth lasted until 2003 (the fifth phase). This expansion was not as extraordinary as that seen in the 1960s, but is still important. Student numbers grew from 188,000 in 1988 to 398,000 in 2003, more than doubling in 15 years and an annual growth rate of 5%. The demographic conditions were quite different in this third wave of expansion, occurring in the 1990s, since it coincided with a diminishing young population; the number of 20-year olds fell almost steadily from 125,000 in 1986 to 101,000 in 2003. This implies that, in order to expand the system, it was necessary to attract larger shares of students from homes without study traditions. The proportion of this age cohort in higher education expanded rapidly during the 1990s, from approximately 25% to well over 40%. The subsequent growth in the young population, from 2003 onwards, translates into an oscillating development of the number of students during the sixth period from 2004 to 2009.

Expansion of Social Sciences at Undergraduate Level

Up until 1977, the official data on registered students were organized according to faculty and specialized professional institutions. After 1977, individual-based data on educational programs and courses were collected and digitalized. Therefore, it is difficult to follow the expansion of certain disciplines over time before 1977. However, a general picture of the development of the faculties can be given on basis of the aggregated data available in statistical yearbooks.

For a long time, the faculty of philosophy had been the largest in terms of students, representing approximately 40%. In 1949, its 5500 students accounted for 42%. Expansion in the 1950s and 1960s made it even more dominant in terms of student numbers. By 1960, the faculties of humanities and natural sciences, which combined correspond to the former faculty of philosophy, made up 62% of all students, with 46% in the faculty of humanities. By 1970, after the further division of the faculty of humanities and the forming of the faculty of social sciences, the former faculty of philosophy made up 70% of all students. Out of these, the faculty of social sciences had become the most important, comprising 34% of all students, followed by 24% at the faculty

of humanities and 13% in natural sciences. This basic pattern was also apparent in 1976, the year immediately before the substantial reform of the sector. The numbers were slightly smaller, but the relations almost the same, with a small further increase of the relative importance of the social sciences (37, 22 and 10%, respectively).

The close relation in the 1960s between the vast expansion of the overall number of students and the growth of the social sciences and humanities has to be understood in relation to a set of factors. There was clearly a growing demand for higher studies relating to the demographic conditions with rising numbers of young people. A larger share of these had obtained the necessary degrees in upper secondary school and thus was eligible for higher education, further increasing the pool of applicants. This coincided with a political will to expand the higher education system and the implementation of the automatic system of university funding based on numbers in the faculty of philosophy. The latter largely explains the vast expansion of students in the humanities and social sciences, where the absence of *numerus clausus* enabled the growth in student numbers. Further, expansion in these areas, and especially in the social sciences, also corresponded to an important societal transformation: the consolidation of the welfare state and its institutions, based on the belief that more services should be carried out by society and that development should be directed by rational planning. This gave rise to a new set of professions and an increased need for higher administrators and experts—labor that the social sciences were able to produce (Fig. 7.2).

With the reform of higher education in 1977, and the expansion of the definition of higher education to include a large set of educational programs previously lacking the status of higher education, the social sciences held onto its dominant position, although at a somewhat lower level. During the previous three decades, social sciences had been the largest scientific domain with just under 30% of enrolled students. At the end of the 1970s, humanities was the second largest scientific domain with circa 18% of all students, followed by education, health and medicine with 16%. Over time, the humanities decreased in relative terms, stabilizing at 14–16% during the last decade. Other fields have gained shares at the expense of the humanities. Engineering has expanded faster, for example, peaking at 19% around 2000.

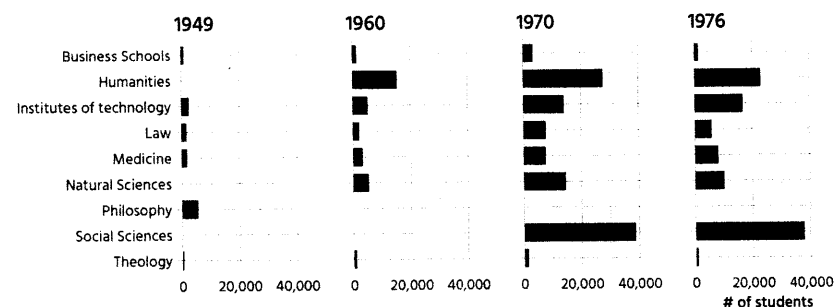


Fig. 7.2 Students by fields of study, 1949–1976 (Source Statistical Yearbook of Sweden)

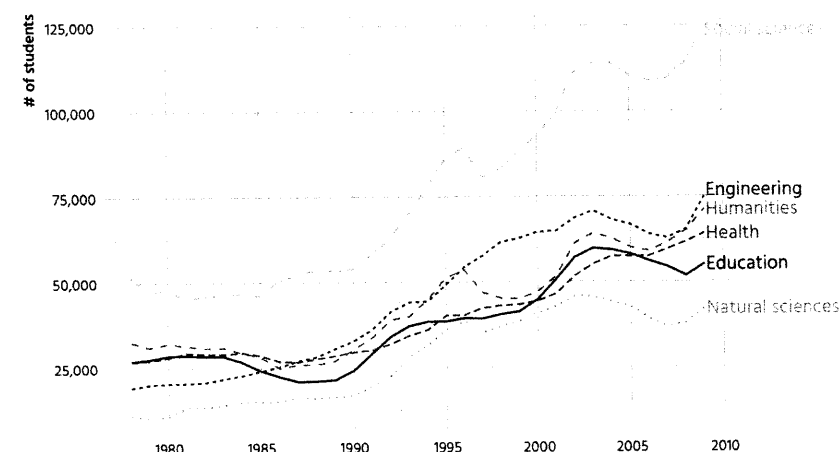


Fig. 7.3 Students by fields of study, 1978–2009 (Source Individual based data from statistics Sweden)

The general expansion of higher education translates into a very pronounced expansion of student numbers in the social sciences, from below 50,000 in the early 1980s to over 120,000 in 2009 (a 140% increase). Over the same period, the humanities expanded from 30,000 to over 70,000 (120%). An even more impressive expansion occurred in engineering, rising from 20,000 to 75,000 (almost 300%) and natural sciences going from 10,000 to over 40,000 (also almost 300%). These rates of expansion were, of course, crucial conditions for expansion of the teaching staff and for differentiation of the disciplines (Fig. 7.3).

Steady Increase of Ph.D. Degrees Awarded

The number of Ph.D. degrees awarded also grew steadily over the period. In comparison with the overall student expansion the growth of Ph.D. degrees was time lagged. The large student expansion phases of the 1960s and the 1990s had their counterpart in expansion phases for doctorates in the 1970s and the 2000s. Further, there are different growth curves in different disciplinary domains for doctorates. Whereas medicine had a steady growth rate over the whole period, the human sciences and the sciences start lagging behind medicine from the 1980s onwards. The human sciences saw a rapid increase from the latter part of the 1990s to the early 2000s, an expansion that took place later in the sciences (Fig. 7.4).

Yet another conclusion is that there were different balances between the undergraduate and the graduate levels. The human sciences were the largest fields in terms of the number of undergraduate students, but had inferior shares in relation to medicine at the graduate level, while medicine had a relatively small area at undergraduate levels. The high level of medicine can be explained by the organization of the medical profession, where doctoral degrees are crucial for advancement in a professional career.

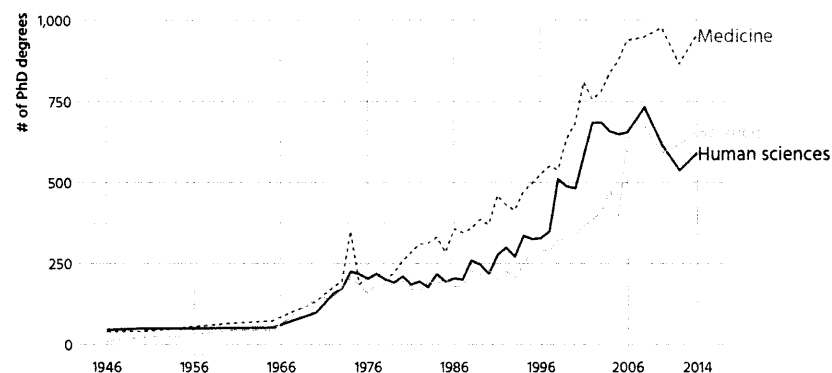


Fig. 7.4 Number of Ph.D. degrees awarded 1946–2014 (Sources Statistical Yearbook of Sweden (1946–): Universitet & högskolor: Högskoleverkets årsrapport (2015))

Institutional Patterns of Seven Disciplines

We will now shift our focus from the larger scientific domains to seven disciplines: two in the humanities, literature and philosophy; four in the social sciences, economics, political science, psychology and sociology; and the conglomerate of ethnology and anthropology that is administratively categorized as both humanities (ethnology) and social sciences (anthropology). We will focus on the institutionalization processes, both at the national level and at individual seats of learning.

Chairs and Department Structures

In the modern conception of scientific disciplines, research and education were brought together. Higher education institutions became crucial sites for discipline formation since they often monopolized the function of higher learning, whereas research was more dispersed institutionally. Institutionalization, in the sense of people doing anthropological, economic, literary, psychological, political and sociological research, while having both permanent employment at an institution of higher education for doing just that, and a group of students to whom to teach this subject matter was, for most of the relevant disciplines, already accomplished by the mid-1940s. In fact, during the 1940s and 1950s, the institutionalization processes of the preceding 50 years or so were to be crystalized in the form of signs above doors displaying the name of the discipline (cf. Lundgren 1993: 100–101) at all four universities and colleges. In other words, each discipline got one or more university departments. In general, the process includes starting to teach, establishing more specific chairs and the proper departments centered round the chairs.

On a more precise level, the institutionalization process shows varied origins and timing. Philosophy and literature, the two distinct humanistic disciplines, have ancient roots. Studies in philosophy were central at Uppsala University from the seventeenth century onwards and, in Lund, chairs in philosophy existed from the establishment of the university in 1668, and have done ever since. Literature and rhetoric have

been taught at the two universities since their early days and chairs focusing on aesthetics, including literature, have existed since 1742. Independent chairs in "history of literature" were established through a differentiation of the chairs in "history of art and literature" that began at Stockholm University College in 1899 and continued with Uppsala in 1917, Lund in 1920 and Gothenburg in 1932.

The picture is more diverse when it comes to the social sciences. Political science received a chair in 1622 in Uppsala (argued to be the oldest in the world), and economics obtained its first chair in 1741 at the Faculty of Law in Uppsala University. In economics, the development at the turn of the nineteenth century may be described as something of an upgrading, or institutionalization, of a new research practice imported from abroad by Knut Wicksell during his visit to the Fabian Society. Back in Sweden, during the last years of the nineteenth century, Wicksell's works were more in line with neoclassical economics than anything had been before in Sweden, and he, as well as his friends Gustav Cassel and Gustaf Steffen, worked closer to the margin approach than the historical approach. All of the work of economists holding chairs around 1900 had been funded by the Loren Foundation, who had paid for their travels abroad as well as lectures at Stockholm University College.³

The political science chair at Uppsala University, established in 1622 in *eloquentia et politice* (lat.), had no equivalent at Lund University where political science was institutionalized as one of the degree subjects at the faculty of philosophy in 1870. The professor of history became responsible for the examinations and the debates surrounding the establishment of political science at the turn of the century dealt with the need to separate political science from history. Political science thus came about as a discipline differentiated from history (Odén 1991: 65–67).

This can be contrasted with sociology and psychology, which obtained their first proper chairs in 1947 and 1948. Ethnographic

³For a detailed account of the dawn of social sciences in Sweden and the part played by the Loren Foundation, see Wisselgren (2015).

research was carried out at the departments of ethnography at museums in Stockholm and Gothenburg before it got its first chair at Gothenburg University College in 1923. It was a personal chair donated to Erland Nordenskiöld by Naval Minister Dan Broström, meaning that when the professor left in 1932 there would be no successor, and it was not until 1955 that Gothenburg University (which became a university in 1954) got a new chair in Karl Gustav Izikowitz (1903–1984). Stockholm got its first chair in ethnography in 1928, but it was not until 1962 that the first chair in ethnography independent from the museums was established in Uppsala.

For all social science subjects, except anthropology, the 1940s and 1950s were a phase of distinct expansion. In sociology, four chairs were established between 1947 and 1957; in psychology, the same number was reached in an even shorter period, from 1948 to 1956. In political science, the second chair was established in 1926 and, by 1952, chairs existed at the four major universities and university colleges. The same occurred for economics in 1953, where the Stockholm School of Economics had a professor in economics from 1909. Department formation for the social sciences came later than the establishment of the chairs, stretching from the 1940s to the 1960s. In sociology, however, the departments in Lund and Gothenburg preceded the chairs.

By the mid-twentieth century, the university department had become the model for the institutionalized organization of research and teaching within a single discipline. There really were no university departments in 1900, and the most recently established departments are seldom restricted to one clearly defined discipline. From this perspective, the disciplinary department, as a central organizational feature of a discipline, is in decline. This is most apparent for literature in Sweden with just one single-disciplinary department remaining in Uppsala. It is, however, not the case for economics or psychology who both find themselves with 11 distinct, self-contained departments. Important steps toward disciplinary institutionalization also arose outside of the seats of higher learning, to which we will now turn.

Scientific Journals and Organizations

Scientific journals and organizations have been crucial elements in institutionalization on a national, or even Nordic, level. The presence of scientific disciplinary journals is further evidence of how established these disciplines were in the mid-twentieth century: all had a specialized journal in the interwar period, with the exception of sociology. Between 1880 and 1899, no less than four longstanding journals were founded. In 1880, both the Swedish Literature Society and its journal *Sammlaren* were founded, with the aim of promoting Swedish research in literature; the journal has been published annually since. The journal *Ymer* (1881) was published by The Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography (SSAG), established by that name in 1878. A second journal for anthropology and its neighboring disciplines was published in 1936 under the name of *Ethnos* by the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden.

These examples also point to a close link between the establishment of scientific journals and the creation of scientific societies and organizations, which often functioned as the founders and financiers of the journals. We will, therefore, treat journals and organizations in parallel, though, as will be shown, it is not a necessary condition to first establish an organization and subsequently a journal.

At the end of the nineteenth century two social science journals were published, one in political science (*Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* 1897) and one in economics (*Ekonomisk tidskrift* 1899). *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift*, still published in Swedish, published works on state law and political science of interest to both scholars and other citizens. When *Ekonomisk tidskrift* launched its first issue in 1899, there was no declaration of principles or any other statements on the direction of or motivation behind the launching of the journal. Instead, the reader would be met by "Some economic data from the past years," as the title of the first article read. Unlike its contemporary *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift*, the journal would not remain the same over the following century. It changed title and language in 1965 to *The Swedish Journal of Economics* and then changed its name and scope in 1976, becoming *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*. The political science journal *Scandinavian Political Studies*, on the other hand, did not take over the role of *Statsvetenskaplig*

tidskrift when it was launched in 1966, but was, by contrast to *Ekonomisk tidskrift*, an independent journal, adding a Nordic level to the national one. The link to disciplinary organizations is weak for journals in political science and economics. *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* was not initially associated with any organization, but from 1919 it obtained financial support from the *Fahlbeckska stiftelsen* and became associated with *Statsvetenskapliga förbundet* (Swedish Political Science Association), founded in 1970. The organization for economists, *Nationalekonomiska Föreningen*, was already founded in 1877, but did not launch a journal until 1973, when *Ekonomisk debatt* was established.

Philosophy's first modern scientific journal was *Theoria*, established in 1935. Its first editor, Åke Petzäll, wanted the journal to be a medium of communication not only within the Nordic countries but also with the rest of the philosophical community. This was manifested in the languages of the published articles and entries. Apart from the first issue, in which all the articles were in Swedish, foreign languages would make up the major part of the journal and, from 1939 onwards, all articles and entries were in a foreign language. German was the most common until English took over in 1947 (Strang 2010: 71–72).

During the first half of the twentieth century, there were a couple of journals aimed at psychology, often combined with pedagogy such as *Psyke* (1906–1920) and *Tidskrift för psykologi och pedagogik* (1942–1950). This corresponded with the organizational principle at the time, when psychology partnered with pedagogics. None of these journals would survive to the present day. It was *The Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, published since 1960 by the Nordic Psychological Association, that would last. As a reaction against what was perceived as mainstream psychology, meaning "positivistic, removed from socially relevant problems, restricted to laboratory work and biologicistic" (Rigné 2002: 272), associations and journals were founded. One of the more lasting journals was *Kritisk Psykologi* (1981–1994).

If the social sciences typically began with a Swedish language journal aimed at a Swedish audience, for sociology it was the other way around. *Acta Sociologica*, the Nordic journal was launched in 1955, a decade before the first exclusively Swedish journal *Sociologisk forskning* in 1964. This also corresponded to the order in which the sociological

associations were founded with the Nordic one preceding the Swedish, although only by two years, 1960 versus 1962.

Most of these journals play only a secondary role today, at best, since most publishing activity is aimed at international journals. *Theoria* and *Ethnos* are different in that they are considered international journals.

Research Funding

Because we lack complete historical data on research funding that allows state grants to be differentiated from external funding from private and public sources, we have used the external funding by the research councils as an indicator of the level of research funding for the disciplines in question. Since the level of funding increases drastically over the period (in the prices of 1947 the total sum for the seven disciplines rises from 240,000 to 11,400,000 Swedish kronor, SEK, over the period), we have chosen to present the development in three periods indicating different funding regimes and sizes of the system.

In the first period, covering the expansion of higher education system during the 1950s, it is clear that it was most invested in the newly founded discipline of sociology, especially in the period from the late 1940s to 1953/1954. After this political science, another social science discipline, reached the same level of funding as sociology. The third most important discipline in funding terms changes between economics and literature. It is clear that, from the start, the social sciences came to dominate the external research funding channeled through the research councils.

In the second period, covering the expansive phase of the 1960s and parts of the 1970s, the picture differs somewhat. Psychology rises to a giant in external funding and, by 1970, it attracted five times the sum of the second most funded discipline. Once again, a social science discipline dominates, but the differences are quite small.

Our last period covers the 2000s when the social sciences also gain the most funding. Three disciplines shift in the leading position, sociology, psychology and political science. Among the other disciplines, philosophy rises over the period, reaching the same level as sociology and psychology by 2012 (Fig. 7.5).

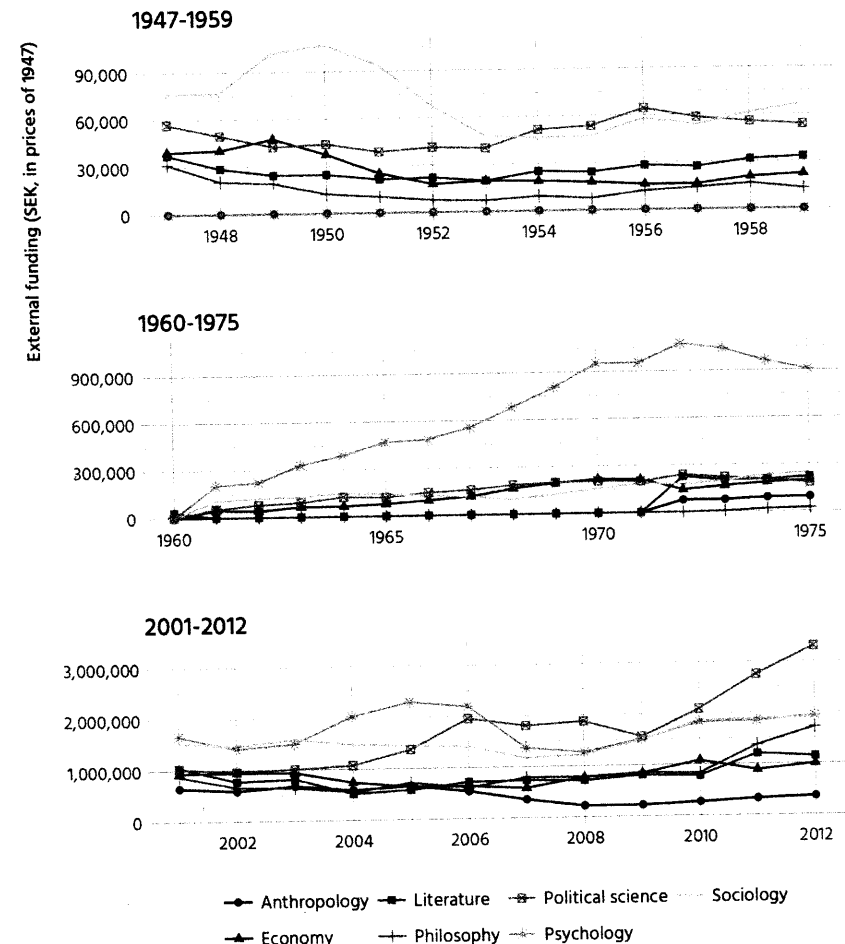


Fig. 7.5 External funding by the research councils in prices of 1947 (Sources: Annual reports of the Social Science Research Council (1947–1976), Humanities Research Council (1947–1976), and the Swedish Research Council project database (2001–2012))

Humanities Struggling to Keep Pace: Morphological Transformations

Professors

To begin with, the jump in the number of professors for most disciplines between 1985 and 1995—and between 1995 and 2005 for some others—highlights the changing conditions for establishing chairs that resulted from the higher education reform in 1993. As we mentioned earlier, budget decisions were handed over to each institution, in effect allowing them to create chairs by allocating the funds required for such a position. An additional reform in 1999 created the possibility to be promoted from a permanent position as a lecturer to a position as professor without the institution having to advertise the position. Thus, if one was deemed sufficiently qualified by an appointed expert, one could become a professor without the competition of an open hiring process. While there are no formal regulations that distinguish a more traditional chair from this new type of promoted professor, praxis is that being appointed to a chair resembles the traditional full professor, with a guaranteed level of research funding, whereas the promoted professor only gets the title and possibly an often relatively small rise in salary (Fig. 7.6).

For almost 50 years following the Second World War, the only way of increasing the number of professors was to either increase the number of higher education institutions where the discipline is taught, or to create specialized chairs (“sociology of...,” “cognitive psychology,” “international economics” and so on). These two strategies are what sustained the relatively modest increase in chairs between 1945 and 1985. Economics clearly benefitted from being represented at the Stockholm School of Economics, which added one or two chairs to their national total, something other disciplines could not do.

When budgetary decisions were moved from central government to local institutions with the higher education reform in 1993, disciplines rich in student numbers seem to be the ones that were granted more professors by their local institutions, with economics more than

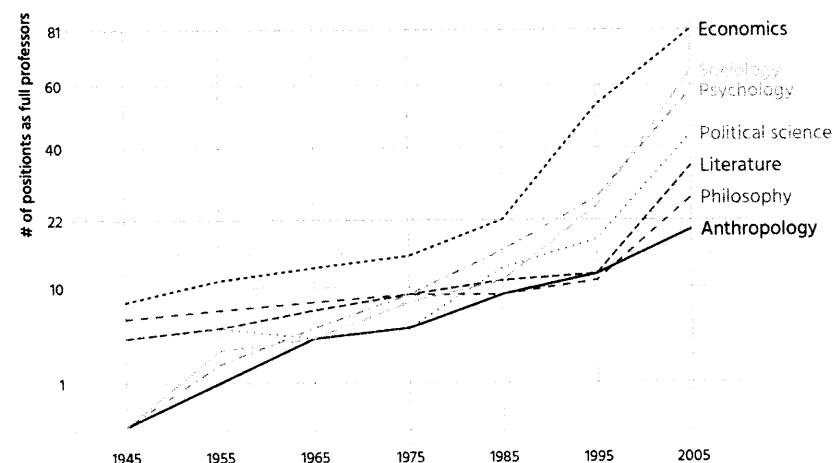


Fig. 7.6 Number of positions as full professors 1945–2005 (Sources Sveriges statkalender, editions 1945, 1955, 1965, 1975, 1985, 1995 and 2005)

doubling the number of professors between 1985 and 1995. After the promotion reform in 1999, all of the disciplines rapidly increased their number of professors. The discipline with the lowest increase between 1995 and 2005—economics—still had more than a 50% increase while literature, as the most rapidly growing discipline, almost tripled its number of professors. This indicates that the logic was different and not primarily driven by the number of students and general resources, but rather by the age composition of the staff; older staff had greater periods—and thus greater opportunities—over which to acquire the necessary merit to obtaining a promotion to professor.

Studying the relations between the different disciplines, it becomes clear that the social sciences, in general, have gained momentum over the period. Philosophy increases modestly between 1945 and 1985, going from 6 to 9, but is surpassed by sociology and psychology, which both, having had no chairs in 1945, reached 11 and 16 respectively by 1985. By 2005, a distinct order was established with the social sciences at the top, ranging from 81 professors in economics to 44 in political science, followed by 35 professors in literature and 27 in philosophy. Only anthropology/ethnology stands out with the lowest number (20).

Women are almost completely absent among the professors of the INTERCO disciplines until the 1980s. At the beginning of the twentieth century, women were not legally allowed to become professors at state universities; the geographer Gerd Enequist became the first female professor at a state university in 1949.⁴ Having been legally excluded for a large part of the century, not to mention the cultural obstacles faced by a woman entering a completely male-dominated world, women pursuing a career in academia had to make up a lot of ground in order to be as prevalent in the recruitment pool as they are in the general population. This is one of the demographic properties that helps to explain the continued absence of women in the professoriate, even after Gerd Enequist cracked the “glass ceiling.” Another demographic property is related to the policy regarding the number of professors per discipline and institution. If the professor installed was young, he would block any pretender for a couple of decades, regardless of the gender of the pretender or the gender proportions among the faculty. This is why the loosening of the “one professor per discipline and institution” in 1993 probably meant a diminishing effect of the “demographic blocking property.” Evidence of this can be seen in that disciplines (economics, political science and psychology) that had no female professors in 1985 would—with the exception of philosophy—have at least some today. The increase of women among professors was not fast enough for the government which, in 1995, created 31 new professor positions in 1995 specifically designed to recruit the underrepresented gender in each specific discipline. For the INTERCO disciplines, positions were created in “political science with gender research,” “history of philosophy,” “psychology, especially cognitive” and all three were filled with women.⁵ The share of women continued to rise between 1995 and 2005. Part of this can probably be attributed to the promotion reform in 1999, but at this point, the supply of doctors had become fairly gender-balanced—at least in the total population (Fig. 7.7).

⁴For a thorough account of the troubles facing women in academia from the first female student in 1873 to the first professor in 1949, see Markussön Winkvist (2003).

⁵For an evaluation of this reform, see Jordansson (1999).

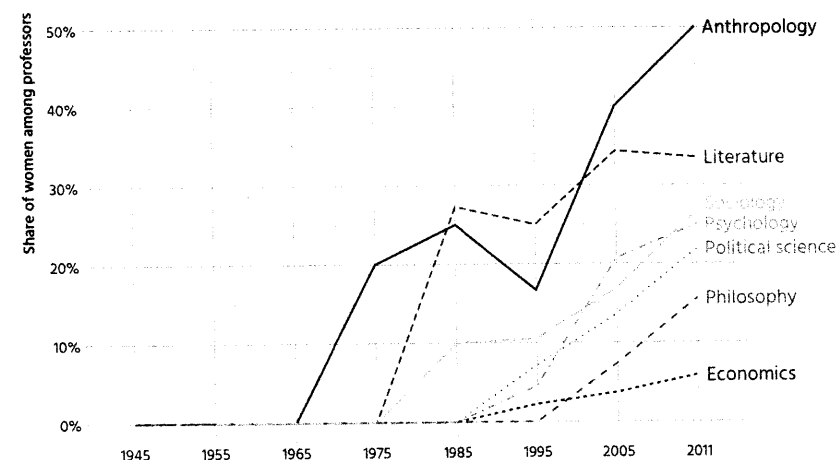


Fig. 7.7 Share of women among professors 1945–2011 (Sources Sveriges statistikaler, editions 1945, 1955, 1965, 1975, 1985, 1995 and 2005; register data from SCB for 2011)

Ph.D.s Awarded

The first two decades following the Second World War was a period when the annual production of doctors was generally low, with seldom more than a handful (Fig. 7.8). Among the more consistent producers, output from literature and philosophy was fairly balanced, as well as from economics and political science. Partly due to a large project launched in 1965—following the extensive municipality reform—political science managed to produce an extraordinary large number of doctors just before the huge wave of student enrolment of the 1960s would make itself felt at the doctoral level in the early 1970s.

In the 20 years between 1970 and 1990, philosophy and anthropology were left behind as the other four disciplines expanded, only literature managed to keep pace with the social sciences during this period. After the financial crisis of the early 1990s, the divide between the humanities and the social sciences grew deeper. Indeed, there has been some expansion even among the humanities, but nowhere near as steep as in the social sciences, with economics becoming as dominant in the production of doctors as it has been among the holders of chairs.

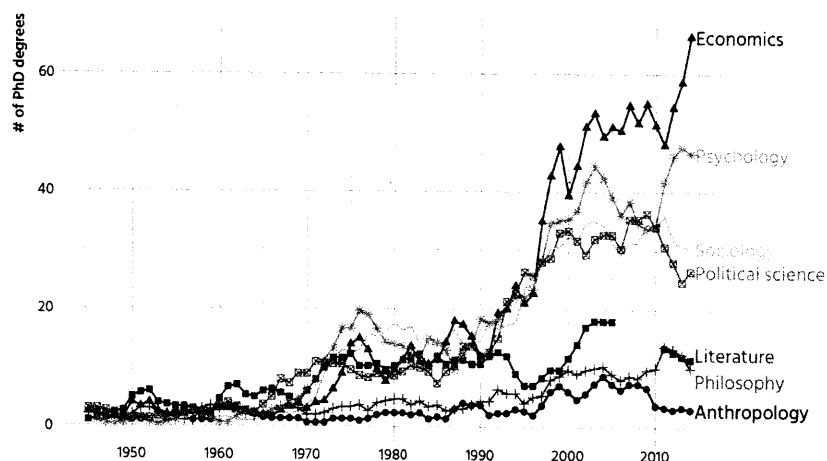


Fig. 7.8 Number of Ph.D. degrees 1945–2014 (EWMA of the year before and after) (Sources Register data from SCB 1971–2014; Libris library catalogue for economics, philosophy, literature, psychology 1945–1970; Allardt et al. (1988) for sociology 1951–1974; Johansson (2009) for political science 1945–2009)

The INTERCO disciplines have generally had a larger share of women doctors than the Ph.D. population in general. Economics and philosophy have, however, consistently produced fewer women doctors than the other INTERCO disciplines and the Ph.D. population in general. Instead, women have populated the disciplines that grew out of philosophy, i.e. psychology and sociology, leaving philosophy to the men.

Students

A detailed nomenclature distinguishing between different social science disciplines was not in place until 1986. From the government's official report, produced by the commission on social sciences in 1946, we know that in 1945 there were an estimated 650 students in economics, 278 students in political science and 118 students in sociology nationwide (SOU 1946: 74).

Looking at the number of registered students each fall semester from 1978 onwards, psychology is clearly the most numerous throughout the period. It was the only discipline among the social sciences where *numerus clausus* was introduced to restrict the student intake. However, it was also

the discipline with a monopoly on the longer professional program training future psychologists. Psychology, then, would have relatively more students continuing to more advanced levels in the course structure than would the other disciplines, despite its restricted intake at the entry level. Economics, of course, would be a major component in the training of economists. But it also had to compete with business studies in the program structure for economists, since the students could choose an orientation between the two disciplines. Business studies was the discipline with the largest number of registered students over the past 40 years.⁶

Differences between disciplines other than psychology were not that evident from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. Beginning in the midst of the Swedish banking crisis in the early 1990s, the number of economics students began to increase more significantly than the otherwise expanding disciplines of sociology and political science in 1995 and 1996. Since 1997, the seven disciplines can be differentiated into three groups, one of which would contain only the largest discipline of psychology, completely dominant in volume at the dawn of the twentieth century. A second group consists of the other social sciences—political science, economics and sociology—each with about 4600 to over 5000 students enrolled per year. A third group with smaller numbers than the other two groups consists of literature, anthropology and philosophy which, in Sweden, would all be considered more humanities disciplines than social sciences (Fig. 7.9).

Student-to-Teacher Ratios

Increases and decreases in student numbers only highlight changing balances between disciplines and do not say anything about the demographic crises that occur within the disciplines at times of over- and under-population. These are almost inevitable since there is always a time lag between a wave of expansion and the hiring of teachers to handle it. At these times, the student to teacher ratio goes up. Since these expansion waves are partly due to population demographics in a narrower sense, e.g. baby boom generations, one might experience the opposite problem with student to teacher ratio going down.

⁶The history of business studies in Sweden has been well documented by Engwall (2009).

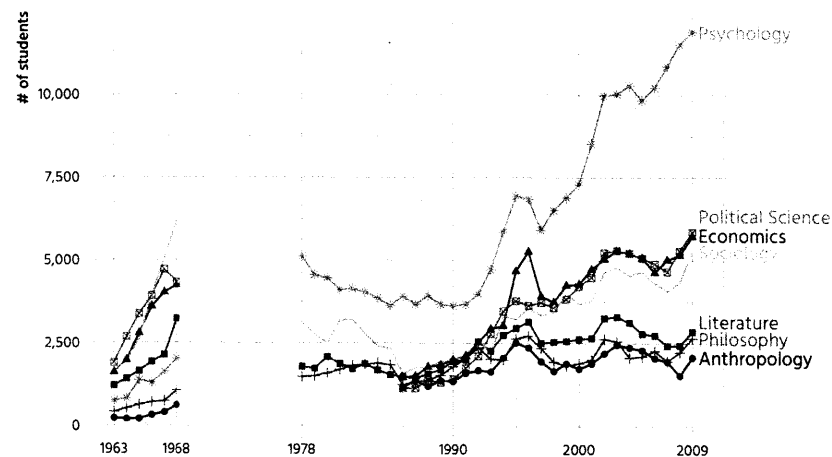


Fig. 7.9 Number of students 1963–2009 (Sources Register data from SCB (1978–2014); Statistiska meddelanden Serie U (1963–1968))

The rapid expansion of the 1960s led to overpopulation—in the sense above—particularly in political science and sociology. For a couple of years, there were between 140 and 164 students per teacher in these two disciplines. A sociologist teaching at this time described it as a “shocking experience,” having “to teach large groups of students in restaurants or movie theatres” (Björnberg 2014: 199). Economics seem to have been under less strain, with around 77 students per teacher. Psychology, literature and philosophy managed to keep this ratio at 30 or less students per teacher, while anthropology experienced a crisis of the opposite kind with about 9 students per teacher.

To be an undergraduate student, establishing some kind of relation with the professor of your discipline might never have been a simple task. In political science and sociology of the 1960s, it must have been next to impossible as the ratio between students and professors were 841 and 655 to 1 in each of these disciplines respectively.

During the stagnation phase of the 1980s (see section “Organization and Expansion of Higher Education and the Social Sciences and Humanities” above), the previous order was reversed, albeit at a lower magnitude. Economics, political science and sociology now all had more manageable student to teacher ratios at the same level as

literature, philosophy and psychology experienced in the 1960s. The latter three disciplines had all increased the number of students per teacher; philosophy had even doubled this ratio. Yet, while the literature student of 1985 had more classmates than their 1965 counterpart, there was still a far greater chance of meeting a professor in 1985 as the student to professor—or professor to teacher—ratio had decreased.

After the third wave of expansion in the 1990s (see section “Organization and Expansion of Higher Education and the Social Sciences and Humanities” above), the ratio between students and teachers ranged between 16 and 30 in all disciplines, i.e. the size range of a normal school class. Sociology only had 16 students per teacher, suggesting a coming demographic crisis. Anthropology, economics, philosophy and political science all had roughly the same ratio of students per teachers in 2005, but the teacher corps were not constituted with the same relative amount of different teacher categories. There were more professors in economics and philosophy than in anthropology and political science, suggesting a different weight of teaching versus research activities in these pairs of disciplines (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Ratio between students and professors

| Numbers | All teachers (1) | | | Professors (2) | | | Students (3) | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|------|------|-----------------------------|------|------|---------------------------|------|------|
| | 1965 | 1985 | 2005 | 1965 | 1985 | 2005 | 1965 | 1985 | 2005 |
| Anthropology | 21 | 18 | 107 | 4 | 9 | 20 | 198 | 1167 | 2285 |
| Economics | 36 | 62 | 225 | 13 | 22 | 81 | 2784 | 1460 | 5072 |
| Literature | 57 | 34 | – | 7 | 11 | 35 | 1643 | 1483 | 2784 |
| Philosophy | 21 | 20 | 96 | 8 | 9 | 27 | 627 | 1242 | 2102 |
| Political science | 24 | 41 | 244 | 4 | 13 | 44 | 3362 | 1130 | 5071 |
| Psychology | 50 | 83 | 329 | 5 | 16 | 58 | 1364 | 3917 | 9839 |
| Sociology | 16 | 44 | 284 | 4 | 11 | 65 | 2619 | 1579 | 4646 |
| Ratios | Professors/all teachers (2/1) | | | Students/all teachers (3/1) | | | Students/professors (3/2) | | |
| Anthropology | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 9 | 65 | 21 | 50 | 130 | 114 |
| Economics | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 77 | 24 | 23 | 214 | 66 | 63 |
| Literature | 0.1 | 0.3 | – | 29 | 44 | – | 235 | 135 | 80 |
| Philosophy | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 30 | 62 | 22 | 78 | 138 | 78 |
| Political science | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 140 | 28 | 21 | 841 | 87 | 115 |
| Psychology | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 27 | 47 | 30 | 273 | 245 | 170 |
| Sociology | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 164 | 36 | 16 | 655 | 144 | 71 |

Conclusions

The unprecedented expansion in student enrolments in the social sciences and humanities was partly determined by the absence of *numerus clausus* in those parts of the higher education system. The number of Ph.D. candidates did not rise at the same pace. Such mechanisms created significant differences in the relation between research and education. Medicine and sciences became more research oriented than the humanities and social sciences, as is illustrated by the ratio of undergraduates to Ph.D.s. When comparing different disciplines, using the number of students per professor as an indicator, research carries more weight in economics and philosophy than in political science or anthropology, for example.

At the beginning of the new millennium, the social sciences have unquestionably gained a dominating position *vis-à-vis* the humanities in terms of enrolled students, employed staff and research resources. Thus, the order that lasted until the mid-twentieth century has been reversed. Even with almost every discipline expanding since then, most of the humanities failed to keep pace with the social sciences, as could already be seen to some degree in the great expansion wave in the 1960s, only to be cemented by the next wave in the 1990s.

This rise of the social sciences took off with the institutionalization soon after World War II, when professorships, departments, dedicated Swedish journals, research councils and so on were in place. The main institutionalizing principle was one chair, one discipline, one department; an arrangement that allowed each discipline to function as an autonomous field. The close links between most of the emerging social sciences and the contemporaneous welfare state project did not necessarily imply weak autonomy in relation to the political fields and state administration since. In many cases, social scientists were significant agents in the societal transformation.

In contrast, the more recent transformation of Swedish social sciences, and also humanities, from the late twentieth century onwards has entailed deinstitutionalization and loss of autonomy. Departments ceased to be centered around one discipline with one or, later on,

perhaps a few chairs. The social sciences (to a lesser extent the humanities) lost their Swedishness, a development that is mirrored in the fate of the journals. Those publishing contributions in the Swedish language—such journals had been decisive vehicles in the early formation of Swedish disciplines—were “outflanked” by Swedish or Nordic journals in which the English language was used. Those were, in turn, relegated to second-rate positions when so-called international journals gained supremacy (see Table 7.2).

Today Swedish economists, philosophers, political scientists, psychologists or sociologists tend, if they are in the position to choose, to favor publishing in journals regarded as international. Among anthropologists, and some other disciplines, publishing in international fora was always the case. However, scholars in literature or history still publish in Swedish and their national journals have not been anglicized.

As already mentioned, a particularity of Swedish (and, to a somewhat lesser extent, other Nordic) social sciences during the founding period immediately after World War II was the tight links to the welfare state project. To write in Swedish signified to write for politicians, state officials and concerned citizens. The turn to foreign journals—most often edited in English speaking countries and behind paywalls—implies the decoupling of social sciences from the welfare state project. This development—together with the general erosion of the Swedish welfare project and the related weakening of specialties such as the previously most dominant “welfare sociology”—might, on the one hand, in some respects present new and autonomous opportunities to the social sciences—unless the state defined research problems are replaced by objectives originating from other external powers such as the economic field or the media and entertainment industry. On the other hand, the weakened links to stakeholders within the political and administrative fields will no doubt contribute to the ongoing deinstitutionalization of Swedish social sciences.

Table 7.2 Institutional patterns 1945–2015

| Discipline | Chair | Degree | Journals | Organisations | Sequence |
|--------------|--|------------------------------|--|---|--|
| Anthropology | Allmän och jämförande etnografi Gothenburg (1924–1932), Stockholm/Etnogr. mus (1928–1969), Uppsala 1962 | 1948 | Ymer (1881–) Ethnos (1936–) | SSAG (1878–) | Org-Journal- Chair-Journal- Degree |
| Economics | Lund and Uppsala (pre-1900) Nationalekonomi och sociologi Gothenburg (1903) Nationalekonomi och socialpolitik Stockholm (1904) | 1909 (faculty of philosophy) | <i>Ekonomisk tidskrift</i> (1899–), changed name to <i>The Swedish Journal of Economics</i> (1965) and <i>The Scandinavian Journal of Economics</i> (1976) <i>Sammlaren</i> (1880–) <i>Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap</i> (1971–) | Nationalekonomiska föreningen (1877–) | Chair-Org- Journal-Degree |
| Literature | Stockholm (1899), Gothenburg (1901), Lund (1920), Uppsala (1922) | 1908 | | Svenska litteratursällskapet (1880–) | Org/Journal- Chair-Degree |
| Philosophy | Lund and Uppsala (pre-1900) Gothenburg (1893) Stockholm (1937) | pre-1876 | <i>Theoria</i> (1935–) <i>Häftan för Kritisksa Studier</i> (1969–) <i>Filosofisk tidskrift</i> (1980–) | Föreningen för filosof och specialvetenskap (1935–) | Chair-Degree- Journal |

(continued)

Table 7.2 (continued)

| Discipline | Chair | Degree | Journals | Organisations | Sequence |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Political science | Uppsala (pre-1900) Lund (1909), Gothenburg (1901), Stockholm (1935) | 1870 independent degree 1935 | <i>Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift</i> (1897–) <i>Scandinavian Political Studies</i> (1966–) | Statsvetenskapliga föreningen i Uppsala (1919–) Swepsa (1970) | Degree-Chair- Journal-Org |
| Psychology | Uppsala (1948), Stockholm (1953), Lund (1955), Gothenburg (1956) | 1948 | <i>Psyke: tidskrift för psykologisk forskning</i> (1906–1920) <i>Arkiv för psykologi och pedagogik</i> (1920–1929) <i>Studia psychologica et paedagogica</i> (1947–) <i>Nordisk psykologi</i> (1949–) <i>Scandinavian Journal of Psychology</i> (1960–) | Sveriges psykologförbund (union, 1955–) Specialised, e.g. Swecog (2012) | Journal-Degree- Chair-(Org) |
| Sociology | Uppsala (1947), Stockholm (1954), Lund (1956), Gothenburg (1959) | 1948 | <i>Acta sociologica</i> (1955–) <i>Sociologisk forskning</i> (1964–) | Sociologiska föreningen i Lund (1936–1940) Sveriges sociologförbund (1962–) | Chair/Degree- (Journal)-Org- Journal |

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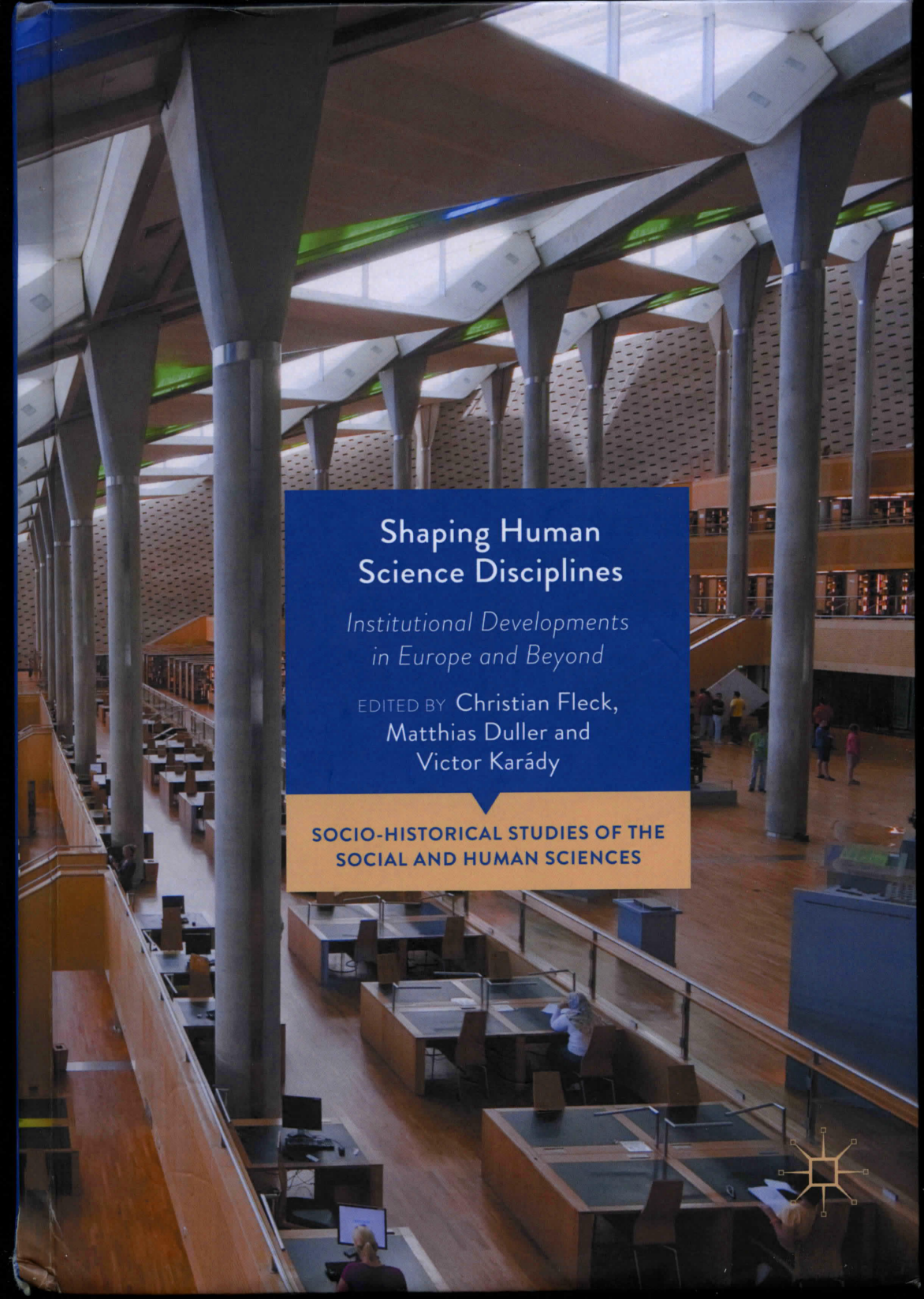
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Shaping Human Science Disciplines

*Institutional Developments
in Europe and Beyond*

EDITED BY Christian Fleck,
Matthias Duller and
Victor Karády

**SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE
SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES**



'This book is a pioneering one: based on original comparative research, it shows the fruitfulness of an institutional approach shared without any dogmatism by all the contributors. Rich in fresh data and bold hypotheses, this work will be useful to all those who are interested in the social science of social sciences, an emerging and promising field.'

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This book presents an analysis of the institutional development of selected social science and humanities (SSH) disciplines in Argentina, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Where most narratives of a scholarly past are presented as a succession of 'ideas,' research results and theories, this collection highlights the structural shifts in the systems of higher education, as well as institutions of research and innovation (beyond the universities) within which these disciplines have developed. This institutional perspective will facilitate systematic comparisons between developments in various disciplines and countries. Across eight country studies the book reveals remarkably different dynamics of disciplinary growth between countries, as well as important interdisciplinary differences within countries. In addition, instances of institutional contractions and downturns and veritable breaks of continuity under authoritarian political regimes can be observed, which are almost totally absent from narratives of individual disciplinary histories. This important work will provide a valuable resource to scholars of disciplinary history, the history of ideas, the sociology of education and of scientific knowledge.

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ISBN 978-3-319-92779-4



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