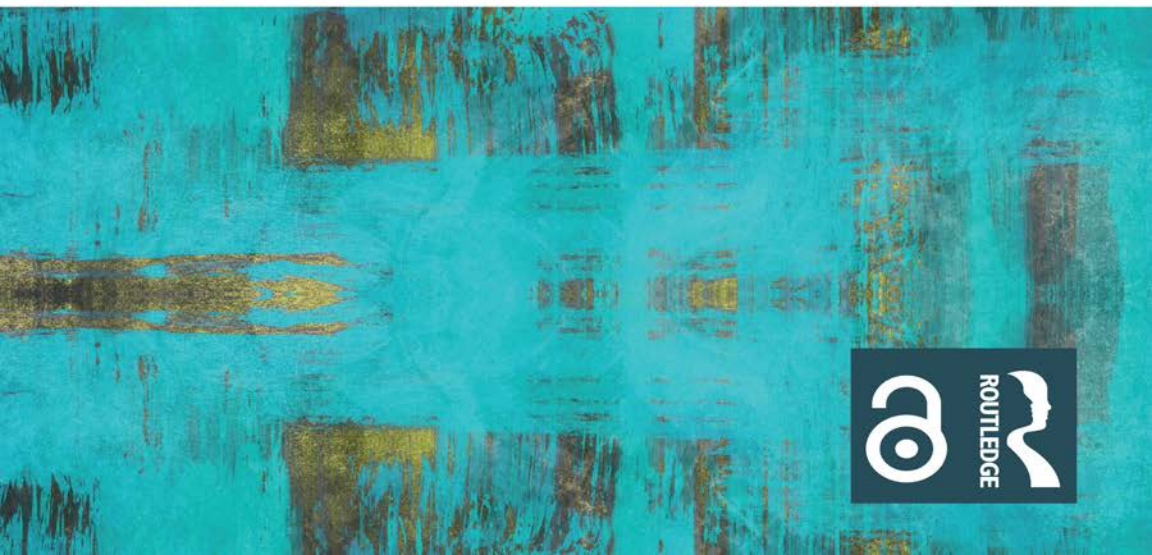
Knowledge Societies in History

HISTORIES OF KNOWLEDGE IN POSTWAR SCANDINAVIA

ACTORS, ARENAS, AND ASPIRATIONS

Edited by
Johan Östling, Niklas Olsen,
and David Larsson Heidenblad



Histories of Knowledge in Postwar Scandinavia

Histories of Knowledge in Postwar Scandinavia uses case studies to explore how knowledge circulated in the different public arenas that shaped politics, economics, and cultural life in and across postwar Scandinavia, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s.

This book focuses on a period when the term "knowledge society" was coined and rapidly found traction. In Scandinavia, society's relationship to rational forms of knowledge became vital to the self-understanding and political ambitions of the era. Taking advantage of contemporary discussions about the circulation, arenas, forms, applications, and actors of knowledge, contributors examine various forms of knowledge – economic, environmental, humanistic, religious, political, and sexual – that provide insight into the making and functioning of postwar Scandinavian societies and offer innovative studies that contribute to the development of the history of knowledge at large. The concentration on knowledge rather than the welfare state, the Cold War, or the new social and political movements, which to date have attracted the lion's share of scholarly attention, ensures the book makes a historiographical intervention in postwar Scandinavian historiography.

Offering a stimulating point of departure for those interested in the history of knowledge and the circulation of knowledge, this is a vital resource for students and scholars of postwar Scandinavia that provides fresh perspectives and new methodologies for exploration.

Johan Östling is a Wallenberg Academy Fellow and the director of the Lund Centre for the History of Knowledge (LUCK). Östling's research encompasses the history of knowledge and modern European history. His recent publications include *Humboldt and the Modern German University*, *Circulation of Knowledge*, and *Forms of Knowledge*.

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Knowledge Societies in History

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Histories of Knowledge in Postwar Scandinavia

Actors, Arenas, and Aspirations

Edited by Johan Östling, Niklas Olsen, and David Larsson Heidenblad

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Johan Östling, Niklas Olsen, and David Larsson Heidenblad
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Introduction

Histories of knowledge in postwar Scandinavia

Johan Östling, Niklas Olsen, and David Larsson Heidenblad

All societies are knowledge societies. It is hard to imagine a culture or country lacking basic orders, institutions, and actors of knowledge. However, the very term "knowledge society" is of a recent date and belongs to a special phase in postwar history. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, researchers and intellectuals, mainly American social scientists, started claiming that the West had entered a new stage beyond industrial society. Robert E. Lane, Peter Drucker, and Daniel Bell at this time emphasised the exponential growth of knowledge and its ever-increasing importance in modern society. They maintained that what distinguished the post-industrial society was the change in the character of knowledge itself.[1] In the years to come, sociologists and economists started to talk more and more about the "knowledge society". Gradually, this concept was turned into a self-understanding that was taken over by politicians, policymakers, and others wanting to find a new formula for the contemporary condition.[2]

This is a book about the place and significance of knowledge in this society that was beginning to refer to itself as a knowledge society. To be more precise, it studies how knowledge was made, negotiated, circulated, contested, and used in different public arenas, shaping politics, economics, social, and cultural life. At the centre, we find Scandinavia during the 1960s and 1970s, three countries – Denmark, Norway, and Sweden – which were examples of Western European welfare states but with their own distinct features.[3]

For historians seeking to transcend the confines of national boundaries, postwar Scandinavia offers many advantages. The three societies were in many respects similar – culturally, politically, linguistically, etc. – yet upon closer inspection also notably different from each other. If we, for example, focus on energy history, trade, and industry, or the relative strength of social democracy, postwar Scandinavia is a mosaic rather than a monolithic entity. Moreover, there were many linkages, interrelations, networks, and co-operative ventures that require a transnational gaze to study. Finally, from a scholarly point of view, Scandinavian historians are connected through institutions, meetings, exchanges, and journals. This social and intellectual infrastructure facilitates comparative and transnational endeavours.[4]

When studying postwar Scandinavia in the present volume, our shared point of departure is the history of knowledge. We take advantage of contemporary

historiographical discussions on the circulation, arenas, forms, applications, and actors of knowledge in this fresh field. In addition, the book empirically substantiates many of the general claims made in the field of the history of knowledge in the 2010s. Bringing together thirteen Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian researchers from different historical disciplines (history, economic history, history of ideas, history of the book), we seek to shed new light on concrete postwar Scandinavian settings and contribute to the development of the history of knowledge at large.

History of knowledge

The history of knowledge has emerged as a scholarly enterprise over the course of the last fifteen years. The earliest elaborate discussions took place in German-speaking Europe under the name of *Wissensgeschichte*. In the English-speaking world, history of knowledge was initially met with modest attention but has established itself as a dynamic and expanding field since the mid-2010s. In the years running up to 2020, conferences were organised, journals were founded, and book series were launched.[5]

When surveying contemporary scholarship, it is obvious that there are several parallel understandings of history of knowledge and what it comprises.[6] However, by putting knowledge at the centre of the historical endeavour, history of knowledge has evidently managed to provide a productive platform where approaches from a large number of different disciplines may be brought together and cross-fertilise each other. At the same time, history of knowledge has a generative capacity to create new questions, perspectives, frameworks, methods, themes, and concepts that are not part of existing discourses or practices. By doing so, original contributions can be made to general historiography.[7]

One dominant understanding of the field stresses knowledge as a fundamental category in society. Philipp Sarasin, for instance, has proposed that history of knowledge should be about "the societal production and circulation of knowledge". In his mind, knowledge circulates between people, groups, and institutions. This does not mean that knowledge spreads freely and is evenly distributed but rather that it can be communicated in other fields of knowledge where it will interact with different societal contexts.[8] Similarly, Simone Lässig looks upon the field as a form of social and cultural history examining knowledge as a phenomenon that touches almost every sphere in human life. She maintains that "The history of knowledge does not emphasise knowledge instead of society but rather seeks to analyse and comprehend knowledge *in* society and knowledge *in* culture."[9] We (Östling and Larsson Heidenblad) have in various texts emphasised that when pursuing the history of knowledge, there should be a focus on the role of knowledge in society.[10]

One way of studying knowledge in society is to employ the concept of circulation. Within history of knowledge, this is an analytical framework that has attracted a great deal of attention in recent years. United in a professed intention to renounce simplistic diffusionist models and theories of linear dispersion,

scholars have in a number of studies used circulation to analyse how knowledge moves and how it is continuously moulded in the process.[11] Despite its virtues, circulation in many ways remains analytically elastic and ambiguous. Kapil Raj has characterised it as a "recurrent, though non-theorized concept", and James A. Secord has lamented that it runs the risk of becoming a "meaningless buzzword".[12] As valuable as it is, the very concept of circulation is thus in need of clarification and elaboration.

The concept of circulation is also central to this book. However, it is applied alongside a number of additional perspectives on the history of knowledge, including how different forms of knowledge have been constructed, discussed, challenged, transformed, and mobilised in order to shape and influence various social, political, or cultural contexts. In this respect, our approach differs slightly from various forms of intellectual history, which tend to focus on tracking and tracing the origins of ideas of significant thinkers and how these thinkers have drawn on, reworked, or distanced themselves from various discursive fields, etc.[13]

Against this background, in this book we demonstrate how these perspectives may enrich our understanding of knowledge in society. First, the contributions in the book thus address broader, societal forms of knowledge. At the heart of these studies are major political, cultural, or economic phenomena related to knowledge in postwar society – not knowledge in everyday life or forms of knowledge that only affected a small intellectual elite. Second, we concentrate on a chronologically defined phase of modern history, the 1960s and 1970s, although some contributions begin earlier and others end later. This means that several of the contributions in one way or another relate to key concepts during this era – modernity, democracy, progress, welfare state, the public sphere, etc. Third, we concentrate on Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. By putting three Scandinavian countries at the centre, we are able to highlight specific geographical, cultural, and historical conditions for knowledge circulation.

Postwar Scandinavia

"For a small, sparsely populated region on the margins of Europe, Scandinavia seems to have generated an interest out of all proportion to its size", Mary Hilson states in the introduction to her 2008 book *The Nordic Model*. This might be true; however, at the same time, Hilson's work serves as a rare example of a substantial historiographical account encompassing all Nordic countries. As Harald Gustafsson points out in *Nordens historia* (2017), the most ambitious, up-to-date overview that exists, pan-Nordic historical syntheses that are also based on scholarship are few and far between. As a general rule, most studies have a national framework.[14]

Turning to histories of postwar Scandinavia, the lion's share of the research literature has been shaped by a limited number of overarching narratives. The rise, development, and crisis of "the welfare state" and "the Scandinavian/Nordic model" have arguably been the most dominant patterns of interpretation, both

in more general treatments and more specific studies.[15] The previously mentioned book by Hilson is an obvious example, but the theme is prevalent in a multitude of studies, such as the edited volume *The Nordic Model of Welfare* (2006) and Francis Sejersted's monograph *The Age of Social Democracy* (2011).[16]

Another theme recurring in scholarship on postwar Scandinavia is the foreign and security policy of the region during the Cold War. With Denmark and Norway as founding members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and Sweden as a non-aligned country, the shifting relationships to both the Soviet Union and the Western powers have attracted a fair amount of attention. This field has traditionally been dominated by political and diplomatic approaches but has in recent years been enriched by cultural and media history, including titles such as *The Nordic Media and the Cold War* and *Nordic Cold War Cultures*.[17] Related to these books are studies on how the memories of the Second World War have shaped national identities and security policy doctrines in the Scandinavian countries since 1945.[18]

Apart from these two key themes, a fair number of volumes were published in the 2010s addressing particular dimensions of postwar Scandinavia or the Nordic countries, even though some of these had a contemporary rather than a historical perspective. This included books on Nordic cooperation, on gender equality and gender research, and on various aspects of the political culture, including rhetorics of democracy and human rights norms.[19]

However, none of these studies analyse postwar Scandinavia as knowledge societies. The closest we get is *In Experts We Trust* (2010), a valuable collection on knowledge, politics, and bureaucracy in Nordic welfare states. The majority of the contributions uncover the interplay between science, experts, and politics in policy areas (psychiatry, public health, social insurance, etc.) prior to the 1960s.[20]

In this volume, by contrast, we concentrate on the role of knowledge in Scandinavian societies of the 1960s and 1970s and analyse how various forms of knowledge circulated and were put into practice. This shift in focus, from "welfare" to "knowledge", means that new contexts take centre stage. This introduction is not the right place to elaborate on every conceivable context of relevance for the individual chapters, but there are reasons to point to some major societal trends and structures that are of recurring importance during these postwar decades.

A distinctive feature for Scandinavia was the strong position of social democracy. In all three countries, the social democratic parties had come to power during the interwar period and exerted great influence for decades after 1945. By virtue of their position, not only did they fundamentally shape the emerging welfare states and many of their institutions and organisations, they also put their distinct mark on the cultural life, the educational system, and applied social research. Francis Sejersted has characterised the period between 1940 and 1970 as "the Golden Age of the Social Democracy". At the same time, there were differences between the countries. In Sweden, social democracy uninterruptedly held government positions from the 1930s to 1976, during

some periods with an absolute majority. The Danish Social Democrats led the government between 1953 and 1968 but would then lose some of its significance even if they returned to office. The great days of the Norwegian Labour Party ended in 1965, but here, too, Social Democrats were able to regain power in the 1970s. Thus, in all three countries, the social democratic hegemony was challenged during the period that is the centre of the discussion of this book.[21]

The left-wing radicalism of the late 1960s altered the conditions for politics, public debate, and knowledge circulation. As in the rest of Western Europe, "1968" in Scandinavia was characterised by criticising the establishment, a global engagement, and demands for social and democratic change. Thomas Ekman Jørgensen has argued that there were significant similarities between the Scandinavian left-wing movements, but he has also identified differences. Norway and Sweden "present a model with the predominance of Maoism and clashes between center and periphery, whereas the student movement and theoretical Marxism dominated the scene in Denmark." In a larger international perspective, however, the Scandinavian development was distinguished by its low level of social conflict and high level of social integration. "This remarkable ability to integrate and use the 1968 protests to reform and even stabilize Scandinavian society makes it stand out as a special case among the other European 1968s", Ekman Jørgensen concludes.[22]

However, the established order was not only challenged from the left. During the second half of the 1960s and to an even greater extent in the 1970s, new ideological dimensions opened up. The women's movement shaped public opinion and put gender equality on the political agenda. Decentralisation and the environment became important political issues. At the same time, the social and economic model of the postwar decades was attacked from the right. In the early 1970s, Mogens Glistrup in Denmark and Anders Lange in Norway founded populist parties calling for strong reductions in taxes and social welfare expenditure.[23] Altogether, the 1970s signalled change in the Scandinavian political landscapes, as social democratic governments had difficulties responding to the contemporary economic crisis and the widespread criticism of their welfare state project. Not only did they lose power to parties pursuing more economically liberal visions, they also gradually moved away from their traditional political platform and came to share some of the ideological visions held by their opponents. This included the vision of making the public sector more effective by introducing market models, ideals of decentralisation, and free choice in the public provision of services and goods.[24]

All in all, these political and ideological circumstances affected the making, circulation, and negotiations of knowledge. Another key context was the radical change and expansion of the education system. In all three Scandinavian countries, an egalitarian system was introduced during this period where pupils went to the same schools regardless of their aspirations and backgrounds. More and more students also moved on to upper-secondary school, which simultaneously underwent a change from older, socially exclusive institutions to large schools for wider groups of young people.[25] In addition, there is a strong

tradition of popular and adult education in Scandinavia that was very much alive during the first postwar decades, although there were sometimes significant differences between the three countries in terms of pedagogical ideals and legacies.[26]

In short, the level of education increased during the 1960s and 1970s, and the rise of the mass universities greatly contributed to this development. Even though there are differences between the Scandinavian countries, the similarities are more conspicuous. In the years after 1960, a coherent national research and higher education policy emerged. In keeping with the ideals of large-scale planning of the time, bureaucrats and politicians started to seriously look upon research and universities as central societal assets. What truly paved the way for a new kind of university, however, was the astonishing transformation of the student population. Not only the sheer number of students multiplied but the proportion of women also increased rapidly and the social base for student recruitment became more mixed. The driving force behind this huge expansion was aspirations for prosperity, technological advances, and a more equal society.[27]

At the beginning of the period, academic life in Scandinavia was dominated by a few well-established universities: Copenhagen and Aarhus in Denmark, Bergen, Oslo, and Trondheim in Norway, and Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala in Sweden. By the end of the 1970s, a number of new universities had been founded – Aalborg, Odense, Roskilde, Umeå, Linköping, and Tromsø – together with other institutions of higher education. The result was a more diversified intellectual landscape, where an older academic culture was challenged by new organisational forms and scientific ideals.[28]

These were some of the characteristics of Scandinavia in the 1960s and 1970s. Could these political structures, social arrangements, intellectual currents, and cultural orders be studied as knowledge societies? In this book, we seek to do so by focusing on the role of knowledge in the public sphere.

Histories of knowledge in the postwar public sphere

Like the political, social, and educational systems, the public sphere exhibited significant similarities between the Scandinavian countries. During the 1960s, the press had a strong position, and virtually every household subscribed to at least one daily newspaper in what was a fiercely competitive newspaper market. At the same time, the entire media landscape was gradually changing, not least due to the introduction of television from the mid-1950s. Left-wing radicalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s not only put new issues on the agenda but also paved the way for new media forms. An important component in the public circulation of knowledge at the time was intellectual journals, whether they had a political, cultural, or theoretical ambition. This general picture is true for Scandinavia as a whole, but there were also obviously national variations. For instance, Danish *Weekendavisen*, founded in 1971 as a highbrow weekly covering politics, culture, and science, soon became influential but had no equivalent in Norway or Sweden.[29]

This postwar public sphere serves as one of several important contexts in this volume. In order to explore the three Scandinavian countries as knowledge societies, we have also been inspired by recent insights from the history of the book. As an entry point in their analyses, many authors in this volume use a non-fiction book that circulated in the public sphere. After all, the postwar decades at the centre of our attention have been characterised by Michael Hagner as "the golden age of the scholarly book", a period when ambitious books deriving from the humanities and social sciences played a significant role in shaping public discourses and debates.[30] At the same time, these books were part of the larger cultural infrastructure of the time: they were reviewed in newspapers and on the radio, and they were debated on television and in student communities.[31]

How, then, are we to study processes, situations, or contexts where knowledge gained societal significance in Scandinavia during this period? There are a number of possible frameworks.[32] In this book, we introduce three methodological approaches utilised for writing our histories of knowledge in Scandinavia during the 1960s and 1970s: actors, arenas, and aspirations. As concepts, they are not equally applied by all authors or in all chapters; rather, they work as a shared analytical toolkit that helps us focus on certain objects of knowledge and discuss similarities and dissimilarities.

A broad range of historical *actors* are instrumental for producing, circulating, negotiating, contesting, and politicising knowledge. However, in historiography the position as "knowledge actor" is often reserved for those residing at the centre of learned spheres, typically scientists and scholars. Hence, in this book we have deliberately sought to widen the scope and type of actors we examine.

Among the knowledge actors under scrutiny in this volume, we find entrepreneurs, booksellers, journalists, populist politicians, and Christian commentators. Furthermore, when studying academic actors, we primarily analyse their role as public intellectuals, thereby shifting focus from the inner workings of science and scholarship to the public sphere. Taken together, this joint focus on knowledge actors opens up for elucidating comparisons and larger discussions on the prospects, and confines, of historical agency.

An *arena* of knowledge may in this context be understood as a place or a platform in its given framework offering the opportunity and setting the limits for certain forms of circulation of knowledge. It serves as a site for interactions between knowledge actors and their audiences. In order to be an arena promoting knowledge in society, it typically needs a measure of stability and persistence, although the actual content of knowledge existing in one and the same arena may vary over time.[33] As in all forms of circulation processes, knowledge does not move freely in an arena. An arena of knowledge has its own medial and rhetorical norms and limitations that contribute to rewarding and supporting certain types of knowledge, while others are rejected or ignored. Its position as a societal arena of knowledge is dependent both on the general historical context and on how it is perceived in specific moments. In addition, an arena of knowledge can be seen as an element in a society's larger infrastructure for knowledge.[34]

In this volume, we highlight a number of different arenas of knowledge in postwar Scandinavia. A typical example is a non-fiction paperback series or an essay section in a newspaper devoted to scholarly communication. Another kind of arena includes pedagogical publications (such as teachers' manuals) and academic communities (such as research councils). Physical sites represent yet another form (e.g., socialist book cafes). Taken together, arenas were crucial for knowledge in the societies of the 1960s and 1970s.

Actors always produce, disseminate, and mobilise knowledge with the *aspiration* to achieve something. Boiled down, knowledge is directed towards either upholding or changing an existing state of affairs. For example, in the case of postwar Scandinavia, politicians, scholars, and intellectuals have constructed and propagated forms of knowledge with the intention of legitimising *and* challenging the social democratic welfare state.[35] However, knowledge aspirations can be framed in many different (and more or less explicit) ways and have several different outcomes. Indeed, they often have consequences that their proponents neither desire nor control. Against this background, this volume seeks to grasp how, in a variety of arenas, actors in postwar Scandinavia have produced and circulated knowledge with the aspiration to achieve something as well as to look into the various outcomes of their aspirations.

In terms of the empirical studies, the book focuses on three larger fields of knowledge: (1) the environment and global crises; (2) economy, politics, and the welfare state; and (3) education, culture, and the humanities. These three fields were vital for the self-understanding of the Scandinavian societies of the 1960s and 1970s, but they had different status, temporalities, and public impact. Moreover, they are rarely studied together. By analysing them as part of the same context, we are able to chart larger historical patterns and write a more comprehensive history of knowledge of postwar Scandinavia.

The environment and global crises

In the aftermath of the Second World War, it became evident that human survival was at stake. The looming threat of thermonuclear war paved the way for a new sensibility in relation to global crises: overpopulation and dwindling natural resources in the 1940s and 1950s, environmental degradation and pollution in the 1960s, and – especially from the 1980s onwards – climate change. Central to these interlinked histories was the emerging idea of the environment, which developed in tandem with new international bodies of science and governance, as well as technological advancements originating from large-scale Cold War military research programmes.[36]

In Scandinavia, these global developments merged – and interacted – with different national trajectories. At this time, Sweden, unscathed by the war, was the richest and most centralised of the three societies. Ambitious research programmes were launched, not least on the possibility of acquiring nuclear weapons, and in the 1970s, Sweden – as the only Scandinavian nation – erected nuclear power plants. In Denmark, such plans were met with fierce popular

resistance, and the nation instead came to rely on imported energy, notably coal. In Norway, as in Sweden, hydropower was important and contested – but the discovery of North Sea oil in the late 1960s was even more critical. Hence, the emergence of modern environmentalism in Scandinavia – the so-called ecological turn – took on quite different forms, chronologies, and focal points in the three societies.[37]

The contributions in this part stretch from grappling with radioactive fallout and overpopulation in the 1950s, over the emergence of environmentalism in the 1960s, to the social and political movements of the late 1970s. This part demonstrates that the heightened awareness of global crises made a thorough mark on Scandinavian societies and highlights how knowledge was made, circulated, contested, and put into political use.

Casper Sylvest examines the debate over radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons testing that unfolded from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s. It was a complicated and wide-ranging dispute over knowledge, including questions concerning the properties of fallout, its long-term health effects, and whether civil defence was, in fact, even possible. In his chapter, Sylvest focuses on how this international debate was received, reflected upon, and replayed in Denmark. To a striking extent, the Danish scientific debate structurally mirrored American developments: it was dominated by two opposing scientific positions that drew much of their force from similarly opposing fractions abroad. Disagreements among scientists caused much bewilderment among civil defence officials. The question became steadily more contentious as calls for public information increased. The analysis highlights the limitations and political pressures on knowledge production in a small, dependent state during the height of the Cold War.

Sunniva Engh focuses on how global concerns for overpopulation, food scarcity, and impending resource shortages were discussed in the Norwegian press during the 1950s and 1960s. Her entry point is the Swedish-American scientist Georg Borgström, who published numerous books on the population-resource dilemma, arguing that a solution lay in Neo-Malthusian family planning efforts. From the late 1940s onwards, he appeared with increasing regularity in Norwegian media, and through a number of public appearances, lectures, and radio broadcasts, he actively disseminated his message. Engh demonstrates how Borgström, in the late 1960s, became a public celebrity in Norway. Moreover, she highlights how the population-resource dilemma fuelled and shaped the emergence of modern environmentalism in Norway.

David Larsson Heidenblad studies the role of journalists in the emergence of modern environmentalism in 1960s Sweden. He argues that the recent digitalisation of newspapers provides historians with new opportunities to study this particular category of knowledge actors in depth. In order to discuss and demonstrate the practical implications of this argument, his chapter focuses on Barbro Soller and Tom Selander – two Swedish reporters who turned to environmental journalism in the 1960s. Larsson Heidenblad's study shows how, when, and why this happened, thus challenging chronologies put forth

in previous research. He emphasises that fully text-searchable digital archives should be treated with great care. The chapter highlights methodological pitfalls and blind spots as well as arguing for the advantages of adopting a multi-archival approach.

Bo Fritzbøger's chapter highlights a momentous event in the history of Danish environmentalism: the publication of *Revolt From the Center* in 1978. This book addressed a broad range of topics: global inequality, physical limits to continued growth, environmental pollution, and the inhumanity of modern, urban life. It immediately aroused great interest and became the focal point of a sustained public debate. Fritzbøger traces not only the book's conceptual sources but also its social, intellectual, and political consequences. In particular, he examines what happens when ideas and knowledge are translated into a social movement. He concludes that the enticingly broad approach of the book, which sparked wide interest and engaged readers, was also the primary cause for the failure to launch a powerful and persistent movement with long-term political impact.

Economy, politics, and the welfare state

The political economies of the Scandinavian welfare states have constituted an important area of knowledge in the postwar period. To begin with, the distinctly Scandinavian welfare model, in which the state came to play a key role in the protection and promotion of the social and economic well-being of its citizens, required academic and political explication and legitimation. For this purpose, politicians, intellectuals, and scholars, often associated with the social democratic parties, made knowledge claims not only regarding the workings of governments and markets but also regarding a number of additional issues, such as gender roles, that supported their welfare state project. This knowledge production and circulation took place in many areas, including the public debate, political programmes, scholarly and political journals, academic books, and institutional reports and agendas. This was also the case when the traditional knowledge of the desired political economy of the welfare state was increasingly challenged, and alternative visions were introduced during the 1970s and 1980s.

The four contributions to this part of the book provide various perspectives on the construction, dissemination, and constructed nature of the knowledge created regarding the political economies of the Scandinavian welfare state.

Björn Lundberg focuses on the reception of American economist John Kenneth Galbraith's book *The Affluent Society* (1958). He explores the social criticism of growth as an example of transnational circulation of knowledge in Scandinavia in the early postwar era. The chapter does not discuss Galbraith's ideas per se; instead, it analyses how his ideas and arguments circulated, were picked up, and transformed in a Scandinavian setting by social democratic parties and politicians as well as by protagonists with other political affiliations. An analysis of newspaper journalism from Sweden, Denmark, and Norway

discussing Galbraith's book and the concept of the affluent society is used for illustrating that the discourse on affluence and welfare shared common traits in these countries but were also characterised by differences explained with reference to factors such as the geopolitical currents of the Cold War.

Niklas Olsen documents how the 1970s saw the rise of a new kind of knowledge concerning the welfare state in Denmark. Voiced by politicians, social commentators, and scholars, this knowledge was critical by nature and depicted the welfare state as an enterprise run by a new ruling class – the public employees in control of the public sector – against the interests of the majority of the population. In other words, it introduced a new mode of welfare state criticism framed as criticism of the elite and challenging the fundamental values and the very legitimacy of the welfare state model that had been created in the postwar era. The chapter describes the advent of welfare state criticism as elite criticism in the Danish political debate, as it unfolded in debate books, journals, and through the invention of a new vocabulary to describe the state and its employees. It also traces some of the consequences of this criticism in a long-term perspective.

Orsi Husz explores a book project initiated in 1976 by the owner of a Swedish credit card company, Erik Elinder. Aiming to reshape hostile attitudes towards consumer credit among both politicians and the general public, Elinder commissioned two economic historians for a research-based but popular book about the history of consumer credit. By exploring a unique archival material, this chapter reveals how marketing strategies of de-stigmatisation were intertwined with knowledge circulation not of the book itself but through extensive networking in Sweden and abroad alongside the project. Moreover, the chapter uses exchanges between Elinder and the scholars hired to write the book for highlighting "the boundary work" that involved negotiating boundaries between university research and business operations and balancing between the symbolic and economic values of knowledge.

Eirinn Larsen revisits Scandinavian state feminism by exploring its various origins and places of knowledge as well as its support in social movements and state bureaucracy in the 1970s and 1980s. In so doing, it challenges, or expounds, the understanding first provided by Helga Hernes in 1987 that women's political activism "from below" in a compromise over state reform "from above" in the mid-1980s made Nordic societies increasingly woman-friendly. Empirically, it spans key Scandinavian institutions of knowledge production, including the Norwegian Research Council and its so-called Secretariat of Feminist Research established in 1977 and the Nordic Council of Ministers. As such, the chapter provides an example of how knowledge of the political economy of the welfare state developed.

Education, culture, and the humanities

During the early postwar period, the humanities were still part of an older culture of learning, with close links to well-established universities, educational

institutions, book publishers, and churches. Influenced by American models, new pedagogical and scientific ideals were introduced from the late 1950s. Gradually, power relations within academia were altered: the social sciences, behavioural sciences, natural sciences, and engineering advanced their positions, while the humanities and theology lost in importance. In the increasingly rationalistic and secular climate of the 1960s, new ideas about man and society crystallised.[38]

These overall tendencies are reflected in the four contributions in the last part of the book. The gradual transformation of the education system and human sciences in Scandinavia during the 1960s and early 1970s paved the way for a different public sphere, including new publishing houses, such as Cavefors in Sweden and Pax in Norway. At the same time, it is obvious that old and new forms of knowledge could co-exist. Several of the chapters demonstrate the tensions arising when an established order was challenged by something new.[39]

Anton Jansson's point of departure is the postwar secularisation theory. Positing a necessary and universal link between modernisation and the disappearance of religion, it enjoyed a strong status as almost taken-for-granted knowledge in the 1960s. However, there were different ways of understanding secularisation. This chapter studies the Swedish translation of American theologian Harvey Cox's *The Secular City*, which was published in two editions (1966 and 1967) by the publishing house of the Church of Sweden. Jansson considers how Cox's ideas about secularisation were received in Sweden by analysing the reception in the media and academia, as well as the study material accompanying the book. Apart from outlining secularisation theory as a time-specific form of knowledge, the chapter highlights the adaptation of an internationally renowned work into a new national context. Further, it discusses the relationship between religion and knowledge, specifically the role of churches, and the entanglement of knowledge and moral convictions.

Kari H. Nordberg's chapter studies bodies of sexual knowledge in school sex education. Using the teachers' manual as an arena of knowledge, it draws attention to the knowledge system of the Scandinavian state school and to curriculum texts as source material. Norwegian sex education had been influenced by biological and Christian knowledge since its introduction in the 1930s. With the 1960s, psychological and statistical knowledge on sexuality influenced the public discourse on sex education. These four bodies of knowledge, although frequently conflicting and contradictory, assembled and co-existed in the teachers' manual representing state-approved knowledge and values. Was it possible to harmonise sexual knowledge highlighting the importance of liberation and individual choice within a system of knowledge – the state school – governed by the "Christian object clause" and aimed at shaping youths' sexuality in a moral, responsible manner?

Hampus Östh Gustafsson charts the circulation of the idea regarding a crisis of the humanities that experienced new intensity in the 1970s, in particular in Sweden, where these fields of knowledge were regarded as exceptionally marginalised. Historical narratives of this marginalisation were contrasted to

Sweden's leading position as a welfare state but also used for a new kind of critical societal mobilisation of knowledge in the humanities through specific institutional practices and publishing strategies, for which transnational comparisons and joint Scandinavian platforms were decisive. This caused the discourse of crisis to expand beyond national limitations. The problems identified for the humanities may thus be seen as characteristic of Scandinavian social democratic welfare states on a more general level, as they prioritised ideals of rational planning and social engineering. By demonstrating how the mobilisation of the humanities went hand in hand with a critique of these welfare societies, the author generates new perspectives on the societal role of knowledge in postwar Scandinavia.

Ragni Svensson's chapter focuses on the movement of independent Scandinavian socialist book cafes through an analysis of three different venues: two in Sweden and one in Denmark. The book cafe phenomenon emerged in France and West Germany during the late 1960s to then spread across Western Europe. As a result of conditions that were both political and cultural, and dependent on processes in the national book markets, book cafes were soon to gain a foothold within the emerging Scandinavian New Left movement. Here, book cafes are viewed as nodal points within the print culture of the leftist movement of the 1970s. They formed important links in a large network made up by producers and distributors of print and other media across the region. In this chapter, the circulation of knowledge within the Scandinavian New Left movement, as well as its links to society at large, is examined through a book and media history perspective.

Epilogue

At the end of the book, the Finnish intellectual historian Johan Strang situates the chapters in a larger Nordic context. He starts by making some general outsider reflections on the emerging field of the history of knowledge, before discussing what the book contributes with regard to the role of Scandinavia in the global circulation of knowledge, the relations between the Scandinavian countries, and knowledge in the welfare state and the particular period in focus in this book. In his epilogue, Strang asks if there was a Scandinavian corporatist model of knowledge in the 1960s and 1970s and what has happened to this particular "knowledge regime" since then.

Notes

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and early 1960s, other scholars, such as Robert M. Solow and Fritz Machlup, had made important contributions to the discussion on the role of knowledge in the growing postwar economy.

2 Marian Adolf and Nico Stehr, *Knowledge* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014); Jenny Andersson, *The Library and the Workshop: Social Democracy and Capitalism in the Knowledge Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Arne Jarrick, *Det finns inga häxor: En bok om kunskap* (Stockholm: Weyler, 2017), 43–69.

3 In this book, Scandinavia comprises Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Some authorities argue for the inclusion of Finland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands in the concept; however, for this larger region, we use the term "the Nordic countries". See "Scandinavia", *Encyclopædia Britannica*, accessed 15 September 2019, www.britannica.com/place/Scandinavia.

4 Harald Gustafsson, "A Nordic Perspective – Why? Why Not?" in *Internationalisation in the History of Northern Europe: Report of the Nordsaga '99 Conference, University of Tromsø, 17–21 nov 1999*, eds. Richard Holt, Hilde Lange, and Ulrike Spring (Tromsø: University of Tromsø, 2000); Harald Gustafsson, "Om Nordens historia", *Scandia* 67, no. 2 (2001); Erik Bodensten, Kajsa Brilkman, David Larsson Heidenblad, and Hanne Sanders, "Inledning", in *Nordens historiker: En vänbok till Harald Gustafsson*, eds. Erik Bodensten, Kajsa Brilkman, David Larsson Heidenblad, and Hanne Sanders (Lund: Mediatryck, 2018), 9–13. See also Pertti Haapala, Marja Jalava, and Simon Larsson, eds., *Making Nordic Historiography: Connections, Tensions and Methodology, 1850–1970* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

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8 Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?" 165.

9 Lässig, "The History of Knowledge and the Expansion", 58.

10 Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation – ett kunskapshistoriskt nyckelbegrepp", *Historisk tidskrift* 137, no. 2 (2017); Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, "From Cultural History to the History of Knowledge", *History of Knowledge* (8 June 2017), accessed 1 September 2019, https://historyofknowledge.net/2017/06/08/from-cultural-history-to-the-history-of-knowledge/; Östling and Larsson Heidenblad, "Fulfilling the Promise of the History of Knowledge".

11 Östling and Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation"; Östling et al., "The History of Knowledge". For a more detailed discussion, including additional bibliographical references, see these publications.
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Part I

The environment and global crises


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1 Nuclear fallout as risk

Denmark and the thermonuclear revolution

Casper Sylvest

Among the consequences of nuclear fallout in the Cold War West was a new wave of fear concerning everyday existence and the future of human civilisation. This phenomenon attracted attention when large parts of the West also invested hope in a future driven by peaceful atoms. Meanwhile, the superpower politics of the Cold War was precariously poised. In Denmark and elsewhere, the debate on fallout raised questions about political and epistemological authority, which in turn shaped Western societies in the ensuing decades. While these controversies initially concerned the efficacy of civil defence, health effects, and the rationale and risks of nuclear testing, their wider reach gradually became evident. The debate was emblematic of a contentious, complicated struggle over knowledge that reconfigured scientific authority. It involved uncertainty, a dynamic agenda, political interests, and information campaigns. Over time, it shaped popular politics, giving rise to new forms of activism and social movements insistent on transparency and intergenerational justice within an increasingly global vision. In short, fallout constitutes a peculiarly radioactive sort of those "seeds of the sixties" that were dispersed in the 1950s.[1] The debate gave rise to a notion of stewardship that was proto-environmentalist in orientation.[2] Indeed, the recurrent contemplation of death, destruction, and global risk in the thermonuclear age produced a gaze towards the future that paved the way for many of the questions about modernity addressed in this book, whether they concern limits to growth, new forms of environmental thinking, or new forms of regulation.

Fallout refers to the distribution of radioactive material resulting from a nuclear detonation. Depending on the size of the detonation and its proximity to the earth's surface, this material may reach the atmosphere or stratosphere, where it will sail in the wind before, eventually, dropping to the ground. While this phenomenon had figured sporadically in popular science before the mid-1950s, it had mainly been the province of scientific and specialised interest. Above all, it was events during the spring of 1954 that ignited the fallout debate. On 15 March, two weeks after the American Castle Bravo test of a thermonuclear device on the Bikini atoll, the Danish newspaper *Politiken* carried a news story on its front page: "Pacific atoll obliterated in new test of a hydrogen weapon". The story pointed out that 236 local residents and

28 US military personnel were being examined for radioactive poisoning and referred to an official admitting that the size of the test surprised US authorities. The article went on to speculate about a further "gigantic" test planned for 1 April 1954 and illustrated the unfathomable power of H-bombs by referring to their explosive power as the equivalent of 1,000 Hiroshima-sized bombs.[3] By late March 1954, Bravo's contamination of the crew of a Japanese fishing vessel caused a media frenzy and directed attention to fallout. The US government was forced to respond, and the debate had begun.[4]

In this chapter, I examine the Danish debate over fallout by asking how knowledge about the effects of nuclear weapons was created, circulated, and contested. When the question became salient in Denmark, with some delay, a sustained process of information gathering, analysis, and debate was initiated. In the years following the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Danish citizens had access to general knowledge and news reporting about the development of nuclear weapons technology, and in that context, it was mainly the sheer force of the bomb and the dangers associated with radiation (through direct exposure) that were highlighted. Fallout, however, was uncharted territory. The phenomenon raised vexed questions for a small state. A history of knowledge perspective represents a particularly productive approach in relation to this topic, as the debate constitutes a quintessentially modern case of assessing scientific knowledge and evaluating risk in a highly politicised context, where secrecy and limited access to information constituted recurrent challenges.[5] It soon became clear that fallout could be understood through various formal, scientific methods as well as through less formal, more intuitive approaches focused on precaution. Unfolding at a time when the thermonuclear revolution and the prospect of a new, menacing form of warfare dominated by megaton bombs and long-range missiles appeared inevitable and increasingly real, this debate had a series of direct and indirect effects on life and politics in Denmark: from questions of national security, civil defence, and public health to the more elusive existential and emotional challenges associated with life in the nuclear age. Studying the Danish case in a transnational context not only provides insight into a debate straddling elite and popular politics and spanning questions of science, health, and politics. It also demonstrates how a small state dependent on its superpower ally for security and, to a large extent, information about the effects of nuclear weapons received, circulated, and created knowledge at the height of the Cold War.

Against this background, I ask two questions: first, how the debate over fallout was reflected, received, and possibly transformed in Denmark, and what political stakes were involved in this production of knowledge? Second, what kinds of arguments came to prevail, and how were they promoted? I begin by outlining the contours of American (and British) debates on radioactive fallout during a period of nuclear testing and increasing public scepticism towards the arms race and its consequences. I then turn to the Danish debate by examining the circulation and production of knowledge among and by authorities, scientists, and peace activists.

Knowing fallout

Since the late nineteenth century, radiation protection had focused on scientists and professionals working with x-rays and radium. With the invention of the atomic bomb, the question expanded massively. The number of radioactive substances increased, and radiation exposure gradually became a wider concern. The scientific community reacted by becoming more sceptical of the biological consequences of radiation exposure. Terminologically, this shift was symbolised by a shift from "tolerance dose" to "maximum permissible dose", which "conveyed the idea that no quantity of radiation was certainly safe".[6] In a period when fear of atomic weapons was accompanied by atomic utopianism in areas of health, energy provision, and transportation – a vision that was promoted in President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace program – the US Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was tasked with monitoring and protecting the American population from any dangers of radioactivity resulting from nuclear technology. Radiation effects had been a contentious and closely guarded question when the atomic bomb was invented and used in 1945.[7] The arrival of the H-bomb produced a host of new issues, and the AEC found itself at the centre of the ensuing controversy.

From 1954, the key scientific issues of the fallout debate concerned protection and the consequences for humans of exposure to (low-level) radiation over time. While distinct, these issues were not easy to separate. The main focus was originally on civil defence and human health effects, though prominent voices in the debate also drew attention to the consequences for animals, plant life, and nature more broadly. Initially, local (or regional) fallout took prominence, but in time, global fallout and its consequences for humanity and nature also attracted attention. Three questions were central: first, how could civil defence deal with radioactive fallout; second, did fallout produce somatic injuries (predominantly cancer), or was there a threshold below which fallout did not have harmful effects; third, what if any genetic consequences would follow from an increase in (the global distribution of) fallout? Much of the debate was characterised by conjecture based on incomplete data, and security concerns loomed large. Received wisdom – that radioactivity produced harmful effects – was often repeated, but voices of authority, primarily the AEC and affiliated scientists, preferred to speak of relative risks and (low) probabilities, which informed a permissive approach to weapons development and testing. Critics, primarily scientists and/or activists, stressed the risks by zooming in on uncertainties and cumulative effects, which led to projections of absolute numbers (e.g., numbers of humans born with genetic defects).[8]

The uproar over the H-bomb brought politicians, public figures, and intellectuals to demand the suspension of nuclear testing. Pope Pius XII pointed to fallout when calling for the abolition of nuclear war, and scientists soon highlighted the risks of a rise in radiation levels.[9] The AEC initially sought to evade these questions. When pressed, the commission, often represented by Dr William Libby, sought to minimise the danger by arguing that health and

other risks of testing were dwarfed by the advantages relating to "the security of the nation and of the free world".[10] Despite the fact that the US Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) expressed some bewilderment over fallout[11] and that prominent intellectuals such as Albert Schweitzer, Albert Einstein, and Bertrand Russell[12] voiced concerns, the AEC appeared to subsume science in Cold War politics. As a result, the commission faced criticism.[13] Hearings on civil defence and fallout in the US Congress, organised in 1956 and 1959 by Chet Holifield (D-Cal), reinforced this trend.[14] Gradually, the need for more information, more openness, and a precautionary approach to the problem of nuclear testing became a prominent cause. Fallout featured in Adlai Stevenson's 1956 presidential campaign, it became a central theme of the Pugwash movement,[15] and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) focused directly on fallout and testing through ads in national newspapers. In 1957 and 1958, a petition organised by Linus Pauling was signed by almost 2,000 American scientists and 11,000 scientists worldwide. A signatory to the Russell-Einstein manifesto, Pauling openly criticised the US government, which led to clashes with AEC chairman Strauss as well as with the "father of the H-bomb" and relentless advocate of ever larger weapons, Edward Teller.[16]

The scientific issues at the root of the debate were hard to resolve. On the one hand, fallout had become deeply imbricated in Cold War politics, most directly in the test ban politics that played a central role in US-USSR relations during the period. Dissent was frequently exploited by Soviet propaganda, and in both American and British domestic politics, scientific criticism of government positions was at times, subtly or not-so-subtly, associated with fifth-column activity.[17] On the other hand, within the scientific community, theoretical disagreements and a lack of data and research meant that projections and conclusions were subject to disputes. A constant drip of new data and interpretations made consensus virtually impossible. This complexity and the politicisation involved are evident in relation to three landmark reports on the subject.

The first two of these reports, *The Biological Effects of Atomic Radiation* (BEAR), published by the US National Academy of Sciences, and *The Hazards to Man of Nuclear and Allied Radiations*, published by the British Medical Council (MRC), appeared simultaneously in June 1956. A study of their origins has pointed out that the BEAR report was "far from being a detached, independent evaluation". Rather, it was the result of careful negotiation "not only among scientists, but also with" the AEC and the MRC. The publication of the two reports was closely coordinated, and they reached broadly similar conclusions (even though they followed different approaches). BEAR, this study concludes, helped produce an illusion of scientific consensus that was subsequently exploited by US authorities to "play down the risks of fallout by calling them minute additions to the bath of natural radiation in which humans already lived."[18] Yet, the reports also fuelled controversy. Despite the conclusion that fallout from existing nuclear weapons tests "did not represent a major health hazard", the findings of BEAR could be viewed as "deeply disturbing,

especially in their emphasis on the genetic effects of radiation."[19] The British report dispelled the most dramatic fears about fallout; however, within a year, in the period leading up to the first British hydrogen bomb test, dissenting scientists reactivated concerns by focusing on the role of strontium-90.[20] The third report that made an impact was published in August 1958 under the auspices of the UN Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. This report was also subject to differing interpretations rooted in a lack of data and research in specific areas. In its chapter on "Fundamental Radiobiology", the report stated that despite medical benefits,

> the evidence points to the fact that these radiations are harmful and that their effects are frequently cumulative. [. . .] In the light of these considerations there is an imperative need for keeping the radiation level as low as feasible.[21]

Formulations such as these ensured continued debate on the effects of radiation. The report, however, could also be interpreted in ways that stressed the miniscule risks of fallout from nuclear weapons testing.

From the late 1950s until fears of fallout began to recede during the early 1960s, particularly after the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) in 1963, this was the context in which anti-nuclear activists and troubled, dissident scientists confronted political authorities and their scientific advisors. The debate was subject to the ebbs and flows of international test ban politics, in which the superpowers reigned supreme. Frantic testing was accompanied by political points-scoring, new proposals, and technical negotiations. A moratorium took hold from late 1958, only for testing to resume in 1961. In these circumstances, the fallout debate constituted a significant step towards the creation of a quintessentially modern language of risk.[22] Combining questions of nuclear testing, civil defence, disarmament, and security, it ran together discourses of health, science, and ideology. Fear – of war and of the unknown – was a common reference point. Uncertainty proved endemic, and most conclusions had a provisional quality that opened the door for counterarguments. In the end, therefore, this was a debate about what kinds of risks should be accepted and by whom. These were hazardous waters to navigate for a small state. How dangerous was fallout and what should be done?

Fallout in Denmark

In Danish public debate, questions of fallout and nuclear testing gradually received more attention during the mid-1950s. Scientists like Sven Werner, professor of physics and member of the Danish Atomic Energy Commission (DAEC), mentioned the problem of "nuclear ashes" in 1955.[23] Folketinget, the Danish parliament, debated the issue in both 1956 and 1957. Predictably for a small state excited about the prospect of peaceful atoms,[24] however, fallout was subject to the pull of Cold War politics. The government soon insisted that

global fallout from nuclear weapons tests did not constitute a risk.[25] Neither did fallout cause the Danish Health Directorate (DHD) much concern.[26] If nothing else, however, continued national and international debate and periodical detections of increases in radioactivity at home and abroad meant that apprehension and uncertainty persisted. But what did Danish authorities know and how?

Getting a grasp

Inside the Danish Civil Defence Directorate (DCDD), the scale of the fallout problem and the resulting doubts about the design, rationale even, of civil defence was apparent within weeks of Castle Bravo. During an informal meeting about the H-bomb, the agency discussed a proposal to have NATO's civil defence committee counter the "what's-the-point" attitude now flourishing.[27] In the ensuing weeks and months, however, this kneejerk reaction was substituted by genuine attempts to acquire new knowledge and think through the problem. At another informal meeting, DCDD director Arthur Dahl pointed out that there was a need for "clarity (concordance with other countries) about tolerance to radiation."[28] A few days later, the directorate decided to terminate its work on a leaflet to the public about atomic war, as the test at Bikini had upended the whole question.[29] The failed information campaign is symbolic of the uncertainty and frantic search for information about the H-bomb, fallout, and their implications for civil defence that took hold of the directorate. For Danish officials, these questions were urgent but also well-nigh impossible to resolve without information from abroad.

DCDD followed debates in the United States and the United Kingdom closely. During 1954, the agency on two occasions solicited information from the UK on safe dosages and asked the US government in a NATO meeting to release further information about fallout.[30] The surviving archive also demonstrates that a great deal of information was trawled – from AEC statements and scientific work to musings about clean bombs and medication against fallout.[31] Despite an FCDA statement in October 1954 that made its way to Denmark frankly admitting that "we don't know enough" about fallout,[32] Dahl publicly argued that a small rise in radioactivity in Denmark did not derive from nuclear testing and that small doses did not have "any consequences for human health".[33] DCDD was trying to find its feet, and as part of the learning process, Dahl completed a two-volume memorandum on the H-bomb in March 1956, before embarking on a lengthy excursion to the United States. In reaching the conclusion that Danish civil defence was still relevant and required adjustments rather than wholesale reform, the memorandum chiefly relied on information from the AEC and associated scientists.[34] The document appears to have been the first step towards the planning assumptions of Danish civil defence that were completed in 1959.[35] The main priorities were attacks with conventional weapons or forces in combination with atomic bombs. While the use of H-bombs on Danish territory was seen as possible but unlikely, precautions

against fallout from H-bomb attacks on neighbouring countries were envisaged as an important task.[36]

However, providing a defence against fallout required knowledge, and DCDD officials are likely to have welcomed the substantial discussions in NATO initiated in 1955.[37] While the agency did not at this stage seek to inform the wider public, personnel and volunteers deserved some guidance. In meetings with local civil defence commissions and police, the agency distributed a photocopy of British instructions regarding the hydrogen bomb, and during the spring of 1955, the agency also notified local organisations that a translation of the AEC report on fallout from February 1955 was in preparation.[38] This was necessary since fallout had not, for example, made its way to the volunteer organisation Civilforsvars-Forbundet: educational material produced in 1955 was silent about the phenomenon and solely referred to atom (fission) bombs.[39] By now, however, the scientific debate on the properties and risks of fallout was about to expand, and Danish scientists did not see eye to eye.

Scientific debate and popular politics

The scientific debate about fallout in Denmark was dominated by two opposing standpoints. A group of scientists, predominantly geneticists and biologists, developed a sceptical and precautionary approach to fallout. A prominent member of this group was Mogens Westergaard (1912–1975), professor at the University of Copenhagen and a geneticist specialising in chromosome development in plants. In 1955, the year he was elected to the Danish Royal Academy of Sciences, Westergaard published an article titled, "Man's Responsibility to His Genetic Heritage". This article first appeared under the auspices of UNESCO's review *Impact of Science on Society* and was subsequently reprinted in *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*. Alongside a controversial paper by prominent geneticist and Nobel Laureate H.J. Muller,[40] Westergaard presented the gene-chromosome theory, from which he derived a "gene ethics". This ethics recognised that many people were increasingly "extending their sense of responsibility to include the whole species", and it stressed the necessity of avoiding "all unnecessary irradiation of our genes and chromosomes" as the potential damage from such exposure would be irreparable and would only become apparent in the course of generations.[41] Westergaard also commented on the specific dangers of the atomic age, including civilian and military uses of atomic energy. He clearly advocated a precautionary approach. Most geneticists would, Westergaard argued, be sceptical regarding continued nuclear weapons testing, since it involved "a continued exposure of a large part of the world's population to incalculable genetic risks."[42]

In the ensuing years, Westergaard restated these views and contrasted them to those of physicists. Libby, a physical chemist, was the most prominent figure, but Westergaard implied that the problem ran deeper. By 1957, he had reached the conclusion that fallout was an ethical and not a scientific issue. Qualitatively, everyone now agreed that an increase in radiation was undesirable, but in the

quantitative analysis that informed decisions on effect and danger, scientists differed because they went beyond science. The subtext was clear: in contrast to physicists, geneticists operated on a vast timescale of generations, and Westergaard felt confident in arguing that nuclear testing in the mid-twentieth century would, in time, cause genetic mutations and an increase in cases of leukaemia. The opposing side, often linked to political authorities, treated the problem as discrete, bounded in time and space. In addition, they often argued for a continuation of nuclear tests, as these were morally and politically necessary.[43] Westergaard's position was shared by several Danish scientists. They voiced their concerns in newspapers, radio talks, and in *Perspektiv* – a Danish publication on literature, art, and science established in 1953, frequently publishing articles on the nuclear age.[44] The group included Øyvind Winge, the first Danish professor of genetics;[45] Tage Kemp, director of a Rockefeller-sponsored centre for human genetics and eugenics at the University of Copenhagen and member of DAEC;[46] and H.V. Brøndsted, a biologist who in 1956 sought to popularise and deliberately dramatise the scientific case for precaution in his book *The Atomic Age and Our Biological Future*.[47] It was characteristic of this group that they lamented both the secrecy surrounding fallout information and the political inclination of scientists (too) close to governments, that they were worried about the consequences of gradually accumulating fallout, and that they referred to statements and activities by public intellectuals and dissident scientists from abroad.[48]

Pitted against this precautionary position was a more permissive interpretation of fallout tied to Cold War politics, represented above all by Professor Poul Brandt Rehberg. Despite his background in zoology and physiology, Rehberg came to direct scientific research into civil defence questions[49] before becoming closely associated with wider Danish security and defence policy matters towards the end of the 1950s. As his influence grew, Rehberg's politics increasingly aligned with establishment views. In a 1955 article in *Perspektiv*, he contrasted the opposing perspectives of J.R. Oppenheimer and Edward Teller on the H-bomb. Rehberg criticised Oppenheimer's moral opposition to the new weapon and his naivety in politics. Instead, he sided with Teller, who "one to a large extent must thank, baroque as it may sound, for the détente that is currently taking place."[50] During the same period, Rehberg contributed to DCDD's early analysis of fallout and played down the risk from testing by relying heavily on AEC information.[51] Alert to the devastation a nuclear war would entail and a fervent believer in a world federation, Rehberg grew into an "intellectual Cold Warrior", who defended deterrence and represented an orthodox NATO position in Danish public debate.[52] He was convinced that nuclear weapons and the balance of terror were beneficial not only for Denmark but for the world at large, given the state of the Cold War. This perspective seems to have played a role in his approach to testing and fallout.

Particularly during 1957 and 1958, Rehberg developed a permissive interpretation of fallout that brought him into conflict with the geneticists. In May 1957, he argued in the *Politiken* newspaper that while nuclear war would

likely destroy civilisation, the nuclear tests that had been conducted did not present a significant hazard.[53] Both Kemp and Westergaard issued swift responses. Kemp maintained that it was wrong to present nuclear tests as harmless and argued that fallout could cause "cancer, malign blood disease and mutations that can entail serious suffering for future generations". In his reply, Rehberg questioned Kemp's motives and argued, referring to the British MRC report, that the risk of genetic effects was miniscule. While somatic effects were difficult to assess, Rehberg insisted that the question should be approached quantitatively in order to avert "unnecessary panic". Westergaard entered the fray the following day. He was incensed by the "animal physiologist" Rehberg's attempt to associate Kemp's precautionary approach with communism rather than the warnings of Albert Schweitzer or the Japanese government. Westergaard also identified a dynamic characterising permissive approaches to the problem: dismissal in confident language was promptly followed by new data, new uncertainties, and new problems.

Rehberg, however, stuck to his guns, arguing that when the new radiation created by testing amounted to less than 1 per cent of natural radiation, the latter "must be far more dangerous".[54] In conclusion, he reflected upon the relationship between science and politics, but in doing so, he appeared blind to the political nature of his own position. Rehberg shared "the ethical dislike of the bombs", but he was opposed to "the conflation of ethically grounded, politically grounded and scientifically flavoured propaganda that is used. A propaganda that creates panic and which I find indefensible to take part in."[55] Rehberg's own line, however, appeared no less political: he stressed the political (i.e., deterrent) function of civil defence and argued that action was preferable to inaction and vague notions of neutrality. On the specific question of the health effects of fallout, Rehberg repeated the position of the American AEC. This line of argument seems to have reached its culmination in July 1957, when Rehberg was reported to have argued in a public talk that the call for a test ban was a "global Communist campaign" based on "unbelievable exaggerations" and that testing could safely continue for another two years before they "had to be stopped".[56]

Rehberg subsequently toned down this rhetoric, but he did not become an alarmist. While clearly recognising the horror of thermonuclear war, he insisted not only that the prospect made war nearly impossible but also that, should it happen, precautionary measures against fallout – like evacuation and shelters – meant that the worst-case scenario for those warned in time was not necessarily death. Some aspects of civil defence were challenged by the H-bomb, but not its core rationale. If sheltered in a basement for some days following the detonation of 1 MT bomb at a distance of 100 kilometre, a person would likely not feel anything; "at worst you will feel a little sick".[57] Rehberg's interpretation of the 1958 UN report, broadcast on radio for the benefit of Danish citizens, began by emphasising natural radiation and the positive, civilian applications of atomic energy. While he did concede that knowledge about genetic and somatic effects of increased radiation from nuclear testing was incomplete, he cautioned against

exaggerating the dangers associated with fallout.[58] Once again, he referred to the 1956 BEAR and MRC reports – studies that clearly bore the hallmarks of the official line on the subject. In fact, Rehberg maintained that little was new in the UN report and that the question of continued nuclear testing was less of a biological question than a political and moral one.[59] It is ironic that Rehberg and Westergaard agreed on this specific point but came to such strikingly different conclusions. For Rehberg as for Libby, the tests could (or had to) continue; for Westergaard as for Pauling, they ought to be stopped before they jeopardised the future of humanity. As it turned out, science, politics, and ethics were hard to separate in the fallout debate.

Given the open disagreement among Danish scientists, it is hardly surprising that fallout became a central focus for radicals and the Danish peace movement. While the scientific debate was less intense after 1958, questions regarding fallout and civil defence as well as broader concerns about the human condition in the nuclear age became more salient in popular politics. This was evident on the Danish left and within the peace movement well before 1960, when *Kampagnen mod Atomvåben* (KMA), a protest movement modelled on the British *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (CND), was established.[60] Throughout the late 1950s, the leftist journal *Dialog*, at this time suspended somewhere between unreformed Soviet communism and New Left thinking, published several articles related to fallout and civil defence.[61] At the same time, international developments, above all Albert Schweitzer's appeal and a Norwegian study on radioactivity, led Aksel Larsen – the politician who later broke with the Communist Party to establish the Socialist People's Party – to take an interest in nuclear testing and fallout. In May 1957, we raised the issue inside the Communist Party, which was split on the issue, and he debated the questions in the parliament in June of that year.[62] Finally, peace organisations like Aldrig Mere Krig (AmK) and Komiteen for oplysning om atomfaren (KOA) began publishing material on fallout, strontium, and caesium.[63] In this discourse, questions of nuclear testing, nuclear war, civil defence, and life in the nuclear age more generally ran together. When KMA marched into full swing in the early 1960s, based on its young leader Carl Scharnberg's links with AmK and KOA, it was hardly surprising that one of its four key demands was that "the Danish population must receive reliable information on the scale and effects of radioactive fallout".[64]

Official fallout

During the late 1950s, the continued uncertainty about fallout and the politically sensitive nature of nuclear weapons landed Danish civil defence policy in something of a predicament. An attempt to inform the Danish population about the effects of nuclear war in 1958 was frustrated by the parliament. The information was subsequently reprinted in some newspapers, but fallout was only mentioned in general terms; it was pointed out that fallout cannot be heard, smelled, tasted, or felt and that it was dangerous to inhale. Citizens were

asked to take shelter until an area was cleared, something that could take several days.[65] With public attention mounting, this was never going to satisfy demands. Nor did the failed campaign, which included the recommendation not to be present at the place of a detonation, inspire much confidence in the efficacy of Danish civil defence policy more generally. A key part of the problem lay in the fact that it was impossible to design a credible civil defence against fallout without having reached a conclusion about the properties and dangers of this phenomenon.

DCDD did not relent, however. In its quest, the agency no longer relied primarily on Rehberg.[66] Instead, the agency ramped up its internal efforts by creating what became known as the "fallout trio", which seems to have been established during 1957.[67] It consisted of Schultz, the administrative head of DCDD, Head of Section V. Sørensen, and the scientist J. Ambrosen, a new consultant on radiological questions. Ambrosen was well-suited for the job. He had published on atomic energy since the mid-1940s,[68] and through his employment at a radiation lab at the University of Copenhagen and his association with the Danish Defence Research Board, he had monitored fallout starting in the mid-1950s.[69] Though he was not a prominent public figure, it seems as if Ambrosen was well-respected by his peers. In 1959, he participated in a DCDD fallout study trip to the UK, and he appears to have been instrumental in bringing DCDD closer to a policy on fallout. In articles from the period, he charted a course between Rehberg and the geneticists. Fallout was approached as a serious challenge and there was no attempt to ignore the differences of opinion among scientists. With respect to global fallout and strontium-90, Ambrosen unequivocally described this is a problem that had to be monitored closely given the scale of nuclear testing during the late 1950s. On civil defence policy, however, he directed attention to precautionary steps and decontamination efforts and largely followed Rehberg in describing efforts to specify threshold and safety levels.[70]

By 1960, DCDD was making progress on the question of protection against radioactive fallout. An apparently unclassified memorandum went further than any previous DCDD statement. While the document quickly dispensed with the controversial question of global fallout as being outside its remit,[71] it constituted an attempt to formulate a policy based on the 1959 planning assumptions. The memorandum explicitly discussed thresholds and confronted thorny, practical questions, such as how the authorities and the sheltered should deal with contaminated citizens or the exact point in time when sheltered people could remerge into the open. The latter was a question of "weighing risks", specifically the psychological state of sheltered citizens and "defensible" levels of contamination (since they were unlikely to be completely safe).[72] In debating the memorandum with the Civil Defence Council, Director Dahl readily admitted that previous attempts had "evaded the problems."[73] Significantly, DCDD based their knowledge almost exclusively on publications by foreign governments (predominantly the United States but also the United Kingdom and the Nordic countries). The guidelines were hardly fail-safe: citizens using public shelters

were supposed to bring their own food supplies for two days, and a great deal of decontamination advice was based on water and soap dispersing radioactive fallout.[74] The memorandum was subsequently approved by the Ministry of the Interior and served as a further planning tool.[75]

By this time, KMA was exerting political pressure. The campaign published speeches and other material critical of (the lack of) public information.[76] Moreover, it explicitly recommended publications that were either authored by sceptics or contained discussions of fallout that were critical of statements by American, British, or Danish authorities. These included the fairly sanguine *Atomfaren* (1961) and Geertsen's much more critical *Radioaktivitet* (1961).[77] Later, the campaign was behind the early publication of some of the scientific conclusions submitted to *Atomoplysningsudvalget* – a committee formed in response to a petition to the Danish government in December 1960 signed by 297 Danish scientists – in which the uncertainties of the estimated damage to human beings were highlighted.[78]

During 1961, however, Danish authorities had reached an understanding of fallout that made it possible to inform the public, something DCDD also found long overdue. At the same time, NATO was pushing for public information on civil defence.[79] Concern about fallout had by now filtered into mainstream public discourse.[80] In November, the Minister of the Interior conceded in parliament that Danish civil defence was not sufficiently capable in this respect.[81] The efforts of the authorities culminated with the publication of *Hvis Krigen Kommer* [If the War Comes] in January 1962, a leaflet produced and issued under the auspices of the Prime Minister's Office. Emphasis was on fallout and shelter construction. Hardly satisfied, KMA soon distributed a rival leaflet that took on a much more despondent tone, referring especially to human misery and environmental degradation.[82] Prior to the national distribution of *Hvis Krigen Kommer*, the Danish Government Film Office and Civilforsvars-Forbundet co-produced a documentary on fallout that supplemented the clear-blue state-sanctioned leaflet. *Radioactive Fallout* was shown on television in early December 1961 and a short version was screened in cinemas across the country.[83] As a visual companion to the leaflet, the film unequivocally pointed to the new danger of nuclear war. Indeed, the scenario unfolding in the long version of the film revolved around fallout reaching Denmark following an H-bomb attack on the German city of Kiel. A defiant optimism characteristic of civil defence information blended uneasily with a harrowing depiction of life in a world contaminated by radioactivity.

The film reflected scientific discourse and debate: it introduced different kinds of radiation and in simple terms explained the existence of radioactive particles in the atmosphere as a result of nuclear weapons' use and testing before going on to illustrate how radiation altered chemical bonds in the human body by killing off cells. This could be dangerous, especially if the radiation was strong or if radioactive material entered the body through food or respiration. Significantly, the film explicitly operated with explicit thresholds: a dose of more than 400 roentgens would be very dangerous, and, as the film vividly

made clear, a dose above 600 roentgens would almost certainly mean a painful death. In the face of these dark prospects, the film contemplated a central question: is protection possible? The resounding answer was yes: something could be done if citizens were informed and focused. A mantra of civil defence – "to be prepared can only be positive" – was impressed upon the viewer. Both distance and time were important factors for survival, and shelters were effective means of protection, especially if they were constructed according to government guidelines and reduced radiation to 1 per cent. The film concluded with a stirring yet distressing conclusion:

> Civil defence is working to achieve the best possible protection of the population. This is an area where the future will be challenging. Not just for CD but for everyone. Every single person must take an interest in this question. It is a matter of life and death.

The thermonuclear revolution had shaken the foundations of civil defence, but the core idea survived. In educating for civil defence, individual action had become more central. Other themes in the fallout debate – testing and arms racing – were, for now, left unresolved. These problems presented grave risks, but they appeared beyond the reach of a small state precariously placed in a superpower conflict. Apprehension mounted in the wake of the fallout debate, but Danish Cold War security policy remained intact.

Conclusion: tracing fallout

In this chapter, I have traced the Danish debate on radioactive fallout as it unfolded in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The central questions I have pursued are inspired by scholarship in the history of knowledge. They concern the development of the fallout debate as well as its circulation and transformation in Denmark. It has been an additional ambition to unearth the political character of the Danish debate and to identify the arguments that prevailed and the way in which they were promoted. To a striking extent, the Danish debate structurally mirrored international, and especially American and British, developments. Above all, the fallout debate in Denmark was dominated by two opposing scientific positions: a precautionary approach represented by geneticists and a more permissive approach represented above all by Rehberg. In time, the disagreements among scientists both at home and abroad were significant for mobilising public interest in fallout. Especially KMA's emotionally charged campaign against nuclear weapons (testing) and for more information on the subject was discursively modelled on uncertainty and the long-term risks posited by geneticists. For Danish civil defence authorities, a depoliticised approach eventually took prominence; it was based on a quest for difficult-to-obtain information and less focused on the long-term health effects of global fallout. When information about nuclear war and fallout was finally provided to every Danish citizen in early 1962, it reflected this moderate civil defence

approach. Still, it was anything but satisfactory to activists in KMA. Fallout remained a source of contention.

From the mid-1960s, however, questions about fallout came to occupy a less prominent place in Danish political discourse. The 1963 LTBT brought testing underground but also took the sting out of the anti-nuclear movement.[84] The treaty constituted an admission on the part of the superpowers of the dangers of fallout from testing, yet it also reflected a political interest of nuclear weapons states to maintain their status. The treaty can be seen as an early effort in environmental protection, but it did not end the arms race or remove the spectre of nuclear war. As a small and largely compliant ally of a superpower that gradually realized the dangers of fallout and continued atmospheric nuclear testing, Denmark passively witnessed the emergence of a new constellation of security, environmental, and health policies. Danish authorities and the established parties of the centre ground had little appetite for discussing nuclear weapons matters openly. During this period, dictates of geopolitics often clashed with the instinctive appeal of a precautionary principle professed by a large number of scientists, intellectuals, and activists. When the latter approach won out in a diluted form with the LTBT, it did so without much fanfare on behalf of its Danish protagonists. The Danish state soon accepted the new political reality as well as the knowledge production and risks assessments underpinning it. The arms race continued, of course, but public scrutiny took on a different and less urgent character. In the ensuing years, however, that most invisible and intangible phenomenon of fallout became a mainstay of the nuclear imagination. The boundlessness and desolation associated with fallout shaped popular politics in the early 1960s. These dystopian qualities returned during the heated debates of the late 1970s and early 1980s, when Denmark rejected civilian nuclear energy and when nuclear disarmament once again became a popular cause.

Notes

1 Andrew Jamison and Ron Eyerman, *Seeds of the Sixties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
2 On these links in the United States, see Joseph P. Masco, "Bad Weather: On Planetary Crisis", *Social Studies of Science* 40, no. 1 (2010): 7–40; Emory J. Jessee, *Radiation Ecologies: Bombs, Bodies and Environment During the Atmospheric Nuclear Testing Period, 1942–1965* (PhD diss., Montana State University, 2013).
3 *Politiken*, 15 March 1954, 1–2.
4 Robert A. Divine, *Blowing on the Wind: The Nuclear Test Ban Debate, 1954–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).
5 See Johan Östling, Erling Sandmo, David Larsson Heidenblad, Anna Nilsson Hammar, and Kari H. Nordberg, eds., *Circulation of Knowledge: Explorations in the History of Knowledge* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018); Simone Lässig, "The History of Knowledge and the Expansion of the Historical Research Agenda", *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 59 (2016): 29–58.
6 J. Samuel Walker, *Permissible Dose: A History of Radiation Protection in the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 11.
7 Janet Farrell Brodie, "Radiation Secrecy and Censorship After Hiroshima and Nagasaki", *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 4 (2015): 842–864.

8 See also Angela N.H. Creager, "Radiation, Cancer, and Mutation in the Atomic Age", *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences* 45, no. 1 (2015): 14–48.
9 Ralph Lapp played a crucial role in the American debate. In the UK, Joseph Rotblat, the only scientist to resign from the Manhattan project on moral grounds, was a key figure.
10 A Report by United States Atomic Energy Commission on Effect of High-Yield Nuclear Explosions, Appendix 7, *Eighteenth Semiannual Report of the Atomic Energy Commission July 1955* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1955), 147–154 (on 154); Divine, *Blowing on the Wind*, Ch. 1.
11 *US News & World Report*, 8 April 1955, 72–78, 126–131.
12 Albert Schweitzer, "The Problem of Peace", Nobel Lecture (4 November 1954), accessed 24 November 2018, www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1952/schweitzer-lecture.html; "The Russell-Einstein Manifesto" (9 July 1955), accessed 24 November 2018, http://pugwash.org/1955/07/09/london-launch-of-the-russell-einstein-manifesto/.
13 See also Spencer Weart, *The Rise of Nuclear Fear* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).
14 See, for instance, Mary M. Simpson, "A Long Hard Look at Civil Defense", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 12, no. 9 (1956): 343–348.
15 See Alison Kraft, Holger Nehring, and Carola Sachse, "The Pugwash Conferences and the Global Cold War", *Journal of Cold War Studies* 20, no. 1 (2018). See also Audra Wolfe, *Freedom's Laboratory: The Cold War Struggle for the Soul of Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), Ch. 6.
16 Paul Rubinson, "'Crucified on a Cross of Atoms': Scientists, Politics, and the Test Ban Treaty", *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 2 (2011): 283–319.
17 Divine, *Blowing on the Wind*; Christopher Laucht, "Scientists, the Public, the State and the Debate Over the Environmental and Human Health Effects in Britain, 1950–1958", *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 1 (2016): 221–251.
18 Jacob Darwin Hamblin, "A Dispassionate and Objective Effort: Negotiating the First Study on the Biological Effects of Atomic Radiation", *Journal of the History of Biology* 40 (2007): 147–177 (on 175–176); Laucht, "Scientists, the Public, the State".
19 Walker, *Permissible Dose*, 21.
20 Atomic Scientists' Association, "Strontium hazards", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 13, no. 6 (1957): 202–203; Alison Kraft, "Dissenting Scientists in Early Cold War Britain: The Fallout Controversy and the Origins of Pugwash, 1954–1957", *Journal of Cold War Studies* 20, no. 1 (2018): 58–100; Laucht, "Scientists, the Public, the State".
21 General Assembly, "Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation", General Assembly, A/3838, 1958, 21. See also Norman Cousins, "Beyond the Beginning", *Saturday Review of Literature*, 6 September 1958, 24–25.
22 Toshihiro Higuchi, "Atmospheric Nuclear Weapons Testing and the Debate on Risk Knowledge in Cold War America, 1945–1963", in *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, eds. John R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 301–322.
23 Sven Werner, "Atomenergien", *Perspektiv* 2, no. 6 (1955): 19–25.
24 On Atoms for Peace, see Henry Nielsen and Henrik Knudsen, "The Troublesome Life of Peaceful Atoms in Denmark", *History and Technology* 26, no. 2 (2010): 91–118.
25 Klaus Jørgensen, *Atomvåbnenes rolle i dansk politik* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1973), Ch. 4.
26 "Ingen grund til straale-panik", *Dagens Nyheder*, 9 March 1957. DHD's chief medical consultant on radiation, Børge Christensen, mainly relied on American information. See also Sundhedsstyrelsen, Journalsager, 1806–1981, 1956/70/23, Danish National Archives (hereafter DNA).
27 "Kortfattet referat af møde hos direktøren den 27. april 1954 kl. 14.00 angående brintbomben og civilforsvaret", Beredskabsstyrelsen, Civilforsvarsdirektør E. Schultz' embedsarkiv (hereafter ES), A- og B-bombeproblemer, 1945–1961, box 1, DNA.

28 "Dahl's Notes Prior to a Meeting on 18 May 1954", ES, A- og B-bombeproblemer, 1945–1961, box 1, DNA, 17 May 1954.
29 Casper Sylvest, "Atomfrygten og civilforsvaret", *Temp – tidsskrift for historie* 16 (2018): 16–39 (on 29).
30 "Kortfattet referat" and "Notater fra samtale med dr. Taylor, A.E.R.E", ES, A- og B-bombeproblemer, 1945–1961, box 1, DNA; Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, *Memorandum om de nucleare våbens indflydelse på civilforsvarets planlægning* (Copenhagen: Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, March 1956), Appendix 2, ES, Memoranda, 1949–1980, box 185, DNA.
31 See particularly ES, A og B bombeproblemer, 1945–1961, box 1, DNA.
32 FCDA, "Radioactive Fall-Out", ES, A- og B-bombeproblemer, 1945–1961, box 1, DNA, 15 October 1954, 3.
33 Arthur Dahl interview [October 1954, no specific date provided], ES, A og B bombeproblemer, 1945–1961, box 1, DNA.
34 Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, *Memorandum* (1956).
35 On the origins and contents of the assumption, see "Note for the Minister of the Interior on Preparing a Statement on the Parliamentary Debate Requested by the Danish Socialist People's Party", ES, Memoranda, 1953–1958, box 186, DNA, 6 February 1962.
36 For a discussion on these assumptions and Danish civil defence policy in the context of NATO debates, see Iben Bjørnsson, "'Stands tilløb til panik' – civilforsvarspjecer som befolkningskontrol" (forthcoming).
37 For early NATO reports on fallout, see "The Problem of Fall-Out", 28 May 1955 (AC/23(CD)D/106) and 8 September 1955 (AC/23(CD)D/114), NATO Archives Online, Civil Protection Committee (1952–1970), accessed 23 November 2018, http://archives.nato.int/civil-protection-committee.
38 "Civilforsvarsstyrelsens cirkulærskrivelse af 18. april 1955", in *Love og bestemmelser om civilforsvaret, 1939–1956*, ed. Civilforsvarsstyrelsen (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz, 1957), 323–327. The translation appeared in *Orientering fra Civilforsvarsstyrelsen* 4 (July 1955): 1–8.
39 Civilforsvars-Forbundet, *Angrebs- og Forsvarsmidler*, 3rd edition (Copenhagen, 1955).
40 H.J. Muller, "How Radiation Changes the Genetic Constitution", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 11, no. 9 (1955): 329–338, 352. Muller's career is testament to the complex relationship between science, politics, and ideology in the United States at the time. See Wolfe, *Freedom's Laboratory*, esp. 19, 28–30, 96–97.
41 Mogens Westergaard, "Man's Responsibility to His Genetic Heritage", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 11, no. 9 (1955): 318–328, 352 (quoted from 322, 352).
42 Ibid., 352.
43 Mogens Westergaard, "Atomtidens Risiko [October 1957]" in *Radioaktivitet*, ed. Uffe Geertsen (Copenhagen: Borgen, 1961), 124–121.
44 *Perspektiv* was an elitist publication with a circulation of 3,000–4,000. From 1956, it received CIA funding channelled through *Selskabet for frihed og kultur* (SFK) and later from the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CFF), which SFK was affiliated with. Ingeborg Phillipsen, "Selskabet for frihed og kultur", *Kritik* 35, no. 158 (2001): 38–51. On American efforts in the cultural Cold War, see Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 1999).
45 Øywind Winge, "Røntgenstråler og Radioaktivitet", *Perspektiv* 3, no. 1 (1955): 22–25.
46 Tage Kemp, "Prøvebombning og radioaktivt nedfald – som politisk og videnskabeligt problem", *Perspektiv* 5, no. 3 (1957): 11–17.
47 H.V. Brøndsted, *Atomalderen og vor biologiske fremtid* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel, 1956), esp. 11, 68, 82.
48 For instance, Winge, "Røntgenstråler"; Kemp, "Prøvebombning", 15; H.V. Brøndsted, "Atomkrigen", *Perspektiv* 8, no. 5 (1961): 27–31; H.V. Brøndsted, "Menneskets biologiske fremtid", *Civilforsvarsbladet* 12, no. 10 (1961): 240–243.
49 "Professor Bohrs medarbejdere er gået fra civilforsvaret", *Information*, 31 March 1954, 1, 8; "Brintbomben og vort civilforsvar", *Information*, 2 April 1954, 3, 7.

50 Poul Brandt Rehberg, "Striden om brintbomben", *Perspektiv* 3, no. 2 (1955): 5–8 (on 8).
51 Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, *Memorandum* (1956), Appendix 8A.
52 Henrik Knudsen, *Videnskabens mand: Fysiologen, formidleren og forskningsaktivisten Poul Brandt Rehberg* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2010), 12. Rehberg later represented Denmark in NATO discussions on science and civil defence. In 1962, he succeeded Niels Bohr as chairman of DAEC. On the Danish peace movement and the place of the world federalist movement within it, see Sune Kaur-Pedersen, "Isoleret og splittet: Den liberale fredsbevægelses krise og marginalisering i Danmark 1949–1960", *Arbejderhistorie* 3 (2008): 9–33.
53 Poul Brandt Rehberg, "Hvor stor fare truer menneskene fra de nye brintbombe-forsøg", *Politiken*, 5 May 1957, 29–30.
54 Tage Kemp, "Dødsens alvorligt" (with a reply from Rehberg), *Politiken*, 7 May 1957.
55 M. Westergaard, "Hvor farlige er bombeforsøgene" (with a reply from Rehberg), *Politiken*, 8 May 1957.
56 "A-bombeforsøgene er ufarlige endnu to år, men så må de ophøre", *Socialdemokraten*, 17 July 1957, 6–7.
57 Poul Brandt Rehberg, "A- og B-bomber og beskyttelse mod dem", *Orientering fra Civilforsvarsstyrelsen* 12 (11 November 1957): 1–4 (on 3). See also Poul Brandt Rehberg, "De sundhedsmæssige farer ved radioaktivt nedfald", *Civilforsvarsbladet* 8, no. 8 (1957): 170–173.
58 This position was echoed in Sven Werner, "Atomalderen er på vej", in *Kvindens Hvem-Hvad-Hvor*, ed. D. Backhausen (Copenhagen: Politikens Forlag, 1959), 5–9.
59 Poul Brandt Rehberg, "De Forenede Nationers rapport om atomfaren" (Radio Talk, broadcast 12 September 1958), accessed 1 November 2018, www.dr.dk/bonanza/serie/308/rundt-i-danmark/58326/orientering-de-forenede-nationers-rapport-om-atomfaren.
60 On KMA, see Søren Hein Rasmussen, *Sære alliancer: Politiske bevægelser i efterkrigstidens Danmark* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1997).
61 Sylvest, "Atomfrygten og civilforsvaret".
62 See Aksel Larsen, *Den Levende vej: Taler og artikler 1956–1957* (Copenhagen: Eget Forlag, 1958), 190–215. See also Kurt Jacobsen, *Aksel Larsen – en politisk biografi* (Copenhagen: Vindrose, 1993), 489–491 (also 424).
63 Aldrig Mere Krig, *Vi vil leve* [We Want to Live] (Svendborg, 1959); Komiteen for oplysning om atomfaren, *En by som København et år efter atombombeangreb* (Copenhagen, 1960).
64 Søren Hein Rasmussen, "Kampagnen mod atomvåben og andre protestbevægelser i 1960ernes første halvdel", *Den jyske historiker* 101 (2003): 34–49 (on 36); see also Carl Scharnberg, *Det kan nytte – artikler og erfaringer 1960–1965* (Copenhagen: Borgens Billigbøger, 1965).
65 Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, "Atomangreb. Vejledning om beskyttelse", ES, box 171 (folder "Pjece-udkast (plakat): Duurlo"), DNA, undated November 1958. The text was published in *Civilforsvarsbladet* 10, no. 2 (1959): 35–37.
66 Rehberg continued to be involved with DCDD through his NATO activities. He only officially asked to be relieved of his duties as scientific advisor in 1960 when he took up a position on the board of the Carlsberg Foundation. At this point, he also left the Danish Defence Research Board. See "Referat af civilforsvarsrådets møde den 5. april 1960", 4–5, Beredskabsstyrelsen: Civilforsvarsrådets møder (1950–1977), 2: Civilforsvarsrådets forretningsudvalgsmøder (hereafter CDM), DNA.
67 Photos of the trio from 1958 appear in Schultz' photo album, deposited in ES, DNA.
68 J. Ambrosen, "Atombomber", *Polyteknikeren* 11, no. 10 (1945): 271–282; J. Ambrosen, "Atombomber og Atomenergi", *Naturens Verden* 32 (1948): 65–96.
69 Sundhedsstyrelsen, Journalsager, 1806–1981, 1956/70/23, DNA.
70 Ambrosen, "Det radioaktive nedfald fra atomkernevåben", *Fysisk Tidsskrift* (1958): 1–24; Ambrosen, "Det radioaktive nedfalds egenskaber og virkninger", *Civilforsvarsbladet* 11, no. 6 (1960): 128–130.

71 Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, *Memorandum vedrørende den civilforsvarsmæssige beskyttelse mod radioaktivt nedfald* (Copenhagen: Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, 1960), ES: Diverse notater og referater (1947–1983), box 135 (folder: 1954–1970), DNA.
72 Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, *Memorandum* (1960), 26–27.
73 "Referat af civilforsvarsrådets møde den 5. april 1960", 10, CDM, DNA.
74 Civilforsvarsstyrelsen, *Memorandum* (1960), 37–38, Ch. 6.
75 "Referat af civilforsvarsrådets møde den 10. januar 1961", 11, CDM, DNA.
76 Kampagnen mod Atomvåben, *Atomvåben og vor fremtid* (Copenhagen, 1960). KMA also published translated work, including Johan Galtung's *Ten Arguments Against Nuclear Weapons* (Copenhagen, 1961) and Gerald Piel's "The Illusion of Civil Defence", *New Statesman*, 8 December 1961.
77 David Jens Adler, ed., *Atomfaren* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Forlag, 1961); Geertsen, *Radioaktivitet*.
78 Anders Dalsager has suggested that this petition was driven by a political objective of *countering* an irrational approach associated with grassroot campaigning. Rehberg is likely to have played a central role in this effort, and he eventually served on the five-man committee. Anders Dalsager, "Videnskaben som atompolitisk kastebold: Politisk udnyttelse af dansk atomoplysning 1960–66", Paper presented at *Dansk Historikermøde*, Helsingør, 20–22 August 2018. If this is correct, KMA's savviness in publishing parts of the committee's (ongoing) work frustrated the plan. When the full report was published in 1963, DCDD read it as supporting the planning efforts already in place. See *Atomvåbenproblemer: En Redegørelse fra Atomoplysningsudvalget*, Betænkning nr. 334 (Copenhagen, 1963), 31–32; "Referat af civilforsvarsrådets møde den 26. november 1963", 3, CDM, DNA. Surprisingly, KMA's early publication efforts were apparently discussed in meetings with DCDD. See letter [undated, probably 1962] from Carl Scharnberg to E. Schultz, Danish Civil Defence Agency, ES, Oplysningspjecer 1951–1964, box 173, Folder: "Kampagnen mod Atomvåben, 1962–1963", DNA.
79 Bjørnsson, "Stands tilløb til panik".
80 See, for instance, Børge Chr. Christensen and M. Schrøder, eds., *Atomtidens Stråling* (Copenhagen: Fremad, 1961), a textbook published by the Danish Broadcasting Corporation that included chapters on fallout and civil protection.
81 "Statement by the Minister of the Interior", *Folketingstidende*, *Folketingets forhandlinger 1960–1961* (2. samling), 2 November 1961, 705–715.
82 According to a Gallup poll in May 1962, the two leaflets received roughly the same amount of attention from Danish citizens, see *Orientering fra Civilforsvarsstyrelsen* 8, no. 7 (1962): 4.
83 *Radioaktivt nedfald* (29 mins., 1961, dir. Helge Robbert). The short version is available at: https://filmcentralen.dk/museum/danmark-paa-film/film/radioaktivt-nedfald.
84 Lawrence S. Wittner, *A Short History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), Ch. 5.

2 Georg Borgström and the population-food dilemma

Reception and consequences in Norwegian public debate in the 1950s and 1960s

Sunniva Engh

> I have been to many meetings and heard many lectures, but hardly anything has made a stronger impact than this, on 18 March 1968. The Student Union was crowded. People were standing along the walls and in the corridors. The lecture hall was quiet as a grave – a breathless attention, soon followed by wild applause.[1]

This 2018 description by Svein Sundsbø of Georg Borgström's lecture, "Agriculture and the World Hunger Crisis", delivered 50 years earlier at the Norwegian Agricultural College at Ås reveals Borgström's enormous, lasting appeal. To the students, Borgström was an international academic superstar who spoke with transformative effect about the issues that mattered to the 1968 generation. According to Borgström, the world's population explosion created food shortages, which, in combination with unjust international distribution and the exhaustion of natural resources, would lead to a global crisis. The world had, at most, ten years to choose a different course and save humanity from a dismal future. The career of Sundsbø, the 1968 president of the student union at Ås, illustrates the effect of Borgström's message: he has dedicated his professional life to public service, as secretary general of the Centre Party and as minister for agriculture 1985–1986, focusing in particular on matters of climate, energy, and environment.

How did Georg Borgström (1912–1990) come to make such an impression on Sundsbø and other Norwegians in 1968? A Swedish plant physiologist and scientist, Borgström earned his PhD in botany at the University of Lund in 1939. After running the research labs of a private company in the 1940s, Borgström became the director of the Swedish Institute for Conservation Research. In 1956, he left Sweden for a professorship at Michigan State University. His numerous publications addressing the population-food dilemma include *Jorden – vårt öde: Kan en permanent världhunger avvärjas?* (1953), *Mat för miljarder* (1962), *Gränser för vår tillvaro* (1962), *The Hungry Planet* (1965), *Revolution i världsfisket* (1966), *Too Many: A Biological Overview of the World's Limitations* (1969), and *The Food and People Dilemma* (1973).

Inspired by recent historical research on the circulation of knowledge,[2] this chapter explores the reception by the Norwegian media of Borgström's ideas

from the 1950s to the early 1970s. It examines particularly *when*, *how*, and *with what consequences* Borgström's message and expertise circulated in Norway. The *timing* of the attention given to Borgström's research is relevant as he raised the spectre of an overpopulation-resource crisis well ahead of popular and widely read works such as Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb*[3] and Garrett Hardin's article "The Tragedy of the Commons",[4] both published in 1968. The *audience* for Borgström's ideas is also significant, as well as *the parts of his message* that the media focused on. Which milieus were interested in Borgström's work and ideas, and what caused his appeal to Norwegian audiences? Finally, it is also important to consider the *consequences*, if any, of the Norwegian attention to Borgström and his message.

A considerable literature exists on concerns in Scandinavia about population and their relation to domestic social and national policies and legislation.[5] There is also a growing literature on the transnational circulation of knowledge and political interactions regarding population and resources, beginning in inter-war scientific collaboration and geopolitical thinking[6] and continuing, with shifting emphases, in the Cold War[7] and beyond.[8] The population-resource dilemma has also been studied as the precursor to the American environmental movement.[9] Scandinavia's political interest in population growth and support for population control programmes in the global south have been noted by researchers.[10] Work is emerging on Scandinavian scientists' interest in resource matters,[11] with the most comprehensive study to date being Björn-Ola Linnér's *The World Household: Georg Borgström and the Postwar Population-Resource Crisis* (1998).[12] Linnér focuses on Borgström's role as a "conveyor of knowledge" disseminating American science to Sweden.[13] Yet little is known about the impact and circulation of Borgström's research *outside* Sweden, either in the neighbouring Nordic countries or internationally.

This chapter focuses on Borgström's impact in one country – Norway – and is based on material from the Norwegian National Library's digital newspaper collection, a near-complete archive of all Norwegian newspapers, local and national, since 1763.[14] Borgström is mentioned three separate times in the late 1940s. During the 1950s, media coverage increases with 66 articles pertaining to Borgström. Attention peaks in the 1960s, with 1,301 mentions, and drops to just over 520 in the 1970s. A search in Norwegian academic journals produces 3 mentions of Borgström during the 1950s, 32 in the 1960s, and 45 in the 1970s.[15] Borgström and his research thus appear to have attracted far more attention from the popular press than from academic journals.

Old debates, new contexts: from Malthus to Borgström

Although Borgström achieved a kind of superstar status in 1968 in Norway, his fundamental message was not new. Over 150 years earlier, in 1798, Thomas Malthus' *An Essay on the Principle of Population* raised concerns about the relationship between population and food. Highlighting how population growth rates could increase exponentially while food production would grow linearly,

Malthus argued that increases in the food supply would rapidly be outstripped by the demands of an increasing population. Malthusianism continued to find adherents in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but it was never uncontested. Additionally, concerns revolved around population composition, quality, and growth rates as well as relative population sizes, raising geopolitical concerns and prompting pronatalist and antinatalist movements alike.

In the years immediately following World War II, the development efforts that went hand in hand with reconstruction and decolonisation brought renewed attention to population growth rates. A neo-Malthusian paradigm, which during the interwar years had been supported by relatively marginal interests such as eugenics societies and feminist movements, gradually gained adherents within development thinking and practice. At its core was the concern that, should the population growth of developing countries remain unchecked, the result would be world resource shortages and hunger crises, and, potentially, conflict and war. It was feared that development efforts would come to nothing, and, worse, world peace could be jeopardised, in the absence of a large-scale population control effort. As shown by Thomas Robertson, attention to the population-resource dilemma was high in conservationist circles, as illustrated by William Vogt's and Fairfield Osborn's hugely influential books, and was also key in the transition to the later environmentalist movement.[16] Vogt's 1948 *Road to Survival* contrasted population growth rates with natural resources, depicting ecological depletion and destruction, whereas Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet*, published the same year, firmly placed responsibility for the destruction of nature with humanity.[17]

Borgström came into contact with international discussions on conservation, population, and nutrition in the autumn of 1949, when the United Nations (UN) organised a Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources at Lake Success, New York. In parallel, and at the same venue, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN) jointly organised the International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature.[18] Borgström participated in the latter, making two important acquaintances at Lake Success: Fairfield Osborn and William Vogt. According to Linnér, the interaction was a turning point for Borgström: thereafter, his personal and academic beliefs revolved around a core principle that humanity *had to* adopt an ecological worldview.[19] Vogt and Osborn's books were international bestsellers, and Borgström wrote an introduction to the 1949 Swedish edition of Osborn's book *Vår plundrade planet*,[20] whereas Vogt was published in Swedish the following year,[21] also advertised in the Norwegian press.[22] While neither author was translated into Norwegian, writer Georg Brochmann attempted to draw attention to Vogt's work through reviews and lectures in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[23] Furthermore, while Borgström's experience at the UNESCO conference may indeed have been transformative, his ideas on the population-food dilemma were not just established but also actively disseminated before Lake Success.

Borgström and the Norwegian press, the 1950s

In January 1949, Borgström's research first appeared in the local newspaper *Rogaland*, which covered an article by Borgström on the world food, population, and resource situation. Introduced as "a remarkable account", Borgström's piece, featured in the "important culture news pages",[24] raised a conundrum: whereas the Earth could produce food for up to 1,600 million people, the world's population was projected to reach 3,300 million. Population growth would thus outstrip food production, creating a "particularly critical" hunger situation. It was "an immediate political task of the utmost importance to bring about a population stabilisation." However, population control would not suffice. Furthermore, while advances in research and technology might increase agricultural production, the Earth's carrying capacity would soon be reached. The main cause was human: "Despite our dependence upon what the earth produces, there are few items of value we treat so carelessly. . . . Man has been a very bad caretaker of the earth's riches."

Published a year later, the article "The World Starves" in *Nationen* was based on an interview with Borgström by the Swedish paper *Skånska Dagbladet*.[25] According to Borgström, hunger was a "frightening reality" for large parts of Europe and a massive effort was needed to avoid disaster. Borgström echoed a geopolitically inspired thinking about population growth, resources, and migration, which had become established during the interwar period.[26] During the nineteenth century, according to this narrative, Europe had come to rely on a gradual export of its surplus populations to other continents through colonisation and migration, as the continent could not feed its growing population. Greater self-sufficiency, technological innovation, and political will to coordinate international efforts were now crucial for resolving the situation. Borgström reminded the readers that John Boyd Orr, director general of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in 1945–1948 had, during the interwar period, argued that international coordination of food resources was needed, to great opposition.[27] Borgström argued that now, in 1950, the idea was urgently relevant: nearly half of the world's population was starving – "A grim fact which raises frightening perspectives."[28]

A conference organised by the FAO in September the same year brought Borgström along with a number of experts, politicians, and scientists from 18 different countries to Bergen to discuss challenges in the fishing industries. Of particular concern was whether surplus stocks from Western markets could be exported to developing countries. In his opening statement at the conference, the Norwegian director of Health and head of Norway's FAO committee, Karl Evang,[29] emphasised the potential of fisheries to solve international hunger. He also asserted that raising people's standard of living was "the only . . . basis for a lasting peace."[30] Borgström, one of the keynote speakers, lectured on "Fisheries and the world's food problems".[31]

Reporting on the FAO conference, *Bergens Arbeiderblad* summarised Borgström's talk emphasising the potential for increased use of fish to meet the needs

of a growing population. *Bergens Tidende (BT)* followed suit, calling Borgström's lecture "rich in perspectives" and arguing that "the oceans [are] the continent of our times."[32] According to Borgström's geopolitically founded argument, humanity was running out of space after centuries of European expansion, thus the last "continent" to be conquered was the oceans. *BT* noted the timeliness of the conference, particularly its preamble stating that feeding the world's population was the greatest possible peace effort. The FAO conference was frontpage news in *Verdens Gang (VG)*, which ran the headline "David and Goliath: The FAO's fight against world hunger".[33] *VG*'s reporter Asbjørn Barlaup found Borgström's talk "excellent". He wrote that Borgström had ended on a dramatic note: "he looked at his watch and said 'I have now spoken for an hour. During that hour, 2,400 more people were born than who died in the same period.'" The FAO thus participated in "a giant race, the race against world hunger – or rather, the race against population growth and malnutrition." Near-identical coverage of Borgström's talk appeared in several newspapers[34] and may have originated in FAO press releases. Indeed, in the Norwegian press in the late 1940s and early 1950s, it was customary not to name reporters. Journalism was only professionalised to a limited degree, and objectivity rather than commentary and analysis represented the ideal, along with a lack of willingness to question matters of reconstruction, foreign and security policy.[35]

There were thus few mentions of Borgström by Norwegian media between 1949 and 1953, and some were related to his work on food conservation.[36] However, with the 1953 publication of *Jorden – vårt öde* in Sweden, Borgström's emphasis on global matters increased. The Swedish reception was unenthusiastic, and indeed Borgström labelled the critique "the storm".[37] The book was not translated into Norwegian and thus received no immediate attention. By the end of the year, however, the Norwegian local paper *Svelviksposten* reported on the publication, with the headline "Every hour, 2,400 new world citizens are born". Borgström's book painted a bleak picture: "If population growth continues, . . . the earth could no longer feed its population." Food production must be "mobilised and increased . . . to liberate the growing population from destitution or ultimately starvation."[38] A more comprehensive review appeared in early 1954, written by Frithjof Fluge, a member of the "Oslo School" of philosophers[39] headed by Professor Arne Næss, who in the 1970s established "deep ecology".[40] With the title "Overpopulation and world hunger", Fluge lauded *Jorden – vårt öde* as "top class", "excellently organised, factual and clear" as well as "knowledgeable".[41] Fluge commended Borgström for revealing technical solutions as illusory ideas: "futile, unless large-scale, efficient birth control is urgently implemented", something which was prevented by the Catholic countries. Fluge concluded that *Jorden – vårt öde* was an "exemplary, precise and straightforward account of humanity's 'to be or not to be'". Another positive mention appeared in a *Morgenbladet* review of the 1953 Norwegian edition of Charles Galton Darwin's *The Next Million Years*.[42] While Darwin's book received a scathing assessment,[43] the reviewer judged the topic – the population-food dilemma – to be vitally important and the book itself to contain "facts

we cannot afford to ignore". *Morgenbladet* thus recommended other "excellent and thought-provoking" books, such as Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet*, but stated that the very best book, however, was Borgström's *Jorden – vårt öde*, a "trustworthy, science-based portrayal of the situation", revealing the urgency of this dilemma.

The coverage, while positive, was scant, in the Norwegian popular press. In addition, the book was mentioned by writers with a particular concern for Borgström's topic.[44] However a *VG* article on population growth, food shortages, and family planning in late 1954 points to a gradually increasing interest in Borgström's core topic, in relation to current affairs.[45] Largely based on *Jorden – vårt öde*, the article presented Borgström's main ideas and underlined the need for birth control, despite Catholic opposition.

In March 1955, Borgström visited Norway, giving a keynote lecture on *Jorden – vårt öde* and the world's food problems at the "Agriculture Day".[46] Several local and national papers reported on the event. *Fredriksstads Blad* summarised the lecture, highlighting Borgström's call for "balance in nature",[47] while *Nationen* focused on the population-food dilemma, soil depletion, and erosion.[48] *Aftenposten*'s journalist found the talk, which argued that humanity needed a radical, new direction to avoid "the misfortune which threatens our entire existence", to be "very thought-provoking".[49] The following month, Borgström offered a lecture at the student union at the Norwegian Institute of Technology in Trondheim entitled "Can our welfare become universal?".[50] *Nidaros* provided detailed coverage in the article "The world's resources soon depleted!"[51] The "population expert" Borgström had painted a gloomy picture of an exhausted planet ruined by mankind's wasteful behaviour, where the issues of Cold War and nuclear threat paled in comparison. The culprits were man and Western industrial civilisation, and the solutions were radical political rethinking, an end to wastefulness, and birth control.

Gradually, from the mid-1950s onwards, Norwegian newspapers presented more stories on the population-food dilemma, international development, and politics, in which Borgström was referred to as an expert.[52] An example is found in *Fædrelandsvennen*'s "The food problems – the decisive test of our culture", which reiterated Borgström's main points: population growth caused food shortages, birth control was urgently called for, and new directions in development were needed.[53] Interestingly, such articles were often entirely based on Borgström's ideas, without any presentation of contrasting views, reflective, possibly, of the novelty of these topics for the press and commentators alike. Although the population dilemma received increasing attention, coverage of Borgström in the years 1956–1958 still often focused on his expertise in food conservation.[54]

Borgström in the Norwegian press, 1960–1966: a prophet to the few

At the outset of the 1960s, Borgström's work initially received attention in Norway in relation to food and the geopolitical considerations of the Cold War.

Norwegian listeners could tune into Swedish radio to hear Borgström speak on "The food balance between the two great powers".[55] *Stavanger Aftenblad* ran a headline about his work in mid-1961,[56] and the national paper for coastal industries, *Fiskaren*, followed suit in autumn, summarising an article by Borgström in *Svenska Västkustfiskaren* claiming that "Tremendous developments in Russian fishing troubles the West".[57] An article by Borgström on India in the Swedish *Göteborgsposten* received attention from *Rogalands Avis*, which claimed that, according to Borgström, India's real problem was *over*development, not *under*development. The population "has exceeded all reasonable limits".[58] This conclusion led *Bergens Arbeiderblad* to agree with Borgström that it was "hardly surprising that nearly the entire population suffered from malnutrition".[59]

Borgström's focus on global matters increased further with the 1962 publication of the book *Mat för miljarder*, which was followed by *Gränser för vår tillvaro* in 1964, *The Hungry Planet*: *The Modern World at the Edge of Famine* in 1965, and *Revolution i världsfisket* in 1966. Although none of these were published in Norwegian until 1968, attention to Borgström increased steadily, especially in the latter half of the 1960s.

In 1962, *Mat för miljarder* became the topic of two editorials in *Arbeiderbladet*, which echoed Borgström's mantra: man's irresponsible behaviour caused soil erosion, deforestation, and explosive population growth.[60] The solution lay in international population control: "India and many other countries are now begging for help with this – without effect." *Arbeiderbladet* argued that until priorities changed, no portrayal of the population-food dilemma could be too pessimistic. Borgström's research also became better known through his own active dissemination. Borgström visited Norway in September 1962, lecturing at the University of Oslo on "New ways to measure population density and assess the nutritional standard geographically",[61] speaking at the Norwegian Chemical Society, and then presenting a lecture on "Arable land, population growth and nutritional standards" at the Student Union of Norway's Agricultural College in Ås. He was interviewed by *Adresseavisen*, which portrayed Borgström as "a very prominent expert on the world's food supply", who, for a number of years, has hammered home his message "through lectures and particularly well-written books".[62] Borgström elaborated on the ideas presented in *Mat för miljarder*, saying food production had to be doubled, even if population control was introduced. "According to Professor Borgström, a new understanding is required – only then the problems may be resolved. He is not a pessimist, but decidedly a realist, and the world ought to listen!"[63] *Akershus Amtstidende* covered Borgström's visit to Ås, noting that "there is reason to expect great interest" in Borgström's talk, given its "current relevance" and the fact that Borgström was "one of the world's foremost experts".[64] Reporting on the lecture afterwards, the same paper described the audience as "numerous and interested".[65] Borgström had "explained the [food and population] situation, presenting dry, but frightening facts", describing problems which "White men have not had to consider, thus far." Given Borgström's convincing presentation, "one couldn't help considering these matters more closely."[66]

By 1964, the Norwegian press was reliably noticing Borgström. The 1964 publication of *Gränser för vår tillvaro* was recognised in nine different local and regional Norwegian newspapers in August and September 1964, all of them publishing the same article, signed G.L., with the headline "Is the World headed for a food crisis of far greater dimensions than today?".[67] The article stated that *Gränser för vår tillvaro* was the "latest frightening warning" offering an affirmative, Neo-Malthusian answer to the question in its headline. The article reiterated Borgström's message that "coordinated efforts on a gigantic scale were required if humanity was to be rescued".

Within a few months, in January 1965, a leading national newspaper, *Morgenbladet*, ran a rave review of *Gränser för vår tillvaro*, calling it "a powerful message" of warning.[68] The world was on the brink of collapse and the "worst problem was the population's explosive breeding". The book's message caused concern, wrote the reviewer, but "one couldn't doubt that an internationally renowned professor had backing for his claims". Retelling Borgström's ideas rather than analysing them, *Morgenbladet*'s reviewer wished Borgström would disseminate his work in Norway. Soon, NRK radio, the national Norwegian broadcasting corporation, was covering Borgström. The programme *Peace With the Earth* discussed *Gränser för vår tillvaro*, as well as *Fred med Jorden*, by Elisabeth Tamm and Elin Wägner.[69] Both books argued that modern agriculture was depleting the Earth's resources, pushing the planet to the breaking point, and underlining that, unless humans made peace with Earth, there could be no peace on Earth.[70] Borgström also appeared on NRK radio to discuss "food and ways of living for a young Europe" with journalist Odd Nordland.[71] Focusing on population growth, food, and development, Borgström was characterised as "an excellent interviewee" by a listener who was impressed by his "strong personal engagement".[72]

The attention from the Norwegian media continued the following year. In September 1966, *Telemark Arbeiderblad*, commenting on Borgström's NRK radio lecture, "Food for freedom: New signals in American agriculture",[73] wrote "World famine . . . is upon us, and the situation is rapidly deteriorating."[74] *Haugesunds Avis* quoted Borgström saying, "our ideas on world food production are marked by the fact that we belong to the 'luxury club' of the world, the rich nations. We urgently need to realise that we are a privileged minority and adjust policies accordingly."[75] *Arbeiderbladet* also covered the broadcast under the heading "A hungry world".[76] Later that year, *Mat för miljarder* also received attention through a discussion of development aid by *Nationen*,[77] which reiterated Borgström's portrayal of the population-food situation, arguing that aid must be increased.

Borgström's work on fisheries also drew attention in Norway. In late 1964, *Tromsø* reported on his idea that the region's core product, dried fish, could solve the food crisis.[78] Two years later, Borgström's *Revolusjon i världsfisket* received attention in the *Bergens Tidende* article "World fishing – the new colonialism".[79] According to *BT*, "Borgström . . . consistently and aggressively presented his theses in order to rouse opinion". The fishing industry was enormously

valuable economically, and while changing its course might be tricky, Borgström's warning was timely: "When he, 15 years ago, warned that the world would go under in famine, many people thought he was exaggerating. Developments since then have confirmed his views." According to *BT*, Borgström's eye for what needed doing was "almost visionary".

Over the first half of the 1960s, Borgström's message had gained ground, coming to be seen, by mid-decade, as authoritative. In the summer of 1966, Norway's United Nations Association wrote an article based on Borgström's work on world fisheries, which was disseminated widely in local and regional newspapers. Borgström's research showed that most of the fish caught off the coast of North and South America went to animal feed, thus "the huge opportunities for an improved food supply for Latin America, which the ocean offers, to a large extent are lost",[80] and changes were necessary. The previous year, *VG* reported on the US introduction of agricultural modernisation and hunger alleviation as conditions for development aid, in an article with the headline "[T]he US threatens the starving countries".[81] According to *VG*, the world was headed for famine – this had "repeatedly been pointed out by neutral scientists such as Georg Borgström and Gunnar Myrdal." Apparently, the experts in the US Department of Agriculture had gotten the message and were going to act on it. Similarly, a *Morgenbladet* op-ed on the futility of aid in the face of overpopulation referred to two books as evidence: William Vogt's *Road to Survival* and Borgström's "ground-breaking" *Jorden, vårt öde*.[82] Diverging views on the food-population dilemma were reflected in the newspapers, but Borgström's views seemed to gain prominence. While a *Morgenposten* discussion on "The World's food supply situation – optimism and pessimism" argued that research was "greatly marked by the authors' often strongly subjectively grounded assumptions", *Grimstads Adressetidende* argued Borgström offered "a correct view".[83] Even in the article "Are we getting close to the great famine?" on scientific disagreements regarding the population explosion, Borgström's view dominated. Featured in several newspapers, the article claimed the world was headed for starvation.[84] As a *Morgenbladet* editorial on ecology argued, Borgström was "a lone Scandinavian who understands the problem on a global scale."[85]

Borgström's publications were not only gaining authority but were also becoming points of reference in public debates. Initially introduced in Norwegian public debate by authors with an interest in ecology, such as Frithjof Fluge, and seemingly frequently quoted in newspapers on both the conservative and the left sides of the political spectrum, Borgström's work, by mid-decade, was also embraced by writers associated with the far right. One example is Olav Hoaas, a Nazi sympathiser. Frequently participating in public discussions on population and race, food supply, and self-sufficiency, Hoaas often referred to Borgström's work. "He is no regular hot-headed scientist who makes statements far outside his area of competence",[86] argued Hoaas, who believed that the population explosion would force people to "soon end . . . illusions" about democracy, equality, and human rights.[87]

Borgström in the Norwegian press 1967–1968: from prophet to superstar

From 1967 onwards, the attention to Borgström by the Norwegian press increased sharply, as a result of three main factors: Borgström appeared more regularly on Norwegian radio and television, Borgström visited Norway to give several lectures, and Borgström's *Mat för miljarder* and *Revolution i världsfisket* were published in Norwegian. In 1968, media attention to Borgström culminated in his widely covered, veritable tour of Norwegian student unions and lecture halls. An expert on topics of growing appeal to Norwegian audiences, Borgström was increasingly in demand, developing something of a superstar image.

This period of increased attention kicked off with a very favourable review in early 1967 of *Revolution i världsfisket*, published in Swedish the previous year.[88] *Fædrelandsvennen*'s reviewer, Andreas Skartveit, embraced Borgström's views to the extent that he simply reiterated them, without comparing them to competing views, and arguing that Borgström's work was supported by "an incredible multitude of facts". *Revolution i världsfisket* ended with the statement "it's five to midnight", meaning that time was nearly up. According to Skartveit, "This . . . is a book many people ought to read", as it would help them understand contemporary conflicts and anticipate future ones.[89]

Borgström returned to NRK radio in mid-February, with three consecutive lectures on "The world food situation".[90] A number of national and local newspapers covered the broadcasts. *Nordlands Framtid* argued that Borgström portrayed the world "living hand to mouth", facing famine: "Food reserves are dwindling, while . . . every day, another 180,000 humans are born."[91] *Nordlys* quoted Borgström saying, "It is now too late to drive hunger away – it has come to stay."[92] *Fædrelandsvennen* summarised the first lecture, calling Borgström's perspectives "gloomy" and "not particularly hopeful", instead presenting "a problem which doubtless will be the main challenge for current generations."[93] Consensus was that "professor Borgström has held a series [on] the very serious problems regarding the world food shortages, gloomily realistic, but also describing the remaining alternatives."[94] Indeed, radio listeners asked NRK for printed copies of Borgström's lectures, a request that was declined.[95]

In March 1967, NRK again featured Borgström's views, in a debate moderated by Andreas Skartveit, on the provision of development aid to population control efforts. Kenya had recently requested such aid from Norway, and the aid administration was divided. Skartveit's programme brought aid administration representatives together to discuss whether Norway should fund family planning. Population control was becoming increasingly accepted and "even the Roman [Catholic] church has begun reconsidering. Is it about time Norwegian development aid supported family planning?"[96] *VG* argued that "While not everyone views the situation as gloomily as the Swedish Professor Georg Borgström . . . there is general agreement that something needs doing."[97] In April, Norwegian viewers of Swedish TV could tune in to Borgström discussing world fisheries,[98] while his three March lectures were replayed on NRK

radio. In August, a series of three Borgström lectures on "The overdeveloped world" aired on Swedish radio and were also available to Norwegian listeners.[99] The next month, NRK radio broadcast another three lectures by Borgström,[100] and several newspapers printed short comments on these.[101] Borgström also talked on "The Nordic countries' place in a hungry world" on NRK radio on Christmas Eve 1967.[102]

Borgström also contributed to the Norwegian newspapers, publishing two op-eds in *Aftenposten* in May 1967. In the first, "Deceptions about our world", Borgström delivered his message in strong rhetorical terms: world population was exploding, outstripping food production, and the world needed to take action. His conviction was that it was deeply irresponsible to believe in quick fixes.[103] In "A second wind for humanity", Borgström argued that, unless humanity chose a new course, global famine would follow. Borgström reiterated that it was "five minutes to midnight" and time was running out. "We will need all . . . natural resources, capital, and scientific and technical expertise to ensure the survival of humanity", in addition to population control, global coordination of all aid, and a "general staff for peace". Change was needed when

> four billion penniless and hungry people enter and claim their share. That day . . . when we . . . adjust to this reality may be the proudest moment in the history of our civilisation. But if we neglect to do this, our civilisation will go under . . ., and history's judgement will be disgrace.[104]

Two months later, Borgström's article in Norwegian journal *Samtiden*, "Five minutes to midnight", was called "a strong warning", offering "earthshattering facts on the conflict between population growth and food production", by *Rogalands Avis*.[105]

In parallel with Borgström's increased visibility in the Norwegian media, his books also received increasing attention, with reviews appearing throughout 1967. *Folkets Framtid*, issued by the Christian Democratic Party's youth branch, warmly recommended *Gränser för vår tillvaro*, finding it "a thorough analysis" and "an unusually good book: fantastic in its clear thinking, and grim in its perspectives".[106] Hartvig Sætra of the Socialist Youth Party reviewed *Mat for milliarder* and *Gränser för vår tillvaro* in *Orientering*, a paper for the political left. Sætra's reviews were glowing, arguing Borgström's works were "the two most important books to have appeared . . . since the war." He further called Borgström's views on the population-food dilemma so important that "[n]o politician should be allowed to run for office, and no one should be able to call themselves an academic citizen without solid knowledge of Borgström's documentations."[107] Borgström's work on fisheries also had great appeal in Norway, with *Revolution i världsfisket* being reviewed in the fishing industry newspaper *Fiskaren* in December 1967. Calling the book "a piece of first-class contemporary history", "interesting and thought-provoking", *Fiskaren* argued that the book should be taught in fisheries schools.[108] The following month, *Finnmarksposten* mentioned Borgström's *Food for Billions*, recently published in the United

States and which had been "characterised as one of the most significant books in fifty years." The paper hoped a Norwegian translation would soon appear.[109]

Indeed, in autumn 1967, Norwegian publisher Gyldendal announced that *Mat för miljarder* would soon feature in their series, Gyldendals Kjempefakler, to which the media responded with enthusiasm.[110] Sixteen newspapers reported that Borgström would be translated into Norwegian, with *Drammens Tidende og Buskeruds Blad* calling Borgström a "scientist and alarm clock",[111] and *Nationen* saying that he "had made the entire world listen to his gloomy forecasts."[112] Evidence of the increasing media interest were the portrait interviews on Borgström that began appearing. *Dagningen* printed photos of Borgström in his US home, arguing that the "international doomsday prophet" was no "empty sensationalist": his work had been read by President Kennedy and he now participated in President Johnson's council on nutrition. Arguing that Borgström "should be well-known to Norwegians through his many eminent radio lectures",[113] the paper reiterated his main ideas: that spaceship earth must be prioritised over the space and nuclear races, and that population control was necessary.

The increasing appetite for Borgström's message was also reflected in Norwegian student politics and debates. Socialist Berge Furre elaborated upon Borgström's work in a talk on consumer society to Bergen's student union in autumn 1967.[114] Also, Borgström's name featured heavily in the elections to student union committees in 1968. In November 1967, the Student Union at the Agricultural College in Ås elected Svein Sundsbø as president, with a 1968 seminar programme including Borgström.[115] Reported in *Aftenposten*[116] and *Akershus Amtstidende*, Borgström, "a world capacity", would talk on "The World food situation".[117] Days later, the Bergen Student Union elected conservative Leif Neergaard as president, also with a programme featuring Borgström,[118] with a talk on "Space for billions, food for millions".[119] Lastly, Oslo's Norwegian Students' Society elected conservative Georg Apenes, whose programme, including Borgström's talk "A crusade for the survival of humanity", also received attention from several national and local papers.[120]

In January 1968, Gyldendal launched its much-awaited book series featuring *Mat för miljoner*, just ahead of Borgström's upcoming lecture tour, and an extensive coverage followed. Norway's Director of Health Karl Evang, an avid supporter of Borgström's views, introduced the book, saying that it had "received attention all over the world".[121] Evang lauded Borgström's book, arguing that the population-food situation had "never before been so broadly studied". *Nationen* reported that unless "radical actions were taken", crisis was sure to result. *Aftenposten* judged Borgström's book to be among the most important in the Gyldendal series.[122]

The book launch was followed by a flurry of reviews. According to *Haugesunds Avis*, *Mat för miljoner* was "clearer than everything else we have read on this topic" and should force politicians to act.[123] *Vårt Land* stated that it was impossible to contradict Borgström's findings. While his "gloomy perspectives should be well-known to Norwegian radio listeners", the book format provided more

information and data.[124] *Finnmarken* also reviewed the book positively,[125] as did *Fædrelandsvennen*,[126] and in *Rana Blad*, the review "Food – or hunger for billions" found *Mat for milliarder* "so important everyone ought to know it."[127] In March 1968, *Revolution i världsfisket* was also translated into Norwegian. A very favourable review in *Fiskaren* argued that the book was "highly relevant" given the circumstances in Norwegian fisheries.[128] *VG* published a rave review, stating, "Let it be said at once: this is one of the most interesting publications ever to have been published in Norwegian."[129]

Throughout winter 1968, Borgström's visit to Norway was eagerly awaited by Norwegian media. In January, *Aftenposten* and *BT* articles anticipated that Borgström's talks would be among the term's most popular in Bergen.[130] His Oslo talk was also expected to draw great interest and a large audience.[131] Several newspapers ran short articles ahead of Borgström's lecture at the Agricultural College in Ås, with *Nationen* calling the lecture "the highlight of this term's programme",[132] and *Vårt Land* interviewing Ås Professor Knut Breirem about Borgström.[133]

Expectations ran high, with several national and local newspapers covering Borgström's arrival in Norway and the upcoming lectures.[134] NRK reran Borgström's radio lecture series from 1967,[135] and upon his arrival in Oslo, Borgström was featured on the radio debating "Are the oceans our future?" with Andreas Skartveit, and on the TV programme *Food for billions*.[136] Borgström's NRK appearances were given thorough coverage by the press.[137]

Borgström's lecture tour began in Oslo's student union on Saturday 16 March. Moved to the largest auditorium in Folkets Hus to accommodate the crowds, the lecture's media coverage was somewhat overshadowed by the simultaneous announcement of the Norwegian crown prince's engagement. Soon, however, *Morgenbladet* ran a long article recounting Borgström's message, calling it "one of the most serious topics the Student Union had dealt with".[138] *Arbeiderbladet* called it "a lecture with unusual force and quality", which silenced the entire lecture hall, followed by a "long, engaged and, at times, good debate."[139] Borgström argued "a crusade against hunger and destitution" was needed to ensure the survival of humanity.[140]

Borgström's lecture at the Ås Student Union two days later was also a roaring success, drawing record crowds. Borgström had encouraged the students to "face the facts, and start a campaign for the survival of humanity."[141] The following day, Borgström lectured on fish and world food problems at the Norwegian School of Economics in Bergen,[142] also finding time to talk on world population and food problems at the Norwegian Peace Association.[143] On Wednesday 20 March, Borgström travelled to Trondheim, lecturing on "The use of sea resources" at the Norwegian Institute of Technology[144] and "Five minutes to midnight" at the student union.[145]

Borgström's tour of Norway was clearly a success in terms of both media attention and the increasing references to his message in Norwegian public debate. In the late 1960s, a wide range of commentators, discussing a wide range of matters, referred to Borgström. Four partially interrelated topics

stand out: fisheries, agriculture, international development, and conservation/environment.

While *Revolution i världsfisket* created attention, Borgström's work was also referred to as authoritative in debates over issues affecting Norwegian fisheries in the 1960s, such as surplus catches.[146] Discussions of fisheries within an international context also drew on Borgström's authority. For example, Hartvig Sætra cited Borgström in arguing that the state should intervene to guarantee that all fish caught would be used as food, with none wasted.[147] Debates over agriculture also referred to Borgström's research. A *Morgenbladet* editorial on soil, for example, was based on Borgström's *Gränser för vår tillvaro*.[148] Calling soil humanity's most important asset, the editorial reiterated Borgström's call for conservation. Borgström's views were also echoed in articles on Norwegian agriculture in an international context, as when *Arbeiderbladet* argued that agricultural policy and practice must take into account the population explosion.[149] Borgström's call for arable land conservation and self-sufficiency also resonated with *Nationen*, which argued, "It's time we protect farmland" and "let's not conquer space, only to lose earth."[150]

In the international development debates in Norway over the population-food dilemma, Borgström's research was frequently used to underscore pessimistic interpretations. Oluf Berentsen argued in *Dagbladet*, "It is no longer a private matter how many children one should have. Over time, life becomes more valuable with birth control, even sterilisation, than without."[151] Philosopher Bernt Vestre called Borgström's research "authoritative" and "very well-documented",[152] indicating agreement about the need to act. Vestre also cited Borgström as an authority on more divisive issues such as birth control, the effects of imperialism and colonialism,[153] and foreign aid.[154] In *BT*, Bredo Berntsen claimed "population growth, coupled with destruction of nature, represents the world's number 1 problem",[155] as was clear from the work of world-famous researchers Borgström, Julian Huxley, and Gunnar Myrdal, who had "propagated changed understandings of the world's capacity, and population control." Berntsen also mentioned Rolf Edberg's 1966 *Et støvgrann som glimter*. While the names of Borgström, Huxley, and Myrdal, as well as Charles Galton Darwin, were relatively frequently associated,[156] Edberg's name only appeared this once in relation to Borgström's. Clearly, Borgström was not alone in his dissemination of the population-food dilemma. His views, however, were seen as scientific and thus reliable, scarcely challenged and only rarely contrasted with others.[157] As an op-ed in *Namdal Arbeiderblad* stated, "there is no shortage of warnings about how our world will end", but the "thought-provoking" *Mat för miljarder* was written by Borgström, one of the world's foremost "development pessimists".[158] While a *Nordlys* editorial argued that Borgström proved that "a hunger curtain" had descended, threatening peace,[159] the Norwegian Peace Council begged the government to heed the advice of internationally renowned expert Borgström, as the world had only ten years left.[160] In *Orientering*, Hartvig Sætra did not hesitate to weigh in on Borgström's side. Having "studied the food supply matter very thoroughly, both as a politician and a

biologist, and having read Georg Borgström, I am more convinced than ever . . . that pervasive political changes are necessary, both in the developing countries and in the West. And this is urgent."[161]

The circulation of Borgström's message in the Norwegian public sphere: *when*, *how*, and *with what consequences*?

Examining the circulation of Borgström's message in the Norwegian public sphere in the 1950s and 1960s, this chapter has looked at the timing of, attention to, and impact of Borgström. Regarding timing, the attention paid to Borgström's message on the population-food dilemma beginning in the late 1940s onwards, preceded by two decades that paid to Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* and Hardin's "The Tragedy of the Commons". And yet the names Ehrlich and Hardin were staples of postwar international debate on population, resources, and environment, whereas those of Borgström, like Osborn's and Vogt's, were rather related to the earlier, interwar conservationist movement. Hence, Borgström's ideas circulated in Norway more or less simultaneously with those circulating internationally within the conservationist milieu but well ahead of ideas that later have been ascribed key importance for environmentalist movements. Further, Borgström's core ideas initially received attention from actors with a particular interest in his message, such as ecosophy philosopher Fluge, Director of Health Karl Evang, and journalist Andreas Skartveit. Throughout the time period, however, the appeal of Borgström's message grew, with a multitude of actors, seemingly regardless of their politics, disseminating or referring to his views. The key to Borgström's media success and eventual superstar status in Norwegian public debate was the fact that his ideas, which dealt with a range of issues, appealed to ever-new groups of people. Further, Borgström's research dealt with matters pertaining to two Norwegian core industries: agriculture and fisheries. Thus Borgström evoked interest in groups such as the Centre and Labour parties and their voters, and in regions where farming and fishing were key industries. Throughout the 1960s, Borgström increasingly focused on the international ramifications of these industries, as well as international development and redistribution – topics of growing concern to new generations of students and to parties on the left side of the political spectrum.

Finally, with respect to the impact of the circulation of Borgström's message in Norway, the matter warrants further study. Several actors espoused the population-food dilemma in public debate, and thus more research is required to establish the importance of Borgström's seeming superstar status in public debate. What is clear, however, is that the flurry of attention to Borgström's person and ideas, culminating in his 1968 tour of Norway's student unions, eventually led to his direct participation in the launching of environmental movements such as *Fremtiden i våre hender* during the 1970s.[162] This points to an important finding: whereas the historiography of environmentalism often understands the late 1960s and early 1970s as the period when there was a breakthrough in "ecological crisis awareness", which spurred the modern

environmentalist movements,[163] Borgström's focus on ecology clearly predated this – as did the circulation of his ideas in Norwegian media. Although Borgström received Norwegian media attention whenever the issues of farming, fisheries, and international development featured in current affairs, his views of nature conservation remained at the very core of his work from the late 1940s onwards and thus were part of any coverage of Borgström.

A study of Borgström illustrates how the circulation of knowledge within one country's media should include international perspectives, in this case, in order to identify the connections between local issues and global debates over population and food. Studying global knowledge circulation in conjunction with investigations of environmental concerns may help historians lengthen and broaden their inquiries, to not only focus on the point at which environmental concerns were translated into political actions but also to trace relationships among affiliated areas and to earlier periods.

Notes

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158 P. Aasen, "De rike land skal stilles på prøve!" *Namdal Arbeiderblad*, 15 January 1968.
159 "Et hungerteppe senkes?" *Nordlys*, 3 February 1968.
160 S. Lid Larssen and L. Lid Larssen, "Perspektivløs fremtid", *Arbeiderbladet*, 9 November 1967.
161 H. Sætra, "Radikal debatt", *Orientering*, 11 November 1967. See also H. Sætra, "Svar frå ein «populist»", *Orientering*, 17 February 1968.
162 Ane Bjølgerud Hansen, "Oppbrudd fra forbrukersamfunnet: Bevegelsen Framtiden i våre hender 1974–1982" (MA diss., University of Oslo, 2007), 20–27.
163 This is pointed out in David Larsson Heidenblad, "Ett ekologiskt genombrott? Rolf Edbergs bok och det globala krismedvetandet i Skandinavien 1966", *Historisk tidsskrift* 95, no. 2 (2016): 245–266, which also offers an excellent overview of research on Scandinavian environmentalism.

3 The emergence of environmental journalism in 1960s Sweden

Methodological reflections on working with digitalised newspapers

David Larsson Heidenblad

Digitalisation is changing the conditions for historical research on postwar Scandinavian knowledge societies. In the last few years, vast amounts of topical source material – such as books, governmental reports, parliamentary minutes, and newspapers – have become digitalised and text-searchable. This new digital infrastructure has shifted the outer bounds of what is possible by enabling us to use new methods for distant reading, such as text mining and topic modelling.[1] In practice, however, most historians do not employ these new techniques. Yet, digitalisation has profound – if seldom acknowledged – effects on traditional research as well. For example, the traditional practice of collecting source material from microfilmed newspapers no longer requires weeks in the library but a day or so in front of a computer screen. This is a poignant example of what Lara Putnam has referred to as "shifting the center of the easy",[2] a phenomenon I believe most active historians have experienced first-hand over the last years. Yet, to date, few of us have turned our experiences into writing.[3] Hence, in this chapter I seek to substantiate, and methodologically reflect upon, the practical implications of working with digitised source materials. I do so by discussing and demonstrating how the recent digitalisation of newspapers has made journalists more visible as knowledge actors. This is a way of answering calls for historians of knowledge to broaden the repertoire of actors involved in societal circulation processes.[4]

Journalists, to be sure, are by no means invisible in Scandinavian historiography of the postwar era. On the contrary, their texts enjoy a somewhat privileged position, as most historical accounts of the period partially draw upon newspaper material. Yet, compared to other public figures of the era – such as politicians, intellectuals, scholars, and scientists – journalists are rarely studied as historical actors in their own right. They are indirectly present in our studies through their texts, but their activities hardly ever receive closer analytical attention. Hence, I would argue that journalists are but semi-visible. To redress this situation, we need to start following them closely in their tracks, which is now practically possible. A few years ago, it was not. The advent of text-searchable digital newspaper archives, such as the Norwegian *bokhylla.no* and the Swedish newspaper database *tidningar.kb.se*, serves a necessary prerequisite for this kind of research.

In this chapter, I demonstrate and discuss this new visibility by highlighting the trajectories of two Swedish journalists: Barbro Soller (1928–2020) and Tom Selander (1923–1978). They are studied in relation to the so-called "ecological turn" – that is, the emergence of modern environmentalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[5] Neither Barbro Soller nor Tom Selander is unfamiliar to environmental historians; however, their turn to environmental journalism in the 1960s has not been studied in depth.[6] One reason for this is that such a venture, until recently, would have been a very time-consuming prospect – as none of them have a personal archive. Hence, their prospective historian would have had to trawl through years of microfilmed newspapers in order to assemble a sufficient body of source material.

This situation contrasts sharply with more visible actors of the ecological turn, such as diplomat Rolf Edberg (1912–1997) and scientist Hans Palmstierna (1926–1975). Their personal archives, including a vast array of correspondence, are veritable treasure troves for historians. Moreover, both Edberg and Palmstierna used subscription services to receive clippings whenever their names were mentioned in the press. This was a widespread practice up until the 1990s among certain groups of elite actors in Sweden. Through press clippings and correspondence, it is possible to follow them very closely. Hence, the visible elite provides historians with both ample and conveniently accessible source material to draw upon. Consequently, their visibility tends to become even further pronounced by posterity.[7]

The recent digitalisation of newspapers does not in itself change this situation. Archival conditions can but shape, not determine, how historians conduct their research. Moreover, the actual implications of digitalised newspapers on historical research are quite hard to determine based on our publications, as we rarely discuss this "invisible method".[8] For example, we commonly do not distinguish between how we have accessed newspaper material; that is, whether we have used originals, microfilmed copies, clipping archives, or digital archives. Yet, the various forms we use most certainly have consequences for the text corpuses we find and the way in which we process them.[9] In the case of digitalised newspapers, the most significant feature is that they are text-searchable. Hence, as Lara Putnam emphasises, words and concepts become more available than ever before.[10] Consequently, historians are able to get a quick overview of when certain terms came into use or fell out of fashion. This has fuelled a trend towards conceptual history that has been accentuated in, and by, the data-driven field of digital history.[11] Yet, digitalised newspaper archives contain much more than searchable terms – there are plenty of actors to search for as well, such as the journalists involved in the making of the ecological turn.

Visible journalists and the moulding of archives

The cases of Barbro Soller and Tom Selander represent a good starting point for discussing the new visibility of journalists, as well as the more general question of the systematic biases of text-searchable archives. These two journalists

are among the most visible in the digitalised Swedish newspaper archives of the 1960s. The reason for this is twofold. First, the newspapers they wrote for – *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* – have survived up until today and have financed the digitalisation of their own archives. Other large and influential Swedish newspapers of the 1960s have not survived, such as *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Arbetet*. This is important, as *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* have made their archives available to their subscribers. Hence, for a fee, they are accessible to anyone anywhere, in contrast to the national database *tidningar.kb.se*, which is only available at the National Library in Stockholm and from certain computers in university libraries. Second, both Barbro Soller and Tom Selander are rather unusual names. For that reason, when you enter their name into the search engine, you do not get a flood of irrelevant results. Historical actors with common names, say "David Larsson" or "Anna Nilsson", do not fare as well. In fact, Barbro Soller and Tom Selander are actually easier to trace than Hans Palmstierna. This is because the latter had a younger sister – Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss (b. 1928) – who was a vocal activist against the Vietnam War in the 1960s and thus occurred more frequently in the press than her older brother. In addition, the name "Hans" is a common Swedish pronoun, equivalent to "his", which further blurs the search results. To be sure, Hans Palmstierna is still possible to follow – after all, he is no David Larsson or Anna Nilsson – but his case illustrates that the historical context determines what is text-searchable. Moreover, it shows that simplistic quantitative measures are to be used very cautiously, if at all, when we follow historical actors.

The case of Barbro Soller further accentuates the necessity of contextual knowledge. When searching for her name in the digital archive of *Dagens Nyheter*, there are some scattered hits in 1964 and 1965, just over a dozen in 1966, and a lot more from 1967 onwards. Taken at face value, this result is quite surprising, as the scholarly literature unanimously declares that Barbro Soller started working for *Dagens Nyheter* in 1964, which she also did.[12] However, as stated in one of the search results from 1964, during her first years at the newspaper, she mainly wrote under the signature "Barbara". Luckily, the name Barbara was rather uncommon in Sweden at the time, yet the search result for the three-year period 1964–1966 gives more than 1,000 hits, most of which are irrelevant. Hence, as in the case of Hans Palmstierna, the mapping of Barbro Soller's activities requires quite some groundwork. However, it is crucial that some quick searches in the digital archive can convince a researcher that this groundwork is a worthwhile pursuit. Compared to the trawling of microfilm – which would have to be rather meticulous in order to find all articles written by the signatures Barbara and Barbro Soller – the digitalised newspaper archives are very practical.

However, the new digital infrastructure does not render older systems obsolete. On the contrary, they can make them even more useful. In my work on Tom Selander, I accessed all the material from the digital archive of *Svenska Dagbladet*. I did not physically leave my office. Yet, the prerequisite for this was old index cards that were scanned and sent to me by mail by the current

editor. Through these index cards, I knew exactly which dates Tom Selander wrote essays in the section "Under strecket", in total 73 times, between 1947 and 1977. Simply searching for "Tom Selander" over these years results in 2,195 hits. Hence, the index cards of *Svenska Dagbladet* were instrumental for making my research feasible.

On a more general level, the practice of indexing Swedish press material was rather thorough in the 1960s. One key resource for historians is *Svenska tidningsartiklar*, which indexes a large number of articles by topic and name. For example, this index makes finding reviews of books a fairly simple procedure, at least for scholars with access to a university library with microfilmed newspapers. An even more powerful resource is the press clipping archive at the Sigtuna Foundation. This is one of Sweden's largest collections of press clippings from the twentieth century, and it is conveniently structured in boxes sorted by topic and by name. Moreover, two times a year, scholars may apply for scholarships to stay for a week with room and board at the Sigtuna Foundation to work in the archive. This generous infrastructure has formed the basis for many dissertation projects. However, as Johan Jarlbrink has pointed out, the Sigtuna clipping archive is by no means a neutral conveyor of the past.[13] There are systematic biases and blind spots that researchers are well advised to keep in mind. For example, serious essays by intellectuals on the cultural pages of newspapers are prevalent, whereas more mundane forms of journalism are not. This is mirrored in the indexes of *Svenska tidningsartiklar*. However, systematic biases are by no means unique to index services. All archives – not least fully text-searchable digitalised newspapers – shape historical research in specific ways, primarily, I would argue, by making certain practices easy and efficient.

In my own research on the ecological turn, I have worked with all the previously mentioned archival forms. To me, this has clarified that what is visible for historians depends a great deal on the archives we work with. In 2014, when I started, there were no digital newspaper archives and I had limited knowledge of the relevant personal archives. Hence, I conducted my first studies by trawling microfilm over periods where I could reasonably expect to find something of interest. This was a tedious method. However, I also learnt a great deal about how much text newspapers of the time actually contained. To me, this was a sobering experience. Later on, when I began working with material from the Sigtuna Foundation and digital newspaper archives, I kept in mind that – after all – this was but a tiny fraction of what newspapers were about. My experiences of searching for needles in a haystack is important, since in the wake of digitalisation, it has become easy to find needles without ever experiencing the haystack. Lara Putnam describes this as the rise of decontextualised reading.[14] For us as historians, there are many risks involved in these developments, and we need to discuss these more seriously. However, this should not stop us from pursuing some of the new lines of research enabled by the digitalisation of source material. In the following, I demonstrate one such possibility by highlighting the role of journalists as knowledge actors in the ecological turn in Sweden.

Barbro Soller's early years at *Dagens Nyheter*, 1964–1966

Barbro Soller is widely recognised as the first full-time employed environmental journalist in Sweden. This was established by Monika Djerf Pierre in her 1996 dissertation *Gröna Nyheter*, which has served as a key reference for environmental historians and media scholars alike ever since. The topic of her dissertation, however, is not the Swedish press but environmental journalism in television news, from the early 1960s up to the 1990s. Barbro Soller plays a special role in this audio-visual history as well, as she in 1972 became the first formally employed environmental journalist on Swedish television. In this role, she pioneered a new form of critical investigative journalism.[15] Yet, Djerf Pierre's rich account touches upon much more than television news. Based on an interview with Barbro Soller conducted in the early 1990s, she establishes that Soller became the first full-time employed environmental journalist at *Dagens Nyheter* in 1964.[16] Djerf Pierre did not have any reasons not to trust Soller on this account; however, memories are fragile and three decades is a long time. What happens if we go to the digital newspaper archive and search for Barbara in 1964?

The search results in 317 hits, many of which are irrelevant, as there were quite a few international luminaries named Barbara at the time. However, we also find many articles written by Barbro Soller, and we get visual and textual evidence that she was part of the "DN team" of 182 journalists.[17] To the readership, Soller is presented as a general reporter, which, indeed, she seems to have been. In 1964, she wrote about classical music, art exhibitions, celebrities visiting Stockholm, wildlife, and a multitude of other topics. She reported about the boxer Floyd Patterson, Charlie Chaplin's visit to the Vasa Museum, as well as the ambition of a local choir to travel to America.[18] Hence, it is a stretch to say that she was a full-time employed environmental journalist in 1964.

However, there are merits to Barbro Soller's memories. In the spring of 1964, she indeed wrote a number of featured articles on mercury-poisoned eggshells. These instalments ran in February and March 1964 and made the frontpage of *Dagens Nyheter* (which few of her other articles did at the time). In these pieces, she reported on new research findings and conducted interviews with leading scientists.[19] Moreover, she also wrote about the activities of young field biologists, biological school excursions, and a national conference on the problem of noise.[20] In sum, in 1964 Barbro Soller was a general reporter at *Dagens Nyheter*, who took a special interest in environmental problems, wildlife, and biology. However, she seems to have been just as interested in classical music and wrote regularly on visiting celebrities.

This particular phase of Barbro Soller's career stretches from 1964 to 1966. Up until then, her topical focus varied and included articles on youth gospel choirs, the working day of a professor, and lifeguards in Swedish seaside resorts.[21] One distinctive feature of her journalism was longer essays on animals. These kind of texts were frequently complemented with rich colour photographs and published in Sunday supplements. I would describe them as

a form of apolitical nature journalism.[22] In October 1967, Soller even got her own Q&A section in the newspaper named "Ask about animals" ("Fråga om djuren").[23]

However, Barbro Soller's position in *Dagens Nyheter* grew stronger and in the spring of 1966, she did her first high-profile feature series, the topic being the looming hunger crisis in India. *Dagens Nyheter* advertised the series in advance, and all three instalments dominated the frontpage of their respective issue.[24] The series was a collaboration between Soller and photographer Stig A. Nilsson (1930–2003), who travelled together with her in India for a month. Interestingly, the publication coincides with a change of signature – from Barbara to Barbro Soller-Svensson. Still, this shift was gradual, and throughout the mid-1960s, she altered between her three different signatures.

Barbro Soller's journalistic role in the India series was that of the engaged reporter. Here, she was part of a larger trend, towards a form of journalism that was more personal and activist in nature. Media scholars describe this in terms of a change in journalistic ideals during the 1960s, from objective reflection to critical investigation.[25] This shift was intertwined with a larger process of professionalisation for journalists in Scandinavia, marked by a weakening of the ties between the press and the political parties.[26] An integral part of this development was new formalised journalism programmes, which were launched in Sweden in 1962 and in Norway in 1965.[27] These changes enabled many journalists to take on a more autonomous role. For Barbro Soller, this coincided with the ecological turn.

Barbro Soller and the ecological turn

The fall of 1967 was a formative moment in Swedish environmental history. During this period, the environmental debate took off. An absolutely crucial factor was that a number of well-respected Swedish scientists raised the alarm concerning an ongoing environmental crisis. Public attention was drawn to the notion that proverbial environmental hazards, such as biocides, mercury poisoning, and sulphur emissions, did not constitute isolated problems. Rather, they were part of a complex and interrelated web of environmental degradation, which constituted a serious threat to the survival of man.[28] Leading actors, such as Rolf Edberg and Hans Palmstierna, linked various environmental issues to other global concerns, notably the looming threat of overpopulation, which Soller had discussed in her India series the year before.[29]

Barbro Soller's own transition from being a general reporter to becoming an environmental journalist seems to have taken place during the fall of 1966. By early 1967, she wrote exclusively about environmental issues and the natural world. Her primary signature was still Barbara, but her role had changed. In the yearly presentation of the "DN team", she was introduced as one of the foreign correspondents.[30] However, judging by what she actually wrote, I would say that she had now indeed become Sweden's first full-time employed environmental journalist. As such, she was instrumental for the societal circulation

of environmental knowledge. She served as a link between the public at large and the concerned scientists, who in the mid-1960s rarely directly entered the public fray.[31] During the first half of 1967, Barbro Soller wrote extensively about mercury in fish, warned of the poisoning of Lake Mälaren, discussed the implications of delayed political investigations of oil damage, and interviewed Rolf Edberg.[32] In addition, she continued to write apolitical nature journalism about wildlife and new ethological research findings.[33]

Barbro Soller's journalistic activity intensified in the fall of 1967, and it was during these eventful months that she finally adopted "Barbro Soller" as her main signature. An important topic at the time was the discovery of dangerous levels of mercury in Swedish freshwater fish, which resulted in a ban on selling fish caught in about 40 Swedish lakes.[34] In addition, Svante Oden's alarm of acid rain demonstrated the international dimensions of environmental pollution.[35] For Soller, the heated debate resulted in more contacts with scientists, politicians, and governmental agencies.[36] However, she did not engage in investigative environmental journalism in 1967, but that was about to change.

Barbro Soller's "New Filth-Sweden"

Barbro Soller's public breakthrough as an environmental journalist was the ambitious series of articles titled, "Lort-Sverige 30 år senare" ("Filth-Sweden 30 Years Later") in 1968. It ran in *Dagens Nyheter* from March to June and covered a number of environmental issues. The title of the series paraphrased Ludvig Nordström's (1882–1942) well-known social report book *Lort-Sverige* (1938), which had exposed the harsh and filthy living conditions of the poor in the 1930s.[37] Nordström's book had a profound impact on the formation of social democratic policy and the expansion of the modern welfare state. Soller's main argument was that the sanitary problems had not disappeared; they had just been relocated. Swedish homes were cleaner in 1968 than in 1938 – but as a result, Swedish nature had become polluted. For the air, soil, water, and wild animals, the consequences of rising affluence were dire.

The feature series was yet another collaboration between Barbro Soller and photographer Stig A. Nilsson. They travelled through Sweden together in the spring of 1968, just as they had travelled through India two years earlier. Soller's texts and Nilsson's pictures exposed polluting activities and environmental decay. All seven instalments were frontpage material, at times with colour photographs. Every piece began by Soller alluding to Ludvig Nordström, thereafter linking his description of Sweden in the 1930s to subsequent developments. In the series, Soller had a special focus on the environmental consequences of modern conveniences, such as cars, water closets, washing machines, and dishwashers. For example, she portrayed a modern "villa family" in Värmland and got the State Institute for Building Research to measure the environmental impact of their affluent lifestyle. On the frontpage, the young couple stood in front of their new house, holding their two kids. The caption read "Modern machines make life comfortable. But at what cost?"[38]

"Lort-Sverige 30 år senare" also included reports on agriculture and industry. Soller contrasted the problems of lice and flies in the 1930s with the widespread use of pesticides in the 1960s. In 1968, the environmental debate on biocides was well-established, but Soller wanted to report on how the farmers themselves experienced this new situation. The frontpage displayed a colour photograph of a man in protective clothing and a mask standing in front of a cart full of chemicals. In the text, Soller told the story of how this man – the director of a machine station – was responsible for the weed control of about 6,000 hectares. It demonstrated that agriculture had become an industry-scale phenomenon with major environmental consequences.[39]

The last instalment of the series focused on the paper and pulp industry in the city of Sundsvall. Soller examined the activities of Svensk Cellulosa (SCA), one of Sweden's largest corporations at the time. She told the story of how Ludvig Nordström was impressed by the factory smokestacks when he arrived in Sundsvall. To him, it was a symbol of industrial progress. To Soller, it was a massively polluting industry. She discussed how SCA used the ocean as a dumpster, not taking into consideration the long-term consequences of the disposal of chemicals.[40] The following day, the entire series was lauded in the editorial section of *Dagens Nyheter*. The piece emphasised the need for a discussion on how the costs for environmental restoration and preventive measures should be distributed in society. There was an emerging environmental consciousness in Sweden, but it had to be followed by a new willingness to take economic responsibility. Politicians, large corporations, agricultural sectors, scientists, and the people had to work together to redress the situation.[41]

In 1968, Barbro Soller's article series reached the large number of readers of *Dagens Nyheter*. In 1969, it reached a new audience, as Rabén & Sjögren (the same publishing house that Hans Palmstierna worked with) published the series in a revised form as the paperback *Nya Lort-Sverige* ("New Filth-Sweden"). The book was richly illustrated by Stig A. Nilsson's black-and-white photographs, which served as visual evidence of Soller's arguments. The cover featured a spring scenery from a forest, where coltsfoot rose through litter. Inside, Soller started off by portraying Stockholm as a city for cars, unfit for pedestrians. Particularly illustrious was a photograph of a man holding up a white filter that had turned black in an hour of morning traffic.[42]

Nya Lort-Sverige received positive reviews and was printed in a second edition in 1970. However, compared to the major environmental bestsellers of the era, such as Hans Palmstierna's *Plundring, Svält, Förgiftning* (1967) and Gösta Ehrensvärd's *Före–Efter* (1971), Soller's book was not a huge commercial success. However, the article series established her as an environmental journalist with an independent critical agenda. In the spring of 1969, she and photographer Stig A. Nilsson produced a new ambitious feature series for *Dagens Nyheter*, where they sought to uncover the inner workings of the Swedish meat industry. The series "Djurfabriken" ("The Animal Factory") ran from March to June but was not promoted as heavily as "Nya Lort-Sverige". For example, only the first instalment appeared on the frontpage. This feature series marked

the end of Barbro Soller's years at *Dagens Nyheter*. However, it was but the beginning of her long career as an environmental journalist.[43] In the following, I examine another journalist who changed course in the 1960s.

Tom Selander and the future of humanity

Unlike Barbro Soller, Tom Selander is no longer a household name for environmental historians. However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he was instrumental in the Swedish public debate on the future of humanity. In my own research on the ecological turn, he is frequently present through reviews, essays, and article series. However, I had not been able to find much information about him through online searches or biographical lexica. Yet, when asked in 2018 to contribute to the centennial jubilee of the daily essay section in *Svenska Dagbladet*, "Under strecket", I decided to use this opportunity – and the newly digitalised newspaper archive – to follow Tom Selander. The index cards provided by the editor guided my gathering of source material. This combination of old and new search engines made it possible to find, and read, 73 essays written by Tom Selander from 1947 to 1977. It was a practical method for following a journalist's intellectual development over three decades.[44]

What I knew of Tom Selander, apart from his interest in future studies around 1970, was that he was the son of poet, author, and botanist Sten Selander (1891–1957). The father was a well-known and versatile public intellectual, who was on the Swedish Academy and was the president of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation. Environmental historians have portrayed him as a precursor to modern environmentalism in Sweden.[45] In the 1940s and 1950s, Sten Selander regularly wrote for *Svenska Dagbladet*, not least "Under strecket". Hence, between 1947 and 1957, the readership met two generations of Selander. Sten wrote about literature and nature, while Tom explored the political landscape of continental Europe.[46] Tom took a special interest in youth, school issues, and the world awaiting his own generation.[47] In 1954, Tom got a permanent position at *Svenska Dagbladet* as a foreign correspondent in Bonn. Throughout the 1950s, he reported about current European events, often in the form of travelogues.

However, in the early 1960s, Tom's essays took a new direction. It began with an enthusiastic review of a local historical account of the island of Möja in the Stockholm archipelago. The book portrayed the coming of modernity at the turn of the century, and Tom reflected upon the vast cultural rift separating him and his contemporaries from the world that had vanished so recently.[48] In the wake of this essay, Selander started writing about sailing, especially adventurous sailing. He wrote vividly about Joshua Slocum (1844–1909), the first man to sail around the world by himself.[49] Tom Selander's essays from the early and mid-1960s contain a mild form of civilisation criticism, which resembled his father's stance in *Det levande landskapet i Sverige* (1955). During these years, Tom turned his back on the political world, which had captivated him in the past.

In 1967, however, Tom's journalism took yet another turn. The reason being that he travelled to India, just as Barbro Soller had done in 1966. In a four-series instalment, he reported on extreme poverty, overpopulation, and the massive political challenges ahead.[50] Thereafter, Tom Selander no longer wrote about sailing. He took an intense interest in global concerns and the future of humanity. Initially, his essays centred on foreign aid and the need for economic development; however, his newfound interest led him to engage in the emerging field of future studies.[51] He interviewed 24 Swedish so-called "future experts", including Hans Palmstierna, and published his findings in the article series "Sverige år 2000" ("Sweden in the Year 2000"), which ran from December 1968 to March 1969. Two months later, Rabén & Sjögren published the series as a paperback.[52]

Tom Selander's interest in future studies characterised his essays in the 1970s. He was an avid reader and introduced a wealth of international literature and debates to a Swedish audience.[53] He travelled as a reporter to the United States to witness first-hand how future research was carried out. In the spring of 1972, he produced a new ambitious interview series "Överleva, men hur?" ("Survive, but How?"), which intervened in the heated Swedish debate on Gösta Ehrensvärd's *Före–Efter: En diagnos* (1971).[54] Until his death in 1978, Tom Selander served as a link between international scientists, global developments, and the readers of *Svenska Dagbladet*.

The daily essay section "Under strecket" has been characterised by Johan Östling as a special form of "knowledge arena". In the 1960s and 1970s, it linked certain intellectuals, scholars, and scientists to a wider readership.[55] *Svenska Dagbladet* was a conservative newspaper that differed from the liberal *Dagens Nyheter*, which undertook a distinct turn to the left over the course of the 1960s.[56] Hence, for young people in the 1960s and 1970s getting engaged in new social movements – such as the environmental movement – Tom Selander was not a household name. He was not visible to them, even though he wrote extensively on the Club of Rome, Barry Commoner (1917–2012), and the attempts to replace GDP with QOF (Quality of Life).[57] However, in the digitalised newspaper archives of the 2010s, his role in the ecological turn is more visible than ever.

The digitised turn

The impetus for this chapter has been Lara Putnam's seminal article "The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows they cast", which was published in *American Historical Review* in 2016. Putnam argues that digitalisation has caused a discipline-wide transformation, as historical scholarship at heart is about "finding and finding out".[58] Google, Google Books, JSTOR, and various forms of library databases – such as Libris in Sweden – now profoundly shape these activities. In a discipline-wide perspective, the development of new digital methods is rather marginal. "Shifting the outer bonds of the possible", Putnam claims, "matters less than shifting the center of

the easy." Hence, the perhaps most important change for the historical profession in the twenty-first century is that OCR technology has made full text-searchability the norm.[59]

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that certain journalists are now easy to follow. We can map their careers and writings, without ever leaving our offices. Hence, the digitalisation of topical source materials frees us from certain spatial constraints. While practical and efficient, there are many risks involved. Putnam warns of decontextualised reading, especially in relation to source material from historical contexts about which we know very little. Previously, such material was only accessible by travelling to distant libraries and archives. During these travels, historians have been prone to interact with others – scholars, librarians, and archivists – who knew a great deal more than the historian about the specific context. Today, search engines generally circumvent these actors, to the detriment of historical scholarship.[60]

Moreover, Putnam points out that digitalisation and the transnational turn are parallel processes. She argues that this is not a mere coincidence. Rather, she stresses that the ideal of transnational history gained strength in tandem with the digital infrastructure, which made it easier to conduct transnational history. Putnam highlights "side-glancing": that is, a quick search to determine what is going on in your topical area in another scholarly community.[61] Traditionally, the strongest communities have been organised nationally, and in my experience, they still are – even though the critics of this paradigm are vocal, not least in Scandinavia.[62]

Still, there are certain strengths in the traditional organisation of historical scholarship. One is that there is a large amount of shared contextual knowledge: of past events and processes, of historical actors and networks, of source materials, and of archives and archival practices. This type of knowledge is not, at least in my experience, typically present in international research networks. Hence, for empirically oriented historians, the national paradigm – with all its problems and pitfalls – is still very valuable in practice.

However, these types of scholarly communities are not a given. They can evolve, prosper, decay, and transform. The new digital infrastructure opens up many new possibilities for us to conduct empirical transnational research. This should be embraced. However, if the digital infrastructure is not intertwined with a social infrastructure – where historians from various communities and contexts discuss, help, criticise, and collaborate with each other – decontextualised readings are prone to prosper. This will not do our profession any good.

Moreover, the new digital infrastructures are not quite as accessible as historians would like them to be. For example, the Norwegian *bokhylla.no* – a terrific service – is not available to me in Lund. I need to be at a Norwegian library. Today, such national constraints are the norm; still, free international access would hardly spur a surge among Swedish historians to study the Norwegian past. Most of us do not have the contextual knowledge necessary nor do we have colleagues in the corridor to ask for directions. Hence, one could argue

that the centre of the easy is still the university library, the research seminar, the teachers who educate us, and the local contexts we inhabit.

Notes

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4 "Revolt from the center"

Socio-environmental protest from idea to praxis in Denmark, 1978–1993

Bo Fritzbøger

On 7 February 1978, the 500th-year birthday of Thomas Moore, the author of *Utopia*, a book was published in Copenhagen that for a time had a significant impact on the Danish public debate on environment and society.[1] This book was written by a triumvirate of influential public figures who had met regularly since 1969 in the framework of the Society for Social Debate[2]: social liberal politician and former minister Kristen Helveg Petersen (1909–1997), novelist-philosopher Villy Sørensen (1929–2001), and professor in semiconductor physics Niels I. Meyer (b. 1930). The social-political debate of the 1970s was characterised by, on the one hand, left-wing skirmishes concerning the proper interpretation of Marx and, on the other hand, a strong conservative reaction to the breakdown of conventional virtues and the growth of the welfare state and its public sector. However, since the beginning of the decade, environmental concerns had gained significant traction in public debates. Furthermore, the economic crisis brought about by the oil embargo in 1973 in general appeared to widen the scope of political discussions. Hence, the time was ripe for highly imaginative ideas about the future, launched from a new perspective. Consequently, Petersen, Sørensen, and Meyer titled their book *Revolt From the Center* (RFC).[3] The title proved apt insofar that the ideas presented in the book were quite revolting to many readers, while they inspired others to action.

RFC immediately gained enormous public attention. The sole television channel of the monopolistic Danish Broadcasting Corporation spent about three whole hours introducing it to the public.[4] By the end of the year, the managing director of the publisher Gyldendal noted in his diary that the book was "an unparalleled success. Until now sold more than 100,000 copies (and we even got funding for the first edition)".[5] The aim of this chapter is to scrutinise the principal ideas of this book, their origins, and further circulation, as well as the subsequent (failed) attempt to translate them into social movements and actions.

The book is both highly complex, as it not only produces a coherent model for a possible future society and presents potential means to that end but also outlines fairly comprehensive assumptions regarding human nature and society. *Revolt From the Center* proceeds from a number of almost Hegelian "fatal contradictions" supposedly characterising modernity[6]: economic growth induces

shortages; global development results in an increase in levels of conflict and interdependence, while military spending goes up; rich nations have a moral responsibility to promote change, but there appears to be an inverted correlation between impending disasters and the incentive to act; being aware of problems does not automatically lead to action; all major problems in the world can only be solved at an international level, but there are no effective international institutions capable of addressing these problems; and the more urgent problems become, the more dictatorial solutions appear to be.

The description of these contradictions is followed by a detailed model of an ideal "humane, ecologically sustainable society". It includes elements such as basic income; small-scale cooperative enterprises; reduced right of inheritance; an equal hourly wage for all functions; use of solar energy; strengthened local governments; termination of strong boundaries between work, education, and leisure; upbringing of children in extended families; local administration of justice; and the introduction of a second parliamentary chamber of experts meant to guide politicians. Finally, the book suggests reforms necessary for building the ideal society, based on the assumption that "people can often accept changes when they are introduced sufficiently slowly. Most people, on the other hand, will oppose a rapid encroachment on their well-earned rights" (p. 153).

Ideas about the past, present, and future

The key concept "idea" is defined by Arthur Lovejoy as "implicit or incompletely explicit assumptions, or more or less unconscious mental habits, operating in the thoughts of an individual or a generation".[7] In some respects, "knowledge" may be considered a specific sub-category of ideas; however, the social sciences operate with conspicuously vague definitions in this respect. For instance, Eyerman and Jamison define knowledge as "the broader cognitive praxis that informs all social activity. It is thus both formal and informal, objective and subjective, moral and immoral, and, most importantly, professional and popular", and they even juxtapose it with "thought and ideas".[8]

The evident confluence of knowledge with other kinds of ideas was aptly articulated by Villy Sørensen, one of the authors, when he wrote: "At one time people were prepared to believe in something they did not know for a fact. Nowadays it appears that we are not prepared to believe in what we know all too well."[9] Accordingly, there is a good reason why proponents of history of knowledge have been reluctant to clearly define knowledge.[10] In the following sections, knowledge is defined in accordance with the so-called Strong Programme originating in the sociology of knowledge[11]: knowledge is simply whatever someone in words or deeds *claims* to be knowledge. So, the very claim is the focal point of the analysis.

Central to the ideational foundation of RFC is a dialectical understanding of the relationship nature/environment vs. culture/society serving to discern the "natural" from the anthropogenic (p. 80).[12] Accordingly, the problems of modernity allegedly arise from an "artificial encroachment" of nature's ecological

system, and "going back to nature" refers to "stone-age tribal society" (p. 29, 112). Nature – in the sense of a landscape – is allegedly something modern humans yearn for, while they experience a negative effect on their quality of life caused by industrial humdrum in an artificial urban environment (p. 30), a place where "practical considerations eventually set aside human regards".[13]

Furthermore, the targeted political efforts of the postwar period to create sustained economic growth are contrasted with a future "society in balance with its natural environment", which, accordingly, constitutes the basic principle that a new societal order must absorb (p. 28).[14] In several places, the text is heavily informed by these types of romanticising ideas regarding the historicity of "the natural" (i.e., nature as a category basically belonging to the past).[15] This idea is especially prominent when the authors (without further argument) describe how "agriculture is Denmark's natural business".[16]

Similar ideas underlie another prominent dialectic, namely the one between "the external nature" and "inner human nature". In a chapter arguing for profound societal change, the authors claim the following:

> In the last decade the ecology shock has shown us that people cannot exploit the physical resources of nature for any purpose they choose without paying the penalty. We must also recognize that people cannot be exploited and conditioned for any purpose at all without injury to both body and soul.
>
> (p. 75f.)

"Only when human nature is accorded its proper significance can a society in balance with external nature be created" (p. 115). Consequently, the model of a possible future society described in detail in the following chapters is presented as an answer to this double "ecology shock". The key theme here is a critique of consumption and growth in urban/industrial production, which is said to result in "danger of destroying the natural world and creating imminent shortages of essential resources" (p. 14).

RFC first presents a collection of claimed knowledge concerning the present environmental and the mental predicaments of modern society. The key argument here concerns the alleged absolute limit to societal activity encompassed in the Second Law of Thermodynamics,[17] the understanding that all potential energy will eventually be turned into heat. Second, the book produces a multi-faceted imaginary of a possible future in which these problems will be solved. This narrative is constructed through a range of social and rhetorical means, drawn from the vastly different parts of public life represented by the three authors.[18]

Being raised politically within the tradition of the Danish folk high schools, the former minister of education and MP Kristen Helveg Petersen represented a long tradition of deliberative democracy based on general education and civic participation. Villy Sørensen was an intellectual writer attempting to gain a foothold between modernism and tradition.[19] A professor in semiconductor

physics at the age of 31, Niels I. Meyer had become an accomplished scientist. Hence, the book clearly embraced both of the otherwise divided "cultures" described by C.P. Snow in 1959.[20] In the words of Ludwik Fleck, the book thus represented a certain convergence of different knowledge communities.[21]

Rhetorically, the book employed a number of dualistic metaphors in its descriptive and prescriptive passages. Harmony vs. discord, boom society vs. bankrupt society, confidence vs. scepticism, control vs. freedom, equality vs. growth, self-interest vs. authoritarianism, etc. Balance and equilibrium, however, appear to be the primary nodal points of the text, as these concepts connote the ultimate good.

In short, RFC links a quite rudimentary description of global environmental challenges to economical and socio-psychological problems in both developed and developing countries. Moreover, it prescribes a small-scale and closely knit Tönniesian rural "Gemeinschaft" as the obvious solution for the future. In the following pages, I trace the upstream (the sources drawn upon by RFC) and downstream circulation (the transforming reception of the book's ideas) of these three intertwined strands of thought: (1) the physical limits of growth, (2) the inhumanity of industrial, urban society, and (3) the natural democratic equilibrium of the village community.

"Upstream" circulation and the sources of ideas

Obviously, the opinions presented in RFC originate from the immediate social context of the three authors. Nevertheless, they also have a great number of coalescing textual sources. This is what I choose to refer to as the "upstream" circulation of ideas: the interdiscursive and intertextual networks reflected in the text. While the bibliography records the more manifest of these, other and more implicit references appear on or "between" the lines. For example, the book relies on an imaginary of rural beatitudes, which have a long and vivid history drawing on strong ancient traditions.[22] The qualities of the city vs. the countryside simply represent one of the most seminal dualities of Western societal thought.[23]

The book bases its diagnosis of the present on the notable knowledge claim that "[e]xpert opinion is unanimous that any form of growth dependent of ever-increasing consumption of energy and raw materials and on progressive pollution of the physical environment cannot continue" (p. 28). This is clearly a hidden reference to the first report by the Club of Rome from 1972, *Limits to Growth*. Based upon systems-theoretical modelling performed by Jay Forrester's group of young analysts at MIT, this report linked RFC to the growing hegemony of systems thinking characterising the scientific and political discourses of the 1970s[24] and which enabled an approach to the world as "a knowable entity – a single interconnected whole".[25] Here, the ethos of "unanimous expert opinion" rhetorically strengthens the knowledge claim. Against this background, it is strange that, for instance, neither *Limits to Growth* nor E.J. Mishan's *The Cost of Economic Growth* appears in the bibliography.[26]

The lack of direct references, however, may result from the fact that the contact was social rather than textual. Meyer had met Forrester in 1969 when the latter gave a guest lecture in Denmark.[27] Three years later, Meyer was further acquainted with Donatella and Dennis Meadows from Forrester's group, and in January 1973, Meadows gave a lecture in Copenhagen, after which a private Nachspiel took place in the home of Helveg Petersen.[28] Meanwhile, Meyer was included in the Club of Rome at the recommendation of Thorkil Kristensen, the former director of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).[29] So, through social and academic relations, RFC was firmly established in the international environmental and developmental community. This establishment was reflected in the book's presentations of knowledge and imaginaries.

RFC makes a reference to the special issue, "Blueprint for Survival", of the new scientific journal *The Ecologist* published in January 1972 in relation to the upcoming UN summit in Stockholm.[30] Similar to the "Blueprint for Survival", RFC spoke of the relationship between environmental degradation and social disruption caused by modern society. "Pathological manifestations as crime, delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental diseases, suicide" indicated an escalating social disintegration and resulted from industrial production and urbanisation.[31] So, "Blueprint for Survival" clearly contributed to the claim that "[d]espite all differences of scientific opinion and conflicts of ideology, we do have enough knowledge to establish that there is a disparity between the needs of human beings and the needs of industrial society" (p. 114).

Other sources of inspiration in RFC came from, for example, the ecosophical philosophy of Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss; German-American philosopher, sociologist, and political theorist Herbert Marcuse's diagnosis of the estranged individuality of modernity; American economist J.K. Galbraith's focus on the consequences of affluence; Norwegian criminologist Nils Christie's reform criminology; and Danish economist Jørgen Dich's critique of the growth of the welfare state. Based on behavioural scientists such as Konrad Lorenz and Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, RFC presents an indisputable biological and essentialist view on human nature. It promotes the development of "natural selves" (p. 79) and results in "a civilization in which there is a harmonious balance between biological needs and social requirements" (p. 109). As such, the basic anthropological suppositions informing the revolutionary ideas of RFC are rooted in a strongly conservative tradition.[32]

A kind of "negative circulation" applies to positions from which RFC dissociates itself. Examples of such intellectual punching balls are the structural Marxist and behaviouristic ideas stating that humans are socially mouldable. Here, the book makes references to Ernest Mandel, a Trotskyist and leading member of the Fourth International, and B.F. Skinner, a Harvard professor in behavioural psychology.

The critique of modern, industrialised Western society is partly based on the 1973 book *Det herrelösa industrisamhället*, written by Swedish economist Karl-Henrik Pettersson.[33] It puts forward that material affluence should not be

equated with human and social well-being, that systems analysis confuses model and reality, and that technological developments must be controlled socially. Moreover, similar to RFC, *Det herrelösa industrisamhället* addresses the need to substitute "exponential growth" with "balance", and it concludes that

> the human demand for a radically de-centralised society freed from long distances to decision-making, freed from complex expert solutions, de-personalisation, and formalism is in opposition to the ever-stronger demands by modern technology for . . . large units, specialist power, common planning, and sophisticated and inhuman management systems.[34]

Apart from international authors such as Galbraith and Marcuse, Pettersson largely based his analyses on a number of early Swedish commentators on environment and society: politician Rolf Edberg (*On the Shred of a Cloud*, 1966), plant physiologist Georg Borgström (*Limits to Our Existence*, 1964), and physicist Hannes Alfven (*Atom, Man, and the Universe*, 1969).[35]

An official report from the Danish Ministry of Culture produced in 1969 when Helveg Petersen served as minister had already addressed some of the main issues in RFC.[36] Meyer then participated in the report-writing group of external experts, and it was his suggestion to subsequently initiate the drawn-out writing process that resulted in RFC.[37] However, this report was not only informed by experts. A commune of young people established in a large villa in northern Copenhagen (later named Mao's Delight) had, without an invitation, presented a written contribution that was included as a supplement to the official report. Its proposals were all rather vague, but they were clearly based on a belief in the self-determination of small-scale communities.[38]

This belief informed the so-called *Langeland Manifesto*, written by some of the same collectivists three years later. It was based on seven basic demands, one of which was "close, human communities". Such communities or settlements should be characterised by a unity of home and workplace, be sufficiently large in order to perform all necessary public functions, produce for self-sufficiency, and not be larger than "actual, personal contact can be established between all members".[39] This account is consistent with the one describing the fictive twenty-first-century municipality X-ville in RFC, but the *Langeland Manifesto* does not appear in the bibliography (p. 122ff.).

This preference for small-scale solutions was explicitly inspired by German statistician and economist E.F. Schumacher's *Small Is Beautiful* (1973). In respect to the specific challenges facing the third-world rural countryside, Schumacher argues that rural small-scale production is a prerequisite for development and adds that if "the disintegration of rural life continues, there is no way out – no matter how much money is being spent".[40] Schumacher's analysis applies to non-industrial, developing countries. What if, however, this line of reasoning was conveyed to a first-world country like Denmark?

During the 1960s and 1970s, Poul Bjerre (Danish architect and former participant in the resistance movement during the German occupation in 1940–1945)

developed his own social philosophy based on the idea that modern industrial and capitalist society has damaged people's inherent sociality.[41] He aspired to direct the contemporary demands for re-establishing the "good community" by advising a growing number of communes, house shares, and other alternative forms of living. In 1973, he conceptualised a plan for turning the Jutland village of Krejbjerg into a co-operative association quite similar to aforementioned X-ville.[42] Since the 1960s, Bjerre had discussed social matters intensely with Villy Sørensen and he rightly spotted his own "fingerprints" in the book.[43] After its publication, he joined the social movement arising from RFC.

"Downstream" circulation and social praxis

Environmental deterioration had been discussed publicly since the 1960s, and the early 1970s was full of imaginative demands for future improvements of society. However, the public debate concerning RFC reached an unprecedented magnitude and intensity. Within a year, more than 2,500 newspaper or magazine articles had referred to or commented on the book.[44] And, within three years, it had been the subject of 54 newspaper editorials.[45] The majority of commentators were extremely critical of the book, but their criticism took several different forms and subjects. Many found the book's unreserved assimilation of the dystopian tenets from the Club of Rome to be problematic.[46] The authors' fundamental assumptions regarding human nature were also strongly questioned.[47] Hence, the publisher was right in his prediction that RFC "is going to please neither revolutionary nor reactionary temperaments".[48] Still, when a volume of critical responses to RFC was published later in 1978, its small private publisher only sold a few copies and suffered a heavy financial loss.[49]

The intense debate materialised into a great number of public meetings. Some of the numerous readers of the book met in the more than 100 study circles created within a year after the publication.[50] In response, Gyldendal issued a study guide that went through the book's main lines of reasoning using a Socratic method, outlining its background, reasons for change, foundations, goal, and means.[51] These study circles, as well as the authors and publisher, created a wish for some kind of larger-scale organisation – a nation-wide social movement – which gradually took form.

In November 1978, a group including the authors of RFC published the first issue of the periodical *På vej* ("On the road"). In its first year, the journal had more than 5,000 subscribers.[52] In 1980, the number had dropped to about 2,000, but the journal existed for 15 years and published 6 issues annually during most of this period. Presumably, this was the most important outreach activity among the diverse gathering of different interest groups and individuals sharing a common cause with the book. During 1981–82, *På vej* was supplemented by an internal newsletter called *MIS-nyt*.[53] Of the 177 individual contributors to the first eight volumes of *På vej*, only 13 wrote in more than two issues (including the 3 originators).[54] So, the debate was really quite decentralised.

Even though it implied no card-carrying membership, the movement – called the Center-Revolt (CR) – was not a grassroots movement in the proper sense of a "local, political organisation with the goal of influencing conditions outside participants' working situation and the most important asset of which is the participants' activity".[55] It was not restricted to a local community, and its objective was never "simple and case-oriented".[56] Rather, its objective was all-encompassing and highly complex, and it functioned as a meeting place for many different causes.

As a social movement, it combined a certain organisational structure with specific ideas, bringing the "members" together. Both meaning and structure are important for understanding the internal dynamics of movements, their external contexts, and the interaction between the two.[57] What constitutes a social movement is the cognitive praxis and the use of knowledge and imaginaries.[58] Accordingly, one could say that CR established a new knowledge community, with RFC serving as its ideational foundation.

From the very beginning, a so-called "support group" of approximately ten people was elected to be responsible for day-to-day operations. Niels I. Meyer was an ex officio member of the group until 1987, and he also wrote the editorials of *På vej*. During the first ten years, 15 women and 18 men were members of the group.[59]

Naturally, the bulk of the movement's activities consisted of social interaction. From 1979, annual joint meetings gathered activists from all over the country, and several folk high schools offered summer courses on the themes covered by the book.[60] Hence, a great deal of internal communication was oral; however, in some cases, external communications to the press also occurred. During a number of summer campaigns in the middle of the 1980s, a small group of activists travelled around Denmark on bicycle or by bus to speak about their ideas. As this means of transportation contributed to attracting considerable attention, it became a vehicle of knowledge circulation.

A joint meeting with about 120 participants in the summer of 1980 agreed upon some fundamental values of the movement.[61] These included active brotherliness, tolerance, respect for nature, and consideration for future generations. Further, the basic outlines of a "humane, ecologically sustainable society" were reiterated: co-responsibility through one's own actions; right to individual self-determination and co-determination in housing, workplace, and society at large; distribution of duties in solidarity; decentralisation; global and local economic equality; economising with natural resources turned into common property; and an active global effort to achieve détente and disarmament. Furthermore, the 1986 meeting addressed the necessary correlation between self-insight and extrovert reform activities.[62] The folk high school course of 1987 was about self-development and social development. Hence, the book's original dialectical relationship between outer environmental and inner mental problems was clearly valued more in the meandering route of activism. From 1985, other grassroots movements were invited to some parts of the annual joint meeting.[63]

In the early days following the publication of RFC, parts of Helveg Petersen's party, Det Radikale Venstre, considered adopting ideas from RFC as a new policy agenda.[64] However, the up-and-coming power in the parliamentary group, Niels Helveg Petersen, Kristen's son, obstructed this scheme. Later, the political affiliations with centre-left groupings became even more evident. For instance, in an editorial in June 1986, Meyer wrote that

> the humane, ecologically sustainable society will not emerge by itself. In particular, it won't come if the silent majority perseveres in indifference and lack of engagement. That will only please the opposing forces. Local experiments with alternative lifestyles are essential and inspiring, but the political dimensions must not be neglected in an active democracy. It does make a difference whether Schlüter and the right wing or Anker Jørgensen and the left wing wins the next parliamentary election.[65]

As a reflection of the wide range of topics addressed by the book and the movement, the interactions with other social movements were extensive. It was to be expected that activists from CR contributed to a general *Handbook for Activists*, published in 1982.[66] In 1988, CR took the initiative to a meeting between representatives from a large number of movements in order to establish various forms of cooperation. Increasingly, CR and its journal had come to function as a platform for such synergies.[67] The following year, cooperation with a state-sponsored secretariat to provide inspiration for local initiatives relating to the UN report *Our Common Future* was initiated.[68]

During the 1980s, the level of activity declined. One activist complained that "it is generally acknowledged that it has become harder to engage people in grass-roots work. On the one side, people commit themselves to therapy and health, and on the other, they lock themselves into privatisation and individualism."[69] So, whereas the domestic political establishment remained largely unaffected by RFC, the evolving UN agenda for environment and development in broad terms coincided with its goals. Niels I. Meyer continued as a member of the Club of Rome and in 1982 joined in the foundation of the Balaton Group, created by Donna and Dennis Meadows.[70]

The Center-Revolt practised many different forms of activism. These included writing and publishing, which resulted in a "downstream" circulation of ideas originating from the ongoing, collective processing of RFC. Social movements are also knowledge producers.[71] So, new knowledge and new imaginaries were produced and disseminated in various texts, covering a wide range of different genres.

"Genres" were originally defined as "relatively stable types of . . . utterances . . . in which language is used". However, this definition has later been both narrowed down and broadened to all kinds of "typified rhetorical action".[72] Hence, genre connotes a stock of words and other discursive forms used for thinking and expressing thoughts within a defined social and thematic field (but in connection with other fields).[73] The field is defined by the knowledge constituted

by the mediating interplay of reality, text, recipient, and the writing self, or, in other words, by the knowledge community.[74]

One genre crucial for the dissemination and discussion of RFC was periodicals such as *På vej*, which represented a sustained interrelationship between members of the movement. Another genre was the same kind of debate book as RFC. In 1980, a so-called Information Center was established in Copenhagen, which eventually turned into a publisher that, among other things, published a series of small anthologies called *Udveje* (Ways out) on subjects such as health, distribution of work, cooperative production, corporate democracy, basic income, and self-development.[75]

Further, the astonishing initial book sales had generated such an unforeseen level of royalties to the authors that they chose to establish a trust aiming to support social experiments.[76] Unsurprisingly, the publisher Gyldendal also had an economic interest in "scaffolding" the movement's continued activities. This interest was pivotal for the dissemination of ideas through the publication of a number of debate books related to RFC. Only a few months after the release of RFC, Gyldendal thus published an elaborate introduction to the debate on the issues raised by the book.[77] In 1979, a book targeted at schoolchildren was also published.[78]

In 1979–1984, Gyldendal published a series of thematic volumes named "Crises and Utopia", edited by Niels I. Meyer, lyricist Inger Christensen, and philosopher Ole Thyssen. These included *Labour/Unemployment* (1979), *Growth* (1979), *Democracy* (1980), *Energy* (1980), *War or Peace?* (1981), and *Green Economy* (1984). By inviting writers to the series, the editors succeeded in involving trade union leaders and politicians from the left and centre as contributors. Subsequently, the books achieved a true broadening of the potential audience beyond the activist movement. Moreover, in 1982, the three authors recapitulated the main issues of the debate during the previous years in the book *Røret om oprøret* [Commotion About the Revolt], drawing on a total of 1,266 texts in one way or another discussing ideas presented in RFC.[79]

Naturally, downstream circulation frequently took place in other debate books. Associations with the basic ideas were found in, for instance, Philip Arctander's 1985 book *Oprør fra flertallet* [Revolt From the Majority], whereas the Venstre politician and later prime minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen sharply dissociated himself from the "doomsday prophecy" as an "efficient tool in the hands of totalitarians" in his 1993 book *Fra socialstat til minimalstat* [From Welfare State to Minimal State].[80] However, the main ideas in RFC were so prevalent at the time that what at first appeared to be an imitation might simply have used other sources. For instance, Norwegian environmentalist Olav Benestad's *Overvekst eller likevekt?* (Over-growth or Balance?), from 1979, closely overlapped RFC in terms of themes and arguments, but there appears to have been no personal nor intertextual links between the two.[81]

The articles and book reviews in the journal most clearly reflect the varying ideational developments taking place in and around CR. Books and reports on all kinds of subjects associated with a sustainable future were mentioned and

commented: international principal works such as American author and film critic Ernest Callenbach's *Ecotopia* (1975), Australian historian Hugh Stretton's *Capitalism, Socialism and Environment* (1976), and British independent writer James Robertson's *The Sane Alternative* (1983). The same held true for a vast amount of domestic literature on natural gas, labour, socialism, activism, governability, technology, pesticides, and even vegetarian recipes. But whereas textual links clearly reflect interaction, they are not necessarily signs of a frictionless reception of ideas. What downstream intertextuality reveals is either association or dissociation. When, for example, Poul Bjerre in *På vej* wrote about the socialist school conglomerate Tvind as the "walled-in revolt", he was clearly dissociating CR from the Leninist orthodoxy of Tvind.[82]

In the strong current of downstream circulation, the issues of "double natural limits" and the alleged naturalness of rural life only played a minor role. Or, rather, it is difficult to establish any direct link between suggestions in the book and actual praxis. As a matter of fact, however, the alternative movements during the period were clearly attracted to values such as authenticity, stolidity, and localism. Besides an increasing number of rural communes, the 1980s was the founding period for Denmark's highly reputable organic agricultural sector.[83]

In the continued production and re-production of ideas, new upstream circulation coalesced with downstream circulation. When, for example, the authors of RFC in 1982 recapitulated and commented on four years of debate, they adopted new international inputs such as *The Global 2000 Report to the President* and reinvigorated and sharpened their own positions in relation to readers and movement.[84] And when the UN Commission on Environment and Development issued the report *Our Common Future* in 1987, it was obviously absorbed by the Center-Revolt.[85] Already one year ahead of its publication, *På vej* printed an article by the chair of the commission, Norwegian prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland.[86]

The textual downstream circulation was not limited to Denmark. In Norway, the 1972 book *The Future in Our Hands*, authored by Norwegian author and environmentalist Erik Dammann, instigated a very similar movement. Its goal was somewhat different from that of RFC, as it focused more on the personal, moral implications of international inequality. However, the Danish authors had been unaware of its existence.[87] Only two months after the publication, however, they were invited to present their book at a public meeting with around 100 participants in Oslo. They experienced that the reception of RFC was far more welcoming than in Denmark, and Meyer surmised that it was precisely because *The Future in Our Hands* (FOH) had paved the way for ideas such as theirs.[88] In the following autumn, a national branch of FOH established itself in Denmark, and the two movements together hosted a press meeting where Dammann presented the Danish translation of his book. Later, Dammann and Danish representatives of FOH naturally contributed to *På vej*.

A broader collaboration with movements from the Nordic countries was formed in 1984, when the umbrella organisation Nordic Alternative Campaign was founded.[89] From 1990, the so-called Nordisk Folkeriksdag (Nordic People's

Parliament) brought together many different types of alternative movements (environment, solidarity, gender, peace).[90] The latter was strongly encouraged by growing resistance towards stronger political and economic integration in the EEC (from 1993 the European Union).[91]

In many respects, the movement appears to have moved towards a gradually more distinct political profile. Numerous contributions in *På vej* renounced the conservative-liberal government of 1982–1993. Through book reviews, the journal endorsed New Left theorists such as André Gorz.[92] Meanwhile, *På vej* was turning even more into a mouthpiece for the resistance against the European Union.[93]

The last issue of *På vej* appeared in 1993. However, a replacement was in place the following summer: the journal *Projekt Den åbne fremtid* [Project Open Future]. The journal was published by CR but presented itself as a broad platform for all kinds of social debate. The topics addressed in the first and only annual volume of the journal were identical to the ones debated in CR (i.e., sustainable development, unemployment, democracy, etc.). At the same time, participants in CR started attending a number of more traditionally organised new movements.

In 1992, Niels I. Meyer became a leading member of the June Movement, a newly founded Danish Eurosceptic political organisation fighting against European centralism. Other members of CR had already joined an attempt to form a green party (launched in 1983).[94] This party was never represented in the national parliament, but it did achieve some local representation in municipal elections during 1985–1993.[95] In contrast to the neighbouring countries Sweden and Germany, Denmark did not have a parliamentary green party until 2014. Presumably, this was mainly due to the swift adoption of the green agenda by centre-left parties, such as the Socialist People's Party (SF).[96] Moreover, it should be noted that SF appears to have overlapped somewhat with CR in terms of voters (and even members). So, it was not by chance that Niels I. Meyer in 2004 called the story of his own public life *From the Right Towards the Left*.[97] The centre appeared to have dissolved.

Let-down

In relation to the celebration of the tenth-year anniversary of the publication of RFC in 1988, the three authors of the book concluded that "for ten years, the movement has contributed to preparing the ground for the reversal that is crucial if Denmark is to solve its problem and become, once again, a good society to live in."[98] Poul Bjerre, who had been an inspiration for the book through his village experiments, considered that

> the humane ecological movement sprouts all over the world. RFC is but an early Danish variant of a world movement that is still very young and undecided, but it grows vigorously and when it comes to theoretical clarifications, Danes are not in a bad position, thanks to RFC.[99]

Only six years later, he resigned that "now . . . I can see its weaknesses".[100]

At the anniversary celebration, the head of physical planning in the city of Copenhagen, Kai Lemberg, gave a critical speech, in which he tried to explain "why it couldn't as a movement keep the power of penetration that the book had had".[101] He answered by pointing out four decisive factors: (1) RFC was intellectual in origin and lacked a broader foundation in basic social interests; (2) as a grassroots movement, RFC lacked a firm organisation; (3) the descriptions of ways and means in RFC did not include persuasion; and (4) the predominant recession since 1973 in public finances and society at large made people value security over freedom. To this analysis, one could add the simple general lesson that "the longer a social movement continues to exist, as it were, 'outside' of the established political culture, the less influence it is likely to have on the development of knowledge."[102]

The Center-Revolt, however, was one of the first Danish social movements to clearly break with the traditional left-right spectrum of political positioning. An attempt to supplement this spectrum with a transverse gradient ranging from "economic growth" to "ecological balance" places CR in the centre of left-right, albeit manifestly closer to "balance" than "growth".[103]

In order for a knowledge community such as CR to turn specific ideas into action, it needs to consider the ideas at hand "usable" in the sense of Haas and Stevens: credible, legitimate, and salient.[104] First, the group must accede to the knowledge claim. Second, this accession must be shared with other knowledge communities through a transforming circulation of ideas in order to achieve legitimacy.[105] Third, the knowledge must be organised on a meaningful scale. One could also argue that the ideational construct of RFC was so complex and far-reaching that it was, in fact, difficult to translate into practical politics.

As a social movement, the Center-Revolt never became the radical societal transformer it initially set out to be. The number of followers steadily decreased. At the first joint meeting in Bønnerup Strand in 1979, there were 140 participants.[106] Two years later, only 40 met in Helsingør, and attendance never again exceeded 60. And whereas the public debate on RFC was extensive and protracted, the publication of its follow-up in 1982 occurred in near silence.[107]

Compared to more topic-specific grassroots movements, CR was based on a broad range of assumptions regarding the present and imaginaries of the future, and its ideational foundation was far from plain. The systemic, all-embracing approach to the combined environmental and societal problems of modern society tended to dissolve the aspirations for joint action into a multitude of different special (albeit interconnected) interests. Undoubtedly, this weakened the movement's potential for greater political impact. Due to this diversity, it appears to have attracted many different kinds of opposition groups with correspondingly different political goals and ideas regarding the suitable means for achieving these. Consequently, the long-term tangible impact of RFC was limited, although the new political party formed in 2014, Alternativet, heavily taps into the imaginaries first presented in 1978.[108]

It was the near all-encompassing approach to the multifarious predicaments of modern life that gave RFC its analytical and inspirational thrust and paved the way to its massive dissemination. And it was exactly the same ideational scope that prevented CR from becoming a powerful and persistent social movement comparable to the Norwegian Future in our Hands or the Swedish Green Party.

Notes

1 Niels I. Meyer, Kristen Helveg Petersen, and Villy Sørensen, *Oprør fra midten* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1978); Flemming Behrendt, *Debatten om Oprøret fra Midten* (Copenhagen: Berlingske Forlag, 1978), 9.
2 Niels I. Meyer, *Fra højre mod venstre: Samtidshistoriske erindringer* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2004), 166.
3 Whereas the original edition in Danish has been the object of analysis, all references (in brackets) originate from the English edition, 1981.
4 Behrendt, *Debatten*, 10.
5 Ole Wivel, *Kontrapunkt* (Copenhagen: Lindhardt og Ringhof, 1989), 14. In 1978, the adult population of Denmark was 3.8 million.
6 One should note that in 1962, Sørensen edited and commented the first Danish edition of Karl Marx's juvenile works: Karl Marx, *Økonomi og filosofi: Ungdomsskrifter*, Udvalg og indledning ved Villy Sørensen (Copenhagen: Gyldendals Uglebøger, 1962).
7 Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1936 (1960)), 7.
8 Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach* (State College: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 3, 49.
9 Niels I. Meyer, Kristen Helveg Petersen, and Villy Sørensen, *Revolt From the Center* (London: Marion Boyars, 1981), 15; *På vej*, 12 January 1990.
10 For instance, Christian Jacob, "Lieux de Savoir: Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge", *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1, no. 1 (2017): 85–102.
11 David Bloor, *Knowledge and Social Imagery* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 5.
12 However, it should be noted that "environment" is sometimes used in the sense that dominated until the 1970s (i.e., as "social environments"); for instance, Meyer, Petersen, and Sørensen, *Revolt*, 79, 115.
13 Sørensen in Marx, *Økonomi og filosofi*, 18.
14 Mathias Schmelzer, *The Hegemony of Growth: The OECD and the Making of the Economic Growth Paradigm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
15 Criticised by Poul A. Jørgensen, ed., *Opsang til midten* (Haarby: Forlaget i Haarby, 1978), 25.
16 Meyer, Petersen, and Sørensen, *Oprør*, 92; the English translation, p. 93, instead says "Agriculture is a highly important industry in many western countries."
17 Bo Fritzbøger, "Global varmeforurening: Historien om en glemt miljørisiko, ca. 1960–1985", *Historisk Tidsskrift* 119, no. 1 (2019): 129–154.
18 This distinction between a social and a textual level is based on Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).
19 Kasper Støvring, *Villy Sørensen og kulturkonservatismen* (Copenhagen: Informations Forlag, 2011).
20 Charles Percy Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).
21 Ludwik Fleck, *Denkstile und Tatsachen: Gesammelte Schriften und Zeugnisse* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2011).

22 Terrence Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
23 Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).
24 Eyerman and Jamison, *Social Movements*, 74; Hunter Heyck, *Age of System: Understanding the Development of Modern Social Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).
25 Paul N. Edwards, *A Vast Machine: Computer Models, Climate Data, and the Politics of Global Warming* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), 1.
26 *På vej*, 10 February 1988, 10.
27 Meyer, *Fra højre*, 141.
28 Ibid., 144.
29 Ibid., 142; Schmelzer, *The Hegemony*, 250.
30 Stephen Macekura, *Of Limits and Growth: The Rise of Global Sustainable Development in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 91.
31 "Blueprint for Survival", *The Ecologist* 2, no. 1 (1972): 31.
32 Støvring, *Villy Sørensen*.
33 English translation, *Reap the Whirlwind*, 1975.
34 Karl-Henrik Pettersson, *Det herreløse industrisamfund* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1973), 120, translated from the Danish edition.
35 On Edberg, see David Larsson Heidenblad, "Ett ekologiskt genombrott? Rolf Edbergs bok och det globala krismedvetandet i Skandinavien 1966", *Historisk Tidsskrift* 95, no. 2 (2016).
36 *En kulturpolitisk redegørelse afgivet af Ministeriet for kulturelle anliggender*, Betænkning nr. 517 (Copenhagen, 1969).
37 Behrendt, *Debatten*, 9.
38 "Svanemøllekollektivets projekt", in *En kulturpolitisk redegørelse afgivet af Ministeriet for kulturelle anliggender*, Betænkning nr. 517 (Copenhagen, 1969), 279.
39 Henning Kløvedal Prins and Ebbe Kløvedal Reich, *Langelandsmanifestet*, 2nd ed. (Prydsgården, 1977), 9.
40 E.F. Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as If People Mattered* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 150.
41 Birthe Bech-Jørgensen, *Mod en Humanistisk Politik: Poul Bjerre–Filosof og Arkitekt* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2004).
42 Poul Bjerre, "Landsbypolitik – samfundspolitik", *Dansk Byplanlaboratoriums Skriftserie* 8 (1974); Poul Bjerre, *Ud af industrikulturen* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1994), 30.
43 Bjerre, *Ud af industrikulturen*, 58.
44 Accessed October 2018, http://labs.statsbiblioteket.dk/smurf.
45 Niels I. Meyer, Kristen Helveg Petersen, and Villy Sørensen, *Røret om oprøret* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1982), 187.
46 Behrendt, *Debatten*, 26.
47 Ibid., 27.
48 Wivel, *Kontrapunkt*, 9.
49 Jørgensen, *Opsang*; Niels Martinov, *Henrik Stangerup – en biografi* (Copenhagen: Cicero, 2003), 254.
50 Behrendt, *Debatten*, 32.
51 Kristen Helveg Petersen and Lone Heyde, *Studievejledning til Oprør fra midten* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1978).
52 Niels I. Meyer, "Ti år med Midteroprøret", *På vej*, 10 January 1988, 3–15.
53 Ibid.
54 *På vej*, 8 August 1986.
55 Peter Gundelach, *Græsrødder er seje: En bog om græsrodsorganisationsformer i Danmark – deltagere, organisationsformer og modstandere* (Copenhagen: Politica, 1980), 25.

56 Poul Erik Mouritzen, *Borgerdeltagelse og græsrodsbevægelser: Nogle nyere tendenser i dansk politik* (Copenhagen: Politica, 1978), 116.
57 Nancy Whittier, "Meaning and Structure in Social Movements", in *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, eds. David Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 289–307.
58 Eyermann and Jamison, *Social Movements*, 43.
59 Meyer, "Ti år".
60 Ibid.
61 *På vej*, 2 April 1980.
62 *På vej*, 8 March 1986.
63 *På vej*, 7 March 1985.
64 Niels I. Meyer, "Fra Selskabet for Samfundsdebat til 'Oprør fra Midten'", in *Med Villy i midten: 28 vidnesbyrd om Villy Sørensen* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2004), 83–97. The party name translates into Radical Left. In fact, however, it is social liberal and traditionally placed at the very centre of the Danish parliamentary spectrum.
65 *På vej*, 8 April 1986.
66 Carsten Frederiksen et al., eds., *Håndbog for aktivister* (Copenhagen: Politisk Revy, 1982).
67 *På vej*, 10 June 1988.
68 *På vej*, 11 May 1989; Jesper Holm, Lars Kjerulf Petersen, Jeppe Læssøe, Arne Remmen, and Carsten Jahn Hansen, eds., *Økologisk modernisering på dansk: Brud og bevægelser i miljøindsatsen* (Copenhagen: Frydenlund, 2007), 132.
69 *På vej*, 8 May 1986.
70 Niels I. Meyer and Alan Atkisson, "From Sustainability Science to Real-World Action: A Short History of the Balaton Group", *Solutions* 3, no. 5 (2012): 75–81.
71 Eyermann and Jamison, *Social Movements*, 48.
72 Mikhail Bakhtin, "The Problem of Speech Genres", in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, eds. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 60–102; Carolyn R. Miller, "Genre as Social Action", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 70 (1984): 151–167.
73 Sune Auken, "Understanding Genre", *Journal of Zhejiang International Studies University* 2 (2018): 14–27.
74 Charles Bazerman, "What Written Knowledge Does: Three Examples of Academic Discourse", in *Shaping Written Knowledge: The Genre and Activity of the Experimental Article in Science* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988) 3–50; Fleck, *Denkstile und Tatsachen*.
75 Universal basic income in 1983, solidary divisions of labour in 1985, and health, society, and self-development in 1987.
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Part II

Economy, politics, and the welfare state


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5 The Galbraithian moment

Affluence and critique of growth in Scandinavia, 1958–1972

Björn Lundberg

In 1958, Canadian-born American economist John Kenneth Galbraith published *The Affluent Society*. It became an international bestseller and has been described as one of the most influential works of non-fiction in the postwar era.[1] In this book, Galbraith raised concerns regarding the consequences of economic growth and consumerism. He was not the first to do so; however, he introduced to the American public the idea that the extravagant tendencies of middle-class affluence could be countered by active public policy in order to balance private productivity with investments in social goods and services.[2] Galbraith also questioned the notion that economic development could be measured in terms of productivity, since more goods and services do not necessarily result in an increased standard of living or quality of life.[3]

The Scandinavian publication history of the book began the following year with a Swedish translation, titled *Överflödets samhälle*. It was later published in Denmark in 1961 (*Det rige samfund*), while the Norwegian edition was not published until 1970 (*Overflodssamfunnet*).[4] This chapter sets out to explore growth critique as public knowledge following the publication of *The Affluent Society* in Scandinavia. With a phrase borrowed from historian Daniel Horowitz, it covers the "anxieties of affluence" in Scandinavia from the late 1950s to the early 1970s by studying the reception and circulation of knowledge that took place in relation to Galbraith's book.[5]

In the words of environmental historian John R. McNeill, growth became the "indispensable ideology of the state nearly everywhere" during the twentieth century.[6] However, in recent decades the hegemonic status of GDP as a measure of economic success has been challenged. The environmental movement and the 1970s recession provided a new framework for debates on economic development, epitomised in the Club of Rome report *The Limits to Growth* (1972).[7] Since then, critique of growth has been closely linked to sustainability and the so-called ecological turn.[8] This perspective is also evident in the emerging field of *degrowth studies*.[9] At the time of publication of the Club of Rome report, however, concerns regarding the social sustainability of growth had been present in public discourse for more than a decade, with *The Affluent Society* representing one of the seminal publications.[10] By addressing the concern for increasing affluence during the years preceding the breakthrough

of environmentalism, this chapter contributes to the historiography of Scandinavian growth critique by examining the circulation of knowledge concerning a specific economic and social issue.

The framework draws theoretical inspiration from historians of knowledge. The primary aim is not to discuss Galbraith's ideas per se, or how they came about, but rather to address how knowledge presented by Galbraith was to circulate and possibly transform in a Scandinavian setting. Researchers in this field have argued that knowledge should not be regarded as a fixed or stable entity. Rather, it may take on different meanings and be employed in widely different contexts depending on time, location, language, and culture.[11] Hence, it is important to address how knowledge of the affluent society and its problems circulated, as well as which debates it tapped into, as a culturally and geographically specific process. By doing so, this chapter also explores transnational points of convergence and interaction in Scandinavia.[12]

Historians of science studying the circulation of knowledge in society have primarily examined natural sciences and technology. However, the concept of circulation is also well-suited for exploring theories presented by economists and other scholars in the social and economic sciences.[13] The source material for this study primarily consists of newspaper journalism from daily publications in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway in which Galbraith's book and the concept of the affluent society were discussed.[14] By tracing how Galbraith's key arguments were brought into the public discourse as knowledge claims, I attempt to bring to the foreground the multitude of actors involved in the reception and communication of economic theory in Scandinavia during this period and address the "transformations of public knowledge across time, space, and cultures" in a localised setting.[15]

The historiography of Scandinavian affluence

While *The Affluent Society* made Galbraith a renowned public intellectual and the book remains in print 60 years after its initial publication, Galbraith's legacy in the social and economic sciences is less clear-cut.[16] As an institutionalist, he can be described as an academic outsider in a field increasingly dominated by neoclassical theory, and his influence in mainstream economics has been limited.[17] However, historians concerned with the origins of the growth-based economy and consumerism of the mid-twentieth century have stressed Galbraith's influence on public policy and discourse during the 1960s and 1970s.[18] Together with Vance Packard and a few other public intellectuals, Galbraith managed to shift the focus to what he understood as the problems caused by industrial abundance and middle-class affluence, including social and ethical concerns.[19]

From a Scandinavian perspective, Galbraith's impact on theories of economic growth has been discussed thoroughly by Eva Friman (2002). She concludes that *The Affluent Society* had a strong influence on later critique against growth-based economics but does not focus empirically on the period from 1958 to the

publication of *The Limits to Growth* (1972).[20] Moreover, Swedish historians have acknowledged the personal and ideational relationship between Galbraith and the leading figures of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP). As early as 1967, Leif Lewin noted that Galbraith's main political argument – that private growth must be balanced with increased public spending – was at this time already proposed by Prime Minister Tage Erlander. In this context, Galbraith's book was received as a scientific confirmation of the welfare reforms presented at the time, channelled in Erlander's vision of the "strong society" (*det starka samhället*). The fact that these ideas were presented by an economist in the American liberal tradition gave further legitimacy to economic redistribution and investments in the public sector.[21]

Barring these mentions, it can be argued that *The Affluent Society* has literally been reduced to a footnote in the history of the Scandinavian welfare states. Jenny Anderson has discussed the reception of the book in a footnote in *Mellan tillväxt och trygghet* (2003), where she concludes that the Swedish reception of Galbraith's book differed from the debates it gave rise to in the United States at the time of the publication. Growth critique only reached Sweden a decade later, Andersson argues. For example, the Swedish Social Democrats initially defended growth as a means for achieving social security and equality, but in 1971, Prime Minister Olof Palme acknowledged that there were "social limits" to growth.[22] Acknowledging this discrepancy, determining how Galbraith's knowledge claims of affluence were discussed in a Scandinavian setting remains a point of contention.[23]

The context of affluence

John Kenneth Galbraith was born in Ontario in 1908 and was raised on a farm in the Canadian countryside. During the 1930s, he moved to the United States to pursue an academic career in agricultural economy, earning his doctorate at Berkeley in 1934. During World War II, he served as deputy head of the Office of Price Administration, and he later became editor of the magazine *Fortune*. In 1949, Galbraith was appointed professor in economics at Harvard University.[24] Three years later, he published *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power*. Its sales figures were eventually dwarfed by *The Affluent Society*, which the *New York Times* has described as "one of those rare works that forces a nation to re-examine its values".[25]

After the publication of *The Affluent Society* in 1958, Galbraith went on to become an advisor to John F Kennedy and to serve as the United States' ambassador to India (1961–1963). In his following book, *The New Industrial State* (1967), he examined the role of large corporations in modern capitalist economies. When Galbraith died in 2006 at the age of 97, he was hailed as one of the most influential and accessible economic thinkers of the twentieth century.[26]

To some extent, Galbraith's influence can also be measured by his contributions to the English language in the form of a series of neologisms. *Countervailing power*, *conventional wisdom*, and *technostructure* are a few of the phrases either

coined or popularised by his pen. In this sense, *The Affluent Society* was indicative of Galbraith's authorship. The book did not merely present knowledge of economic affairs, it also provided a new concept with which to frame this discourse. In all Scandinavian languages, "the affluent society" (Swedish: *överflödssamhället*, Danish: *overflodssamfundet*, Norwegian: *overflodssamfunnet*) became a new phrase for describing postwar macroeconomic development. Thus, it is possible to trace how this concept was discussed, and in which contexts societal affluence was deemed relevant, by analysing the use of the term in Scandinavian newspapers.

Knowledge of affluence

While the purpose of this chapter is to analyse which concepts of social and economic knowledge were tied to the notion of the affluent society, the scope of the book itself deserves a brief mention. According to biographer Richard Parker, the initial working title of the book was *Why People Are Poor*, but Galbraith's description of postwar industrial society took a markedly different turn after a three-month visit to India in 1956, where he witnessed poverty at an unanticipated magnitude. When he returned to his writing desk, the project changed course to become a critical re-examination not of poverty but of the rapidly increasing affluence in industrial economies like the United States.[27]

Galbraith did not merely conclude that the world got richer. In his assessment, modern society was marked by increased "private opulence and public squalor".[28] Galbraith sought to show that these two fields were intertwined and co-dependent. Increased private spending on automobiles created a need for investments in government-funded roads, to name one example. While productivity rapidly increased in the private sector, public spending had not kept up.[29]

His concerns with growth may seem counter-intuitive, given the strong economic development in much of the Western, industrialised world during the postwar decades. However, terms such as *the postwar economic boom*, *Golden Age of Capitalism*, *Wirtschaftswunder* or *Les Trente Glorieuses* might cloud the problems identified by contemporary observers during the shorter recessions of 1949, 1953, and 1957–1958. Furthermore, GDP was still a relatively new measure of national economic success.[30]

Galbraith argued that a new way of thinking about economics was needed. He attributed the unwillingness among economists to accept the new social and economic conditions to "the conventional wisdom".[31] Since the days of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo, Galbraith argued, the central tradition of economic science had advanced theories characterised by a pessimistic worldview that elevated scarcity to the position of natural law. What economists in the nineteenth century had been able to offer was a dystopian vision of society in which workers constantly struggled for minimum wages and where companies that did not optimally exploit their workforce would be put out of business. No wonder, Galbraith reasoned, that Marxist promises of a socialist revolution had appealed to the masses. What was worse, in his opinion,

was the fact that the contemporary economists clung to a worldview developed in a historical context of poverty and scarcity. The affluent society needed nothing less than an economic theory capable of addressing the issues brought on by affluence itself.[32]

The affluent society in Sweden

The Swedish edition of *The Affluent Society* was published in 1959, at the height of postwar optimism and progressivism. Unemployment was low and GDP growth strong.[33] In Sweden too, there was a debate concerning the relationship between private productivity and public spending, but with different connotations than in the United States. The Social Democratic Party of Sweden had led the government since 1932.[34] For a few years, the most important issue in the domestic political debate had been a proposed pension reform, which was decided after a referendum in October 1957 and finally settled with the ATP reform of 1959. The 1956 Social Democratic election programme, signed by Prime Minister Tage Erlander and party secretary Sven Aspling, was marked by optimism and proposed that the standard of living could be increased twofold within the next few decades. The Social Democrats argued for a continued democratisation of society and the labour market in order to ensure that economic progress could be used for creating equality between citizens.[35]

The first mention of Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* in a major Swedish newspaper was made in *Dagens Nyheter*, in October 1958, several months before the Swedish translation was published.[36] The article was written by Kurt Samuelsson, a regular contributor to the newspaper. Like Galbraith, he had combined journalism with an academic career (in economic history). Samuelsson portrayed Sweden as a leading country, compared with the United States, in terms of reaching "social balance" between private consumerism and public spending.[37] Samuelsson was evidently inspired by Galbraith's ideas and would elaborate upon them further in a short book published in 1959, titled *Välfärd i otakt*. The first chapter of this book had the revealing title "Överflödets samhälle" ("The Affluent Society") and argued that the challenges of the affluent society were ultimately an issue of social balance and redistribution of resources.[38]

However, a few days prior to Samuelsson's first article on affluence, the term *överflödssamhälle* had been used in the newspapers *Expressen* and *Svenska Dagbladet* in reference to a debate on the future of retail arranged by the national retail federation Köpmannaförbundet.[39] The speech addressing the issues of the affluent society was delivered by Jan Wallander, head of Industriens utredningsinstitut (Research Institute of Industrial Economics) and newly appointed associate professor of economics at Stockholm University. Wallander was apparently well-acquainted with Galbraith's book, and a few months later, he published the first extensive review for a Swedish audience. This review was published in the January 1959 issue of *Ekonomisk Revy*, a journal published by Svenska Bankföreningen (The Swedish Bank Association). Wallander primarily criticised Galbraith's argument on consumption and marketing as there was

little evidence, he argued, that corporations could create artificial wants simply by clever advertising.[40] This reflected Wallander's general scepticism regarding the effects of advertising, which would become evident a decade later when he, as CEO of the Swedish bank Handelsbanken, stopped the company's central advertising entirely because (in the realm of banking) he considered it a "waste of money".[41]

In *The Affluent Society*, Galbraith argued that the affluent economy created new challenges for companies in terms of marketing their products. Once consumers had satisfied their apparent needs, producers needed to create artificial wants by clever advertising in order to maintain growth. The effects of increased affluence on marketing were one of the issues highlighted in the initial reception of Galbraith's book in Sweden, also after the Swedish translation had been published. In July 1959, Gunnar Fredriksson wrote that one of the problems discussed by Galbraith could perhaps be solved by an increased marketing of public services.[42] A month later, *Dagens Nyheter* reported from the annual congress of Sveriges Radiohandlares riksförbund (the Swedish Association of Radio Retailers), where keynote speaker Erik Elinder argued that selling products would become more difficult once people had satisfied their initial demand for certain goods. Consumption in an affluent society thus implied new challenges for advertisers.[43]

The Affluent Society was published at a moment in American history when consumerism was critically re-examined, and Galbraith offered one of the most influential social commentaries on the consumer society. A major public debate on consumerism would also take place in Sweden after the publication of *The Affluent Society*, although this debate was not directly linked to the book. In 1960 and 1961, consumer journalist Willy Maria Lundberg and designer Lena Larsson debated the "buy, wear and throw away" (*köp, slit och släng*) attitude of consumerism. This debate pitted traditional, moral arguments of restrained consumption against a new understanding of quality encompassing a "democratic" ideal of consumerist self-expression. According to historian Orsi Husz, a result of this debate was that quality would no longer exclusively be associated with durability but also with joy, aestheticism, and self-fulfilment.[44] In that sense, increased affluence in society was seen as a potential for personal freedom.[45]

Apart from the reception of *The Affluent Society* in newspapers, the book was also received in a different Swedish setting, namely that of the Social Democratic Party. As described earlier, Prime Minister Tage Erlander was pleased with the publication. On 2 June 1959, when the Swedish edition had recently hit the bookstores, Galbraith personally visited Harpsund, the recreational facility of the Swedish prime minister.[46] The meeting was attended by several influential figures, and one of them was Kurt Samuelsson, mentioned earlier.[47] The others were future prime minister Olof Palme, famous intellectuals Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, as well as the governor of Sveriges Riksbank (the Swedish central bank) Per Åsbrink, and economists Ragnar Bentzel and Assar Lindbeck. In his diary, Erlander wrote that the meeting was very successful, although Galbraith had "not quite lived up to the very high expectations".[48]

In his memoirs, Erlander described Galbraith's significance for the Swedish Social Democrats as "important support for our argument to expand the public sector".[49] For Erlander, the issue was not new. Rather, it reflected the political debate leading up to the 1956 Swedish elections. When the right-wing parties campaigned for lower taxes, Erlander had advocated "the strong society" that provided increased security for its citizens, as an increased standard of living resulted in higher expectations on the state to provide welfare.[50] The Social Democrats performed fairly poorly in the 1956 election (down 1.47%), and Erlander later wrote in his memoirs: "Perhaps we would have succeeded better if we would have had access to the brilliant phrasings in John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*".[51]

In this context, the term *överflödssamhälle* began to circulate in the Swedish public sphere. It was featured in the title of another book published in Sweden a few years later, Gunnar Myrdal's 1963 publication *Amerikas väg – en uppfordran till överflödssamhället*.[52] The notion of affluence also represented an important topic in one of the most widely discussed social commentaries of the decade, Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*.[53] In Marcuse's assessment, the consumerism of the affluent society had transformed into a capitalist nightmare, with little possibility of societal change through a redistribution of wealth. The problem of affluence was existential in nature, effectively reducing human life to the one-dimensional role of consumer. In Marcuse's analysis, modern man was destined to an impoverished existence due to the fact that any pursuit of freedom was effectively suppressed by promises of comfort and convenience:

> Those whose life is the hell of the Affluent Society are kept in line by a brutality which revives medieval and early modern practices. For the other, less underprivileged people, society takes care of the need for liberation by satisfying the needs which make servitude palatable and perhaps even unnoticeable, and it accomplishes this fact in the process of production itself.[54]

In this context, new meaning was attached to the concept of societal affluence. During the latter half of the 1960s, a change of meaning occurred where the affluent society no longer came to symbolise the possibility of a more equitable society but rather a consumerist dystopia, limiting the possibilities of human existence to a single dimension.

The Swedish translation of *One-Dimensional Man* was published in 1968. In April that year, *Dagens Nyheter* published an interview with Herbert Marcuse, by now described as "the philosopher of the new left" and a vocal critic of "the prison of affluence".[55] Several literary works released in Sweden that year – such as Simone de Beauvoir's novel, Arthur Miller's play *The Price*, and Staffan Roos' new play *Alice i Underlandet* – were all said to address life in the affluent society.[56] The term was also featured in international news coverage to illustrate the differences between the wealth of industrial nations and the poverty of third-world economies.[57] Additionally, the notion of *överflödssamhället* was featured in political activism. That summer, a new "junk playground" was

inaugurated in Vasaparken, Stockholm, by the activist group Skrotmånen, who wanted to stimulate children's creativity by using "scrap from the affluent society".[58] Later that same year, an anti-consumerist group was formed to establish an "Alternative Christmas" in Stockholm, promoting "hate propaganda against the affluent society", which, despite the harsh wording, was described in a sympathetic fashion.[59]

Not only had the term *överflödssamhället* transcended the knowledge put forward in its original context, perhaps more striking is that the term signified new, existential dilemmas. The anxieties of the affluent society were no longer placed in the future or across the Atlantic but rather represented a dilemma for contemporary Swedish society. For example, as early as 1967, *Dagens Nyheter* featured a review of a new book by two researchers in social medicine, Gunnar and Maj-Britt Inghe, focusing on "the significant poverty lingering in the Swedish affluent society".[60]

The affluent society in Denmark

The political situation in Denmark during the late 1950s and early 1960s was similar to that of Sweden in numerous respects, but it also exhibited notable differences. First, the Social Democrats had a strong influence on the government but hardly enjoyed a hegemonic position. Since 1945, two right-wing cabinets had taken office (1945–1947 and 1950–1953), and the Social Democrats ruled in coalition with the social liberal party Radikale Venstre and the smaller and more economically liberal Retsforbundet since 1957. Furthermore, Denmark and Norway had joined the defence alliance NATO upon its foundation in 1949, effectively becoming members of the Western bloc during the Cold War.

The Danish edition of *The Affluent Society* was published in 1961, at the height of Cold War rivalry. Titled *Det rige samfund* ("The rich society"), it was translated by civil servant Henning Gottlieb[61] with a foreword by Erik Ib Schmidt, who has been described as an *éminence gris* of Danish public administration.[62] According to historian Jesper Vestermark Køber, Galbraith became a key influence in the ideological reorientation of the Danish labour movement during these decades, and Erik Ib Schmidt was one of the leading figures in a group of politicians and scholars turning to economic science for solutions to the new social challenges of industrialised society.[63]

When the Danish edition was published, Galbraith's book had already garnered attention in Danish media during the preceding years.[64] Hardly coincidental, the book gained more significant attention after the Swedish edition was published in 1959. For example, on New Year's Eve 1959 political scientist Poul Meyer published a review of *The Affluent Society* in the newspaper *Information*. Meyer noted that the word *overflodssamfundet* was "a bad name" (*et daarligt navn*) but pointed to the fact that the Swedish edition of the book used the same wording.[65] Looking to the future of the upcoming decade, Meyer predicted that if peace prevailed, Western economies were likely to leave their days of scarcity behind and increasingly face the challenges of affluence. In this regard, Meyer stressed the similarities between Denmark and the United States.[66]

In early January 1960, Meyer wrote another article in *Information* about *The Affluent Society*. As a mediator of knowledge, Meyer (1916–1990) is a person of interest. He had started off his academic career in the field of law but was a key figure in the establishment of political science as an independent academic discipline in Denmark. The previous year, he had become one of the first two professors in political science at Aarhus University.[67] This illustrates that the notion of the affluent society was brought to the foreground of public discourse by journalists and politicians as well as scholars from a variety of fields. As a public intellectual, Meyer sought to reveal the academic and theoretical reasoning that guided contemporary politics, thereby bringing academic knowledge closer to the public.[68]

On another note, social democratic journalist and future politician Bent Hansen introduced Galbraith to the readers of *Aktuelt* by discussing the "lopsidedness of the affluent society".[69] In Hansen's opinion, Galbraith's book raised questions on whether the highly developed West was capable of sensibly administering its riches and resources. The following year, social democratic newspaper *Demokraten* described *The Affluent Society* as the most widely debated book on economics in several decades.[70] The author of this article was Norwegian journalist Torolf Elster. When his new book *Den store utfordringen. Vestens samfunn ved skilleveien* was reviewed by *Berlingske Tidende* in 1961, Galbraith was described as an important source of inspiration.[71]

When the Soviet Union launched the first manned spaceflight in April 1961, economically liberal newspaper *Børsen* lamented that the communist regime had been able to turn the event into an ideological triumph, when it, in fact, rested on the labour of scientists rather than politicians. More importantly, the paper concluded that a political system should not be evaluated by its ability to launch satellites or rockets but rather by its economic and social track record: "and leading economists, led by the American Galbraith, promise that within ten years they will create something that can be called the affluent society." Thus, the newspaper described the affluent society in terms of a promise rather than a moral or existential threat.[72]

At least by 1963, the understanding of the term *overflodssamfundet* had become more widespread and could denote general aspects of excessive consumption in contemporary society.[73] In total, the Danish newspaper database *Mediastream* features 204 articles containing the word *overflodssamfund* during the eight-year period of 1958–1965. During the following seven years, from 1966 to 1972, *overflodssamfund* was featured no less than 579 times. While there is a possibility that the entire corpus of text increased during this period, this clearly indicates that the concept of *overflodssamfund* outlasted the immediate reception of Galbraith's book in Denmark.

For example, the term was present in the coverage of the student protests that took place during the spring of 1968, most notably in France. In an interview published in *Information*, Herbert Marcuse described these protests as a new phenomenon associated with the so-called affluent society.[74] That summer, an article in *Berlingske Tidende* also linked the notion of the affluent society to ecological disaster: "Living in an affluent society is not free of charge".[75] It should

be noted that Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* was not published in Denmark until 1969, whereas the existential dilemmas associated with affluence were clearly expressed in public discourse by 1968.

The following year, newspaper *Børsen* bookended a decade of increasing affluence by delivering a forecast of the upcoming ten-year period using the motto "the future that had already begun". In this context, the affluent society was once again linked to the promise of an increased standard of living through increasing real wages and a greater consumption of luxury goods.[76] The notion of affluence could still be understood as a fairly straightforward promise.

To sum up, *The Affluent Society* was published during a time that saw increased interest among Danish Social Democrats in terms of addressing societal challenges using economic science, but Galbraith's economic theory was brought to public attention by a range of actors that included political scientists and journalists as well as politicians. Meanwhile, the notion of an affluent society (*overflodssamfund*) spread beyond its original use in the political discourse. Before the end of the 1960s, the term was also used to denote the moral and ecological problems associated with modern consumer society. In Sweden, the problems described by Galbraith had to some extent been considered American in the sense that the Swedish welfare state was portrayed as markedly different. Such notions of a Scandinavian *Sonderweg* in relation to affluence were not as prevalent in a Danish context. Instead, commentators like Poul Meyer and Bent Hansen described Denmark as following the same Western trajectory of growth as the United States, albeit a few years behind.

The affluent society in Norway

Unlike Sweden and Denmark, where translations of *The Affluent Society* were published during the years following its original publication, the Norwegian edition was published in 1970. By that time, three other books by Galbraith had already been translated into Norwegian: the 1967 publications *The New Industrial State* ("Det nye industrisamfunnet", 1968) and *How to Get Out of Vietnam* ("To syn på Vietnam", 1968) as well as the 1968 novel *The Triumph* ("Triumfen", 1969).

More than a decade earlier, the readers of newspaper *Dagbladet* had been introduced to Galbraith's treatise on affluence by economist Johan Vogt (1900–1991), professor of social economy at the University of Oslo.[77] Vogt described Galbraith as a nonconformist economist "yet to be introduced to the larger public in Norway". He called the book *Overflodens samfunn*, equivalent to the title of the forthcoming Swedish edition of the book. Vogt made clear that Galbraith only addressed issues at stake in the world's richest society, the United States. "But", Vogt stated:

> as we, in our part of the world, in fifteen or twenty years will attain the level of prosperity of the USA today, it is reasonable to assume that the attack on the conventional wisdom that Galbraith has undertaken will become more and more relevant to us.[78]

In this regard, Vogt accentuated the difference between the United States and Norway, although the affluent society was expected to become a Norwegian reality in the near future. In the remainder of this column, Vogt brought up a few of Galbraith's main arguments: the conventional wisdom of mainstream economics, the gap between opulent private production and poor public spending, and the artificial creation of wants by the forces of production and marketing. Three days later, the paper published a deprecatory reply by author Johan Borgen, who argued that all the "revolutionary" propositions of Galbraith were, in fact, common sense.[79]

The first time the term *overflodssamfunnet* was used in *Dagbladet* was in a column by writer and teacher of philosophy Helge Ytrehus in September the following year. Ytrehus mentioned the English term *affluent society* three times in this text but made no specific mention of Galbraith or his economic theories. The author of the column instead made a diagnosis of the lack of earnestness in society. According to Ytrehus, political discourse was on the verge of transforming into entertainment. For liberals, Ytrehus argued, the task for the future would be to point to those entities that society could not yet afford: "The affluent society can provide us with all *things*", he wrote. "But the scientists say we have forgotten to create a *dream about the human* [mankind]".[80] In this sense, affluence was associated with hollow materialism.

In *Aftonposten*, the term *overflodssamfunn* was introduced in an article referencing a speech made by Swedish economist Kurt Samuelsson at Statsøkonomisk Forening in Oslo in January 1960, based on his new book *Välfärd i otakt*, which was said to express ideas similar to Galbraith's "widely discussed" *The Affluent Society*.[81] A year later, *Dagbladet* referenced a speech by Tryggve Bratteli at the Social Democratic Party's congress, which presented the party's economic programme for the years 1962–1965. In his optimistic speech, Bratteli stated that the level of production was rising but that Norway "had not become an affluent society to the degree that we can accept all demands" and thus needed to prioritise.[82]

Key arguments from Galbraith's book were also brought to the forefront of public debate in Norway with the publication of Torolf Elster's *Den store utfordringen* ("The Great Challenge") in 1961. A favourable review published in *Dagbladet* made clear that Elster's assessment of the challenges for the welfare state was heavily influenced by Galbraith and *The Affluent Society*.[83] In his book, Elster made explicit references to Galbraith as well as the notion of the affluent society. The notion of the affluent society was by no means exclusively debated among social democrats, but in Norway, as in Sweden and Denmark, leading figures like Torolf Elster sought to include the challenges of affluence in the social democratic discourse.

The following year, deputy leader of the liberal party Venstre, Gunnar Garbo, was quoted in *Dagbladet*, stating: "We today meet the challenges of affluence instead of the problems of distress. . . . We need to channel the violent growth in our society to ensure that the problems of the asphalt jungle do not become predominant."[84] In doing so, Garbo even declared the concepts of socialism and

private capitalism to be outdated. In the future, social problems needed to be addressed through increased public spending.

In September 1968, Herbert Marcuse visited Norway. That year, *One-Dimensional Man* was published in a Norwegian translation, and Marcuse gave a speech at the student union Studentersamfundet at Oslo University. According to Marcuse, the objective of the radical student movement was to make the working class aware of the unsustainable wastefulness of the affluent society, its hypocrisy and lies.[85] In Norway, too, Marcuse thus appears to have played an important part in the new political understanding of affluence.

When *The Affluent Society* was finally published in Norway in 1970, with a foreword by economist Preben Munthe, the term *overflodssamfunn* was already established in the Norwegian language and Galbraith was well-known from his other publications. A *Dagbladet* review in March 1970 critically discussed Galbraith's notion of public squalor.[86] A few months later, the book was featured in Norwegian public radio as its Book of the Day.[87] The programme was followed by a broadcast discussion on Galbraith's ideas. The participants were Egil Bakke from the Ministry of Finance, associate professor of social economy Gunnar Bramness, and aforementioned Gunnar Garbo (Venstre).[88] It is worth noting that all three agreed on the basic premise of the book – that public spending was lagging behind private consumption – while they offered diverging opinions on the solutions to this challenge.[89]

Although *The Affluent Society* was not translated into Norwegian until 1970, Galbraith's notion of the affluent society was discussed in Norwegian media during the decade that preceded the publication and the term *overflodssamfunn* had entered the Norwegian language. Perhaps most notably, social democratic journalist and writer Torolf Elster had sought to incorporate Galbraithian knowledge in his 1961 publication *Den store utfordringen*. When *The Affluent Society* was published in Norway in 1970, it provided an opportunity to discuss the concept of affluence in Galbraith's original usage, mainly concerning the relationship between private and public spending, rather than the existential dilemmas of consumerism.

Scandinavian affluence

This chapter set out to analyse the circulation of knowledge after the publication of *The Affluent Society* in Scandinavia. This perspective has made it possible to discern how politicians, journalists, and scholars presented economic knowledge as a means for addressing contemporary social and political challenges. The understanding of an affluent society was evidently shaped by Galbraith's argument, but a multitude of actors provided its Scandinavian framework.

As suggested in previous research, *The Affluent Society* exerted considerable influence on European policymaking, not least in the realm of social democracy. This study has shown that leading social democrats, politicians, and journalists alike were not passive recipients of the knowledge presented by J.K. Galbraith.

Instead, they actively contributed to circulating and legitimising its key concepts in the public discourse. Like a balloon kept afloat by the hands of a crowd, the circulation of Galbraithian knowledge rested on key actors who brought attention to the problems discussed in *The Affluent Society* and prevented them from sinking to oblivion.

While the production and circulation of knowledge is not always political, knowledge nevertheless plays a key role in policymaking and it can be argued that modern policymaking is intimately tied to the production and legitimisation of knowledge. Accordingly, political change has been understood as a struggle over "authoritative knowledge", with media serving as a key arena.[90] Therefore, it is worth noting that the group of knowledge actors involved in the reception of *The Affluent Society* did not confine itself to a small group of policymakers. In all Scandinavian states, researchers and scholars in the fields of economic and political science brought the problems formulated by Galbraith to a wider Scandinavian audience.[91]

It should also be noted that the publication of *The Affluent Society* took place during an era of intense Americanisation. The strong American influence on Western Europe during these decades did not limit itself to Hollywood films or rock and roll.[92] Americanization – understood as the transfer of cultural values, practices, institutions, and technology – affected numerous spheres, including economic management, higher education, and social sciences.[93] American influence was also notable in Scandinavian academics and scholarship. For example, the Nordic Association of American Studies was founded in 1959, the same year that *The Affluent Society* was published in Sweden.[94] American intellectuals had a significant impact on public discourse in Western Europe, and Galbraith can be seen as a case in point.[95] However, the transnational setting in which knowledge of the affluent society took shape not only concerned transfer across the Atlantic. The movement of ideas across the borders of the Scandinavian countries is also worth mentioning. In this chapter, I have highlighted actors such as Torolf Elster and Kurt Samuelsson, who actively contributed to the circulation of Galbraithian knowledge across these national borders.

Finally, the basic Galbraithian observation of increasing affluence circulated more subtly. By examining the use of the concept of the affluent society (*överflöd/overflod*) in Scandinavia, this study has shown that the term became widely used, not only in the specific context of Galbraithian economics but also in order to denote consumer society more generally. Initially, the concept of affluence (*överflöd/overflod*) carried connotations of both promise and threat. It highlighted the remarkable productivity of modern industrial societies and their potential to realise welfare for an increasing number of citizens, while also encapsulating the dilemmas of over-production and over-consumption. During the final years of the 1960s, the term "affluent society" was increasingly used for describing the existential and moral barrenness of modern industrial society in a way that anticipated the ecological critique of growth that became more widespread during the following decade.

Notes

This chapter presents research funded by a grant from Wahlgrenska stiftelsen.

1 Richard Parker, *J K Galbraith: A 20th Century Life* (London: Old Street Publishing, 2007), 292.
2 Daniel Horowitz, *The Anxieties of Affluence: Critiques of American Consumer Culture, 1939–1979* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 101. See also Conrad Waligorski, *John Kenneth Galbraith: The Economist as Political Theorist* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefied, 2006), 225–240.
3 Galbraith did not use the term *quality of life* in *The Affluent Society*. However, in *The New Industrial State* he wrote: "What counts is not the quantity of our goods but the quality of life." John Kenneth Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), 9.
4 John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958). Original Scandinavian editions: *Överflödets samhälle* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1959); *Det rige samfund* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1961); *Overflodssamfunnet* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1970).
5 Horowitz, *Anxieties*.
6 John Robert McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), 236.
7 Eva Friman, *No Limits: The 20th Century Discourse of Economic Growth* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2002); J.S. Nørgård, J. Peet, and K.V. Ragnarsdóttir, "The History of the Limits to Growth", *Solutions* 1, no. 2 (2010): 59–63.
8 A rare but obvious exception is Fred Hirsch's *The Social Limits to Growth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976). Hirsch elaborated upon the notion of interdependence by introducing the concept of "positional goods", meaning goods (products, services, positions) that derive their value from relative scarcity.
9 G. D'Alisa, F. Demaria, and G. Kallis, eds., *Degrowth: A Vocabulary for a New Era* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014); Iris Borowy and Matthias Schmelzer, eds., *History of the Future of Economic Growth: Historical Roots of Current Debates on Sustainable Degrowth* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).
10 Elke Seefried, "Towards the 'Limits to Growth'? The Book and Its Reception in West Germany and Britain 1972–73", *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* 33, no. 1 (2011): 10.
11 Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation – ett kunskapshistoriskt nyckelbegrepp", *Historisk tidskrift* 137, no. 2 (2017).
12 A comprehensive account on similarities and differences in the Nordic region during the postwar era is offered in Mary Hilson, *Nordic Model: Scandinavia Since 1945* (London: Reaktion, 2007). Other publications having traced the public reception of specific books as sites of knowledge circulation include Seefried, "Towards the 'Limits to Growth'?" and David Larsson Heidenblad, "Framtidskunskap i cirkulation: Gösta Ehrensvärds diagnos och den svenska framtidsdebatten, 1971–1972", *Historisk tidskrift* 135, no. 4 (2015). See also David Larsson Heidenblad, "From Content to Circulation: Influential Books and the History of Knowledge", in *Circulation of Knowledge*, eds. Östling et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018).
13 Östling and Heidenblad, "Cirkulation", 280.
14 The material has been collected using digitalised editions and search engines, a method that, unfortunately, does not provide perfect sampling due to errors in OCR scanning, etc. The Swedish and Danish material has been collected using the digitalised newspaper services provided by the respective national libraries: *Svenska Dagstidningar* (tidningar.kb.se) and *Mediastream* (www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream). The Norwegian material has been collected from the digital archives of three major newspapers: *Dagbladet*, *Aftenposten*, and *Verdens Gang*.
15 Andreas Daum, "Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge", *Isis* 100, no. 2 (2009): 320. See also Östling and Heidenblad, "Cirkulation", 279.

16 Stefan Kesting, "John Kenneth Galbraith: A Radical Economist?" *International Journal of Social Economics* 37, no. 3 (2010): 179–196; Stephen Dunn and Steven Pressman, "The Lasting Economic Contributions of John Kenneth Galbraith, 1908–2006", *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 29, no. 2 (2006): 179–190.

17 Galbraith's relation to institutionalism has been discussed by Geoffrey M. Hodgson, "What Is the Essence of Institutional Economics?" *Journal of Economic Issues* 34, no. 2 (2000): 317–329; Geoffrey M. Hodgson, "From Veblen to Galbraith: What Is the Essence of Institutional Economics?" in *Economist With a Public Purpose: Essays in Honour of John Kenneth Galbraith*, ed. Michael Keaney (London: Routledge, 2001), 95–114; Malcolm Rutherford, "Institutional Economics: Then and Now", *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 15, no. 3 (2001): 185; James Ronald Stanfield and Mary Wrenn, "John Kenneth Galbraith and Original Institutional Economics", *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 28, no. 1 (2005): 25–45.

18 Robert M. Collins, *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Seefried, "Towards the 'Limits to Growth'?" (2011), 10.

19 Horowitz, *Anxieties*; Avner Offer, *The Challenge of Affluence: Self-control and Well-Being in the United States and Britain Since 1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 16. For a discussion on postwar critique of consumerism, see Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

20 Friman, *No Limits*, 140–141. Galbraith's impact on British political discourse, specifically the notion of affluence, has been examined more closely in Lawrence Black and Hugh Pemberton, eds., *An Affluent Society? Britain's Post-War "Golden Age" Revisited* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). Galbraith's contributions to the 1977 BBC television series *Age of Uncertainty* and the ensuing debate are covered in Alexandre Chirat, "When Galbraith Frightened Conservatives: Power in Economics, Economists' Power, and Scientificity", *Journal of Economic Issues* 52, no. 1 (2018); Angus Burgin, "Age of Certainty: Galbraith, Friedman, and the Public Life of Economic Ideas", *History of Political Economy* 45, no. 1 (2013): 191–219.

21 Leif Lewin, *Planhushållningsdebatten* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1967), 430.

22 Jenny Andersson, *Mellan tillväxt och trygghet* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2003), 41, 65.

23 Jesper Vestermark Køber also discusses Galbraith's influence on Danish social democracy during the 1950s and 1960s in his doctoral dissertation "Ett Spørgsmål om nærhed: Nærdemokratibegrebets historie i 1970'ernes Danmark" (Diss., University of Copenhagen, 2017).

24 Biographical accounts are offered in Parker, *J. K. Galbraith*; James R. Stanfield, *John Kenneth Galbraith* (New York: St. Martin's, 1996).

25 Holcomb Noble and Douglas Martin, "John Kenneth Galbraith, 97, Dies: Economist Held a Mirror to Society", *New York Times*, 30 April 2006, www.nytimes.com/2006/04/30/obituaries/john-kenneth-galbraith-97-dies-economist-held-a-mirror-to.html.

26 Parker, *J. K. Galbraith*.

27 Ibid., 274–277.

28 Galbraith, *Affluent Society*, 257. Galbraith's use of the term "private opulence, public squalor" echoed the Latin phrase *publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam*, which Roman historian Sallust attributed to Cato the Younger (in *De Bello Catilinario et Jugurthino*, Section LII). In the nineteenth century, British poet Matthew Arnold used the phrase (as *publice egestas, privatim opulentia*) to describe contemporary London. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 71. See also Peter Jay, "The Price of Civilization by Jeffrey Sachs", *The Spectator*, 29 October 2011.

29 Galbraith, *Affluent Society*, 251–271.

30 Mattias Schmeltzer, *The Hegemony of Growth: The OECD and the Making of the Economic Growth Paradigm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

31 Björn Lundberg, "What Is Conventional Wisdom? J.K. Galbraith and the Acceptability of Knowledge", in *Forms of Knowledge: Developing the History of Knowledge*, eds. Johan Östling, Anna Nilsson Hammar, and David Larsson Heidenblad (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2020).
32 Mike Berry, *The Affluent Society Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 14–29. Galbraith, *Affluent Society*, 2; Horowitz, *Anxieties*, 103.
33 Lennart Schön, *En modern svensk ekonomisk historia: Tillväxt och omvandling under två sekel*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2007), 375–380.
34 Including a grand coalition during World War II, only briefly interrupted by Bondeförbundet's "summer government" of 1936. Stig Hadenius, *Swedish Politics During the 20th Century: Conflict and Consensus*, 5th ed. (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 1999).
35 Tage Erlander and Sven Aspling, "Till Sveriges folk!" *Sveriges Socialdemokratiska partis valmanifest 1956*, snd.gu.se/sv/vivill/party/s/manifesto/1956.
36 According to the database search at the Royal Library of Sweden. However, this database does not provide perfect matches due to limitations in OCR scanning.
37 Kurt Samuelsson, "Överflödets samhälle", *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 October 1958, 5.
38 Kurt Samuelsson, *Välfärd i otakt* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1959), 10.
39 "Mindre mjöl fler exporter i framtidens detaljhandel", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 10 October 1958, 10.
40 Jan Wallander, "Överflödssamhället", *Ekonomisk revy* 16, no. 1 (1959): 20–25.
41 Orsi Husz, "Golden Everyday: Housewifely Consumerism and the Domestication of Banks in 1960s Sweden", *Le Mouvement Social* 250, no. 1 (2015): 21; Jan Wallander, *Forskaren som bankdirektör* (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 1998), 124, 150.
42 Gunnar Fredriksson, ". . . men det behövs reklam också för vad skatterna ger", *Aftonbladet*, 16 July 1959, 3.
43 "Radioindustrin expanderade med 170 procent på tre år", *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 August 1959, 5.
44 Orsi Husz, "The Morality of Quality: Assimilating Material Mass Culture in Twentieth-Century Sweden", *Journal of Modern European History* 10, no. 2 (2012): 152–181; Sophie Elsässer, *Att skapa en konsument: Råd & Rön och den statliga konsumentupplysningen* (Gothenburg: Makadam, 2012), 118–119.
45 Husz, "Morality", 173–174.
46 *Industria* 1964, 2, 100; *Svenska Dagbladet*, 1 June 1959.
47 Samuelsson had just published *Välfärd i otakt*, which was described by *Svenska Dagbladet* as a "rush job" and a paraphrase of Galbraith's *Affluent Society*. Tore Sellberg, "Vet far verkligen bäst?", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 11 June 1959, 4.
48 Tage Erlander, *Dagböcker: 1959* (Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2009), 120. The following year, the book was praised by Palme in the Social Democratic publication *Tiden*. Olof Palme, "Radikal förnyelse", *Tiden* 7 (1960): 414–415.
49 Tage Erlander, *1955–1960* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1976), 109.
50 Kjell Östberg, *I takt med tiden: Olof Palme 1927–1969* (Stockholm: Leopard, 2008), 144. The history of the term *the strong society* is discussed briefly in Andersson, *Mellan tillväxt och trygghet*, 32.
51 Erlander, *1955–1960*, 108.
52 The original English title, like Galbraith's book, also featured the word *affluence* (*Challenge to Affluence*). Gunnar Myrdal, *Amerikas väg. En uppfordran till överflödssamhället* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1963). The word *överflödssamhället* was also used in the Swedish edition of John Goldthorpe's *The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour* (1968), published in Swedish in 1971. John Goldthorpe, *Arbetaren i överflödssamhället* (Stockholm: Aldus/Bonnier, 1971).
53 For a discussion on the influence of *One-Dimensional Man*, especially on the New Left, see Douglas Kellner, *Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism* (London: Macmillan, 1984); Douglas Kellner, "Introduction to the Second Edition", in *One-Dimensional Man*, ed. Herbert Marcuse, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002 [1964]), xi–xxxviii.

54 Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002 [1964]), 26.
55 Sven Öste, "'USA på väg mot fascism'", *Dagens Nyheter*, Söndagsbilagan, 28 April 1968, 2.
56 "Nytt om nöjen", *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 May 1968, 20; "Kulturdebatt i romanform", *Dagens Nyheter*, 30 August 1968, 5; "'Om vi inte kan väcka några är vårt jobb meningslöst'", *Dagens Nyheter*, 4 December 1968, 16.
57 *Dagens Nyheter*, 24 January 1968, 4.
58 Inger Wennerlund, "'Stora barn ville också ha lekplats'", *Dagens Nyheter*, 28 August 1968, 24.
59 *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 November 1968, 19.
60 Jörgen Eriksson, "Den svenska fattigdomens betydelser", *Dagens Nyheter*, 31 March 1967, 4. This book, *Den ofärdiga välfärden*, became widely read and debated. By the end of the decade, it had been published in five editions.
61 Henning Gottlieb (1926–2013) has also written a short Danish biography on J.K. Galbraith, published in the series "Økonomiens konger" in 2002. Henning Gottlieb, *John Kenneth Galbraith* (Copenhagen: Jurist- og Økonomforbundets forlag, 2002).
62 See Uffe Østergaard, "Erik Ib Schmidt og opbygningen af den nationale velfærdsstat", *Historie/Jyske Samlinger* 2 (1994): 108; Merete Harding and Niels Banke, "Erik Ib Schmidt", in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3rd ed., Gyldendal 1979–1984, http://denstore danske.dk/index.php?sideId=297090.
63 Vestermark Køber, "Et Spørgsmål", 60.
64 On a side note, the publication appears to have been a success. According to its copyright page, the book had been reprinted four times by 1968, and a second edition was published in 1969.
65 Meyer did not explain his dislike of the term but regretted that there was not yet a natural (*mundret*) Danish translation of Galbraith's book title. A few days later, a letter to the editor of the same publication suggested that a better translation of the word *overflodssamfund* would be the already established *forbrugersamfund*, or "consumer society" ("Breve fra læserne", *Information*, 5 January 1960.) However, the term *overflodssamfund* did not go away easily, despite the fact that the book itself was eventually titled *Det rige samfund* in its Danish translation.
66 Poul Meyer, "Tressernes overflod", *Information*, 31 December 1959, 15–16.
67 Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen, "Nekrolog: Poul Meyer", Aarhus University, www.au.dk/om/profil/historie/showroom/oversigter/nekrologer/nekrologpoulmeyer.
68 See, for example, Poul Meyer, "Hyldest til Wilhelm Röpke. Nyliberalismens teoretiker", *Information*, 18 November 1959, 4.
69 Bent Hansen, "Fattigdommen midt i velstanden. Skævheden i overflods-samfundet", *Aktuelt*, 4 December 1959, 8.
70 Torolf Elster, "Overflodens samfund", *Demokraten*, 17 April 1960, 4.
71 Tage Taaning, "Norske fremtidssyner", *Berlingske Tidende*, 24 June 1961, 9.
72 "Nye varer", *Børsen*, 27 April 1961, 4.
73 For example, in relation to obesity. See "I et overflodssamfund", *Aktuelt*, 23 March 1963, 4.
74 Pierre Viansson-Ponte, "Alting er altid begyndt med en håndfuld intellektuelle der gjorde oprør – interview med Herbert Marcuse", *Information*, 14 May 1968, 4 ("et nyt fænomen, særegent for det, man kalder 'overflodssamfundet'"). Other examples of when the term "affluent society" was linked to the protests include *Information*, 25 May 1968, 6 and *Jyllands-Posten*, 23 June 1968, 25.
75 Ove Sundberg, *Berlingske Tidende*, 14 July 1968, 34.
76 Stener Aarsdal, "Sådan ser overflodssamfundet ud gennem det kommende tiår", *Børsen*, 14 November 1969, 9.
77 Arnljot Strømme Svendsen, "Johan Vogt", in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, https://nbl.snl.no/Johan_Vogt_-_2.
78 Johan Vogt, "Et oppgjør med konvensjonell visdom", *Dagbladet*, 24 February 1959, 3–4.
79 Johan Borgen, "Fint vi har Vogt", *Dagbladet*, 27 February 1959, 4.
80 Helge Ytrehus, "Hva vi ennu icke har råd til", *Dagbladet*, 10 September 1960, 3–4.
81 "Alternativet till økede skatter er inflasjon", *Aftenposten*, 26 January 1960, 6.

82 "Ikke lenger spørsmål om mer mat og klær", *Aftenposten*, 4 April 1961, 2.
83 Karl Emil Hagelund, "Overflodens samfunn", *Dagbladet*, 18 September 1961, 5.
84 *Dagbladet*, 12 October 1962, 4.
85 "Studentene er idag revolusjonens håp", *Aftenposten*, 6 September 1968, 38.
86 "Den Sulteforede staten", *Aftenposten*, 23 March 1970, 3.
87 *Aftenposten*, 16 June 1970, 8.
88 Ibid., 12. *Aftenposten* listed Egil Brekke as a participant, but the newspaper must have confused Egil Bakke with 85-year-old theologian Egil Brekke.
89 *Aftenposten*, 17 June 1970, 9.
90 Andersson, *Mellan tillväxt och trygghet*, 23.
91 Ibid. As Andersson points out, numerous terms have been used to describe the close ties between scientific expertise and political agenda-setting during these decades: public or policy intellectuals, social engineers, or brokers of ideas. See also Per Lundin and Niklas Stenlås, "The Reform Technocrats: Strategists of the Swedish Welfare State, 1930–1960", in *Scientists' Expertise as Performance: Between State and Society 1860–1960*, eds. Joris Vandendriessche, Evert Peeters, and Kaat Wils (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015), 135–146.
92 Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, eds., *"Here, There and Everywhere": The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000).
93 The definition of Americanisation is based on Harm G. Schröter, *Americanization of the European Economy: A Compact Survey of American Economic Influence in Europe Since the 1880s* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 4. For comprehensive accounts of the American influence on economics, social sciences, and European universities during the early postwar period, see John Krige, *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006); Volker R. Berghahn, "The Debate on 'Americanization' Among Economic and Cultural historians", *Cold War History* 10, no. 1 (2010): 107–130; Jonathan Zeitlin, "Introduction", in *Americanization and Its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-War Europe and Japan*, eds. Jonathan Zeitlin and Gary Herrigel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); P.J. van Strien, "The American 'Colonization' of Northwest European Social Psychology after World War II", *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 33, no. 4 (1997): 349–363.
94 Dag Blanck, "The Impact of the American Academy in Sweden", in *Networks of Americanization: Aspects of the American Influence in Sweden*, eds. R. Lunden and E. Åsard (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell International, 1992), 80–93.
95 Making a complete list of authoritative figures is not possible, but apart from J.K. Galbraith and previously mentioned Vance Packard (*The Hidden Persuaders*, 1957; *The Status Seekers*, 1959, and *The Waste Makers*, 1960), Rachel Carson (*Silent Spring*, 1962) and Betty Friedan (*The Feminine Mystique*, 1963) deserve mention. See also Horowitz, *Anxieties*.

6 Welfare state criticism as elite criticism in 1970s Denmark

Niklas Olsen

The 1970s saw the rise of a new kind of "knowledge" regarding the Danish welfare state. Voiced by politicians, social commentators, and scholars, this knowledge was critical by nature and depicted the welfare state as an enterprise run by a new ruling class – the public employees in control of the public sector – against the interests of the majority of the population. In other words, it introduced a new mode of welfare state criticism framed as elite criticism. Concurring with, and reinforcing, the so-called crisis of the welfare state, this criticism of elites challenged the fundamental values and the very legitimacy of the welfare state model created in the postwar era.[1]

This chapter describes the advent of welfare state criticism as elite criticism in the Danish political debate. It focuses on three of the most prolific contemporary critics of the welfare state: founder of the libertarian populist party Fremskridtspartiet (The Progress Party), Mogens Glistrup; Marxist and economist Jørgen Dich; and Bertel Haarder, member of the Danish Liberal Party (Venstre).

The chapter highlights how welfare state criticism as elite criticism came about in processes of conceptual circulation and transformation, which, at times, eluded individual intentions and control but nonetheless signified an ideational convergence between the left and the right in thinking about the welfare state. This convergence unfolded through a shared historical diagnosis of the contemporary political crisis challenging the traditional understanding of the role of the welfare state in creating an efficient economy and a fair distribution of wealth and power in society. Commentators across the political spectrum thus started to explain current societal problems and challenges by referring to flaws in the institutions of the welfare state, rather than referring to the forces of capitalism. Moreover, instead of portraying capitalism as a destructive force that needed to be tamed and controlled via the welfare state institutions, they started to look upon market mechanisms in a more positive light and question the very idea of the state as a legitimate social planner and collective decision-maker. Against this background, the criticism of elites voiced from the early 1970s onwards in different ways aspired to initiate market-related reforms of the welfare state.

As we shall see, the shift in focus from market defects to government failure in discussions on societal problems did not represent a uniquely Danish phenomenon but was in line with trends within mainstream economics and debates taking place in several other countries. While the welfare state survived its crisis in the 1970s (and still exists in a modified form), welfare state criticism as elite criticism contributed to major long-term transformations in political thought and practice in Denmark and elsewhere, in particular with respect to approaches in relation to the public administration of the welfare state. Moreover, it continues to inform ideologically diverse calls for societal reform today.

Welfare state criticism, 1950–1970

It is well-known that Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in the postwar period followed a distinct welfare model in which the state played a key role in the protection and promotion of the social and economic well-being of its citizens and that social democratic parties played a crucial role in creating this model.[2] In a Danish context, during its long spell as the leader of the government during the period 1953–1968, the Social Democratic Party spearheaded a number of key reforms offering welfare provision for the whole population.[3] One example is the tax-financed and universal People's Pension, ratified in 1956, which was interpreted by contemporaries, such as prominent politician and member of the Conservative Party Poul Møller, as a breakthrough of the welfare state.[4]

Insofar that all major parties supported the major reforms, the Danish welfare state was established and extended in a climate of consensus politics. However, especially in the 1950s, the two major opposition parties Venstre (the Liberal Party) and the Conservative Party strove to undercut the social democratic welfare state agenda.[5] Their most famous effort was the so-called VK Plan launched by the two parties in 1959. The VK Plan aimed to scale back the welfare state through substantial tax reliefs and reductions in state budgets and spending. The intention was to reduce the role of the state and make individual citizens more responsible for their own lives. Even if it was a purely economic plan, it formed part of the opposition's moral critique of the welfare state as a "guardian state" destroying individual freedom and initiatives.[6]

Indeed, in spite of the consensus with respect to practical politics, criticism of the welfare state had begun already during its initial phase in the early 1950s. Three types of criticism were particularly common. The first was an economically liberal form of criticism voiced against a public sector seen as a threat to free enterprise and as unaffordable for the public purse. The second was a moral conservative critique of how the welfare state as a "guardian state" put the individuals under tutelage. While both criticisms were voiced mainly from the right side of the political spectrum, politicians, intellectuals, and scholars from the left launched the third type of criticism. They saw the welfare state as part of the capitalist system, as it served to defend capitalism against a radicalisation of the working class: while retaining private ownership over the means of production, the welfare state neutralised the revolutionary potential of the workers through social benefits.[7]

New voices extended the criticism of the welfare state during its consolidation phase in the 1960s. The youth movement revolted not only against capitalism, imperialism, and exploitation in the third world but also against what it perceived to be a technocratic, authoritarian, and consumerist welfare state at home, which numbed and alienated its citizens by offering standardised consumption as their only pleasure. This revolt involved demands to create a society based on the notions of autonomy, self-determination, and self-management, which allowed for a more direct participation of individuals and small groups in the making of societal politics and culture.[8]

Furthermore, a series of public debates regarding how the welfare state spent its tax revenue began in the mid-1960s. The most famous of these was the so-called Rindalism debate, named after warehouse worker Peter Rindal, who reacted to the establishment of Statens Kunstfond in 1964 – an institution that was to award stipends (including lifelong benefits) to artists, financed through taxation. Rindal specifically questioned whether tax money should be used to support artists who were allegedly unable to sell their products and whether art circles in Copenhagen should force what he took to be frequently unwanted and incomprehensible art installations upon provincial towns. Rindal came to personify the ordinary Dane's disapproval of support to art, which was conceived as irresponsible spending of state finances that was forced upon and paid for by the population.[9] This critique merged the various strands of criticisms launched since the mid-1950s portraying the welfare state as an economically irresponsible, patronising, and repressive political order.

Despite the criticisms voiced against the welfare state, and the end of sixteen years of Social Democratic government in 1968, the Social Democratic Party remained optimistic regarding its welfare state project throughout the 1960s. The party had good reasons for its optimism. The 1960s are today known as the "golden age" of the Danish welfare state, when, against the backdrop of the international economic boom, the political visions concerning universal coverage of citizens became entrenched. The decade was characterised by economic growth, low unemployment, and little concern for the growing tax burden caused by the expansion of the welfare state. In this context, the political agenda to secure, safeguard, and extend social rights to welfare benefits was sustained.[10]

However, this changed in the early 1970s, when the international oil crisis, rising taxes, and growing unemployment hit Denmark (and several other countries around the world). These developments gave birth to a widespread discussion on the crisis of the welfare state. As part of this crisis, politicians and intellectuals from across the political spectrum challenged the fundamental values and very legitimacy of the welfare state. As summarised in volume 5 of *Dansk velfærdshistorie* [Danish Welfare History]:

> A whole range of issues were increasingly questioned: the tax burden, the expansion of the welfare system, the number of public servants, equality as a political aim, the efficiency of the public sector, the deficiencies and negative side-effects of the welfare state, the standardisation of its services,

> the lack of control mechanisms, the bureaucracy and the lack of regard for individual preferences.[11]

As indicated in this quote, criticism of the welfare state and its growing public sector was economic *and* political in nature. According to its critics, the welfare state was ineffective and expensive, in addition to repressive and undemocratic, as it subjected its citizens to and made them dependent on a system that was particularly beneficial for its rulers – the public servants.

Stating that a minority of the population governs modern society and excludes the majority from political decision-making, the new mode of welfare state criticism emerging in the Danish political debate in the 1970s was framed as elite criticism.[12] To be sure, the role of elites and the issue of technocratic rule had been subject to criticism in welfare state debates since the early 1950s. However, these themes had never been at the centre of these debates or discussed in an entirely pejorative manner. For example, some social commentators had stressed that the welfare state by necessity had to be run by experts and bureaucratic elites, who could handle the increasingly specialised and complex tasks involved in organising modern society.[13] In the 1960s, beginning with Peter Rindal's critique of Statens Kunstfond, the role of elites in the welfare state gradually moved to the centre of the political debate and was discussed in a more sceptical and critical manner. However, it was only in the early 1970s, in the context of a major economic crisis and political upheavals, that elite criticism became a dominant mode of welfare state criticism.

While many politicians, scholars, and intellectuals from different ideological camps voiced welfare state criticism as elite criticism, some played a more crucial role than others in framing the debate on the crisis of the welfare state. In the following, we zoom in on three of the most widely read and debated critics of the welfare state: Mogens Glistrup, who rose to fame as a lawyer, tax protester, and founder of the populist party Fremskridtspartiet in the early 1970s; economist and Marxist Jørgen Dich, who authored the perhaps most debated book of the era, *Den herskende klasse* [The Ruling Class]; and Bertel Haarder, member of Venstre, who, inspired by Glistrup and Dich among others, published a flood of articles and books addressing the crisis of the welfare state in the 1970s.

Indeed, as seen in the following, welfare state criticism as elite criticism was constructed in processes of circulation through which social commentators picked up, appropriated, and transformed rhetorical styles and political concepts to fit several highly diverse political agendas. However, as illustrated by the cases of Glistrup, Haarder, and Dich, welfare state criticism as elite criticism also reflected a broader ideational convergence between the left and right in thinking about the welfare state that took place in the Danish political debate in the 1970s. Most importantly, political commentators from across the political spectrum arrived at a shared idea of the welfare state as a deeply problematic enterprise run by an elite of public employees in control of the public sector, against the interests of the population at large.

Welfare state criticism as elite criticism

Before entering the political stage, Mogens Glistrup had been an associate professor in tax law at the University of Copenhagen and owner of one of Denmark's leading law firms. He became known to the broader public on national television on 30 January 1971, when, on the last day for sending in the tax return, he praised tax fraudsters as the "freedom fighters of our time" and displayed his own tax card with a tax rate of zero. His television appearance caused uproar among Danish politicians, and Finance Minister Poul Møller from the Conservative Party sent a complaint to the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, stating that it should instead have presented factual information on filling out the tax return. The government proceeded to have police and tax authorities launch an investigation into Glistrup's finances.[14]

On 22 August 1972, Glistrup founded Fremskridtspartiet. The party's agenda was to reduce the size and scope of the public sector, lower the tax burden, protect individual freedom, and provide private businesses with better opportunities for hiring employees. Fremskridtspartiet shocked the political establishment by entering Parliament with 16 per cent, thus becoming the second largest party in the so-called Landslide Election of December 1973. Altogether, the election saw five new or previously unrepresented parties winning seats and more than half of the members of parliament being replaced. The election was a disaster for the old political parties. The Social Democrats went from 37 per cent to 26 per cent of the votes. The Conservative Party was nearly cut by half, and Venstre and Det Radikale Venstre suffered heavy losses.[15] Clearly, the voters had grown tired of the traditional welfare state consensus politics constructed and sustained by the old parties.[16]

Glistrup criticised what he labelled "gammelpartierne" (the old parties) for being out of touch with political developments, and his unorthodox appearance and style sparked a renewed interest in politics.[17] Alongside provocative statements (such as his comparison of freedom fighters and tax fraudsters) and policy proposals (such as his suggestion to replace the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with an answering machine in Russian stating that Denmark surrenders), Glistrup became famous for his use of an ironic and sarcastic rhetoric against the public sector and the high tax levels in Denmark. This rhetoric included a number of negatively charged concepts used for describing government bureaucracy and its employees, such as "skrankepave" (jack-in-office), "papir-vælde" (red tape), "papirnusser" (paper-pusher), and "lovjungle" (regulatory jungle).[18]

In large part framed through these concepts, Glistrup's welfare state criticism as elite criticism conveyed the notion of a Danish society run by bureaucrats in control of an ever-growing, inefficient, and wasteful public administration, who felt superior to and made life difficult for the Danes. Moreover, Glistrup contended that the power of the bureaucrats dominating the public administration relied on the support they received from other (well-paid) employees in the public sector – including social workers, secretaries, and economists – and

on their presence in and influence on other power bastions in Danish politics. For example, he claimed that public administrators held a "majority position also in parliament" through their close ties to what he labelled the "partivælde": that is, a political system dominated by very few parties. The result was "a society in which a small group in reality has a monopoly on the political power apparatus."[19]

For example, Fremskridtspartiet already in 1973 referred to itself as "Denmark's real PEOPLE'S party" and stated that it aimed to "curtail the forces of control and power found in the administrative apparatus" as a way to protect the interests of regular Danes against those of the despotic and selfish elite.[20]

While his criticism of the welfare state was rich in terms of suggestive one-liners, slogans, and concepts, Glistrup did not offer a larger, systematic, and theoretically informed analysis of how and why the welfare state had become a societal order run by an inefficient, condescending, and selfish public administration. However, Jørgen Dich unfolded such a framework in *Den herskende klasse*, which appeared in November 1973, shortly before the Landslide Election.[21]

As an advisor to Social Democratic politicians since the 1930s and as director of the government's Employment Council in the early 1940s, Jørgen Dich had been involved in the making of the Danish social state.[22] In 1950, he became a professor of economics at Aarhus University with a focus on social and welfare politics, subsequently authoring a series of theoretical justifications of the rationality of the welfare state. The critical tone of *Den herskende klasse*, which, as reflected in its title, portrayed the welfare state as the political project of the ruling class, thus surprised many of its readers. However, Dich's turn from theoretical justification to political critique had been long in the making and reflected a broader ideational convergence between the left and the right in thinking about the welfare state, which had its roots in public debates on this topic that took off already in the early 1950s.

Economists working as bureaucrats and/or as university professors, who were involved in the decision-making processes leading to the creation of the welfare state, were among the most dedicated participants in these debates. Some of them eventually started identifying seemingly deep-rooted challenges and problems in the ideational foundations and institutional dynamics behind the system. Hence, they argued against "too much" welfare state. They agreed that to uphold the efficiency of production and provide democratic legitimacy to the welfare state, the system required a certain degree of private ownership, private initiative, free choice of consumption, proper incentives, a "healthy fear of dependency", and less bureaucratisation. However, they also questioned the very possibility of balancing individual and collective needs, welfare and efficiency, and freedom and equality in a sustainable and legitimate fashion within the framework of the welfare state.[23]

Some of these economists grew increasingly critical of how the welfare state had developed in practice. Moreover, they felt that its flaws could not be explained with reference to old paradigms and tools but required new analytical frameworks. This was also the case for Jørgen Dich, who arose as a key voice in

the debates on the welfare state. In *Den herskende klasse*, abandoning his theoretical justifications of the welfare state in favour of political critique, he expanded upon the analytical perspectives on welfare economics he had developed since the 1950s. These perspectives merged Karl Marx's theory on class struggle with public choice theorist Anthony Down's theory on the median voter and economist Alfred Marshall's ideas on supply and demand, marginal utility, and costs of production. Against this background, Dich described the welfare state not as the product of a specific programme or ideology but as the (costly) outcome of party-political concerns for the median voter and the domination of the public sector by power-seeking interest groups. These groups, Dich argued, assumed control over the state by forcing overtly expensive government services on the happily receiving population without regard for people's real wants or for economic efficiency.[24] Hence, in his assessment, the rulers of modern society were not the capitalist class but public servants in the social, educational, and health sectors. With regard to this ruling class, he wrote:

> Its power is not based on possession, but on its ability to create an obliging social ideology, which has its roots in a humanistic culture, escape from manual labour and the fear of illness and death. It is shaped in a mode of perfectionism and a societal critique, which safeguards the interest of this class in terms of high salaries, limited work, and a massive expansion of the public sector. This expansion in many ways oversteps the limit where costs exceed societal utility, thus causing a social degradation and economic exploitation of the rest of the population.[25]

Dich's analysis of the welfare state in many respects overlapped that of Glistrup. Among other things, similar to Glistrup, Dich argued that welfare state institutions and their employees, rather than market forces, had caused the crisis of the welfare state. Moreover, after criticising the workings of public sector institutions, in *Den herskende Klasse*, he (provokingly) praised the societal role of private companies and market forces:

> Let Mærsk Møller [the major Danish shipping magnate] symbolise a system that has doubled working wages in the past 25 years (and quadrupled them since 1870), and let Heinesen [the contemporary Social Democratic minister of finance] represent the ruling class, which takes the money from the workers that they owe to the initiatives of Mærsk Møller and distributes it as high wages to itself and to the superfluous education of its children. Which of these two represent the interest of the workers?[26]

Moreover, similar to Glistrup, Dich did not reflect upon how to protect the population *through* state powers but on how to protect it *from* state powers through market mechanisms. For example, to avoid resources being wasted in public services and to direct these services to the real needs of the population, he suggested introducing the public sector to competition-enhancing devices

modelled on the market; deregulating some areas of the economy, such as the housing market; and introducing user fees for various public services. Still, in spite of these similarities, Dich's and Glistrup's solutions to the crisis of the welfare state differed with respect to political aims and measures. Dich's concern was societal equality, while Glistrup's concern was individual freedom. Moreover, while Glistrup sought to minimise and privatise the public sector, Dich presented an economic steering policy as the key remedy for preventing a further expansion of this sector. The responsibility for this policy was to be assigned to groups of independent economic experts and to a powerful troika composed of a budget minister, finance minister, and prime minister.[27] Altogether, Dich positioned himself as a reformist, not as a revolutionary.[28]

Due to its publication shortly before the Landslide Election, Dich's book nevertheless became widely associated with Glistrup's criticism of the welfare state. Moreover, Fremskridtspartiet enthusiastically embraced *Den herskende klasse* in its monthly magazine, *Fremskridt*, announcing that Dich's analysis was "in line with Fremskridtspartiet's assessment of the current chaos in society."[29] In addition, several members of the party picked up and utilised the notion of the "the ruling class" as the prism through which they diagnosed and criticised the Danish welfare state.[30] For example, elaborating upon the Marxist vocabulary in Dich's book, Fremskridtspartiet interpreted the exploitation allegedly taking place in the Danish welfare state through a new class distinction, namely that between the ruling class, understood as those employed in the public administration, and the working class, understood as those working in the private sector.[31]

Dich was deeply unhappy with how *Den herskende klasse* was read by the public and (mis)used by Mogens Glistrup and Fremskridtspartiet.[32] Unintentionally, his book had become part of a broader discourse on welfare state criticism that merged notions with diverse origins and was utilised for very different political projects. Indeed, Glistrup's political rhetoric itself was an example of the fusion of notions from different camps and origins that occurred in the early 1970s. While often hailed as a language innovator, many of the concepts he became associated with were already circulating in the public debate when he used them. One example is the term "skrankepave" (jack-in-office), which can be traced back to a 1970 campaign launched by the tabloid *Ekstra Bladet* against the growing bureaucracy in the public sector. Soon after, the Socialist People's Party used this term in its pamphlet for the 1971 election. The party here pointed to two threats against democracy: the concentration of capital and power in the private major industries and the "public administration with all its expert rule and paper-pushing". "Also here", the programme stated, "a minority is making decisions that concern the wellbeing of the entire population. All too often, people here encounter the wall of the jacks-in-office. SF [The Socialist People's Party] will unconditionally fight against expert rule and bureaucracy."[33]

However, "skrankepave" only became widely known in the political debate when Glistrup in his campaigning in 1972–1973 merged it with his many other pejorative terms in relation to the public sector. In this process, while tapping

into the anti-authoritarian discourses articulated by the left, Glistrup linked the term "skrankepave" to a distinctly non-leftist political agenda, namely the ambition to create a market economy free from government intervention. Moreover, even if they became strongly associated with Glistrup's agenda after the Landslide Election, parties across the political spectrum seized upon terms such as "skrankepave" to position a whole variety of different agendas that converged in criticising the public sector. A case in point is the Conservative Party. The party had rejected Glistrup as a parliamentary candidate as late as 1971 – and sought to distance itself from his agenda – but after the Landslide Election, it nevertheless began to employ terms such as "skrankepave" and "papirvælde".[34]

Belonging to a new generation of politicians emerging within Venstre in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Bertel Haarder was directly inspired by Glistrup's critique of the welfare state. Next to Haarder, key members of this generation included Henning Christophersen, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Peter Brixtofte, and Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who were all academics with a social science background and who authored a veritable flood of books and articles on liberal ideology and politics in the 1970s. The importance of these entrepreneurial ideologists can hardly be overstated. They all became members of parliament for Venstre and eventually also very prolific and powerful ministers.[35] Reacting against Venstre's recent compromises with the welfare state and its long-standing tradition of looking upon state and market as separate and antagonistic spheres, they sought to address the contemporary crisis of the welfare state by renewing the ideological foundation of their party. Locating the main source of the crisis of the welfare state in its ever-growing, ineffective, and undemocratic public sector, these politicians did not aim to dismantle this sector but to reduce its size and change its contents along the lines of a "new" and more "constructive" liberalism. This included introducing competition in public administration and service provision.

In very specific ways, Haarder's prolific and provocative analysis of the welfare state drew upon Mogens Glistrup and Jørgen Dich. Glistrup stirred him to a renewed attack on the taxation system and to coin new and provocative terms used for assessing the public sector and its employees. With the notion of the ruling class, Dich provided him with a systematic and theoretical analysis of the perceived problems of the welfare state.

With reference to Dich's argument – and to economist John Kenneth Galbraith's theory that producer sovereignty and not consumer sovereignty constitutes the key feature of industrial economies[36] – in his first book *Statskollektivisme og spildproduktion* [State Collectivism and Waste-Production] (1973), Bertel Haarder argued that the public sector was run by a ruling class and had achieved a monopolist position in the Danish welfare state. The result was a political order in which public goods were forced down on individual citizens (state collectivism) while being exempt from the competition and profitability characterising a market economy (waste-production).[37]

To solve the problems he identified within the public sector, Haarder echoed arguments voiced by Venstre since the 1920s: the public sector had to be

reduced on behalf of the private sector. According to Haarder, less state and more market would result in increased efficiency and productivity and a more democratic society, allowing individual citizens to pursue their everyday activities without being subjected to an omnipresent and despotic state. However, in their attempts to counter the growth of the public sector, Haarder and the new generation of Venstre politicians formulated a new liberal agenda that in at least two ways broke with the sharp distinction between state and market having characterised the party's ideology since the 1920s.

The first aspect involved a set of progressive visions that Venstre had co-opted from the societal critique launched by forces on the left since the mid-1960s. Venstre politicians thus wanted to create a society with the individual human at the centre and enhanced values such as "local democracy", "participation", "well-being", "free choice", and "decentralization". Moreover, in the early 1970s, many politicians from Venstre criticized "blind" economic growth and voiced concerns about the environment and aspired to develop societies in Danish provinces and thereby counter the population being concentrated in the large cities.[38] By linking its economic-political programme to such social-cultural aspects, which aimed to create a good life for all the citizens of the welfare state, Venstre confronted the purely economic and "de-culturalised" liberalism that the party had represented since the 1950s.[39] Venstre's progressive visions worked alongside the second new aspect of the party's political ideology, which concerned a distinct break with the liberal tradition of looking upon state and market as two separate and antagonistic spheres. Along with accepting the state as an important economic actor in building modern liberal society, the party now aimed to regain control of the public sector and to limit its expenses, expansion, and power by subjecting it to market-like mechanisms. More concretely, as mentioned earlier, the aim was to introduce competition in public administration and service provision. This involved new ideas concerning the decentralisation of and free consumer choice in the public sector. In this endeavour, they positioned the consumer as the quintessence of the free, liberal, and responsible human being who needed to be placed at the centre of a new, more democratic, and efficient way of organising modern society. The idea to marketise the public sector by subjecting it to consumer demand was also the key theme of Haarder's *Institutionernes tyranni* [The Tyranny of Institutions] that appeared in 1974 as a follow-up to *Statskollektivsme og spildproduktion*. In this book, Haarder wrote:

> The important thing is to *liberalize* the public as well as the private sector. . . . Similar to the private sector, the public sector must be subjected to the demands of the consumer, so that needs and expenses are kept in check.[40]

While Haarder's notion of welfare state reform through marketisation also differed from Glistrup's privatisation agenda, his welfare state critique obviously strongly overlaps that of Glistrup. Tellingly, Haarder contributed to the first issues of *Fremskridt* with articles criticising public expenditure,[41] and *Fremskridt*

printed Haarder's *Institutionernes tyranni* in its entirety upon its publication in 1974.[42] Moreover, Glistrup was deeply impressed by Haarder and sought to recruit him to stand as a candidate for his new party. Haarder declined since he did not like the materialist and anti-cultural attitude prevalent in Fremskridtspartiet. Soon after, in January 1975, he was elected member of parliament for Venstre.

However, many readers of Haarder's books found that his politics were inseparable from those of Glistrup. For example, in a review of *Institutionernes tyranni* in Venstre's journal *Liberal*, two members of the youth section within Haarder's own party reproached him for, through his portrayal of politicians as people serving special interest groups rather than the common good, echoing Glistrup's dangerous criticism of traditional political democracy as associated with parliamentarism. They also attacked the way in which Haarder contrasted the public sector with the market by depicting the public sector as ruled by self-interested bureaucrats and the market as an arena securing what the state cannot produce: economic efficiency and individual freedom.[43]

Arguing that his liberal visions combined ideals of freedom with ideals of equality, Haarder rejected the charge that he echoed Fremskridtspartiet's agenda.[44] Still, in the 1970s, when elite criticism became a dominant mode of welfare state criticism, it became increasingly difficult to distinguish political aims and agendas from each other in the Danish political debate. This difficulty was arguably related to the ideational convergence between the left and the right in the new focus on government flaws in debates on contemporary societal problems, as elaborated upon in the concluding remarks.

Concluding remarks: government flaws and market promises

The political knowledge regarding welfare state criticism as elite criticism arose in the arena of contemporary public-political debate consisting of debate books, political and scholarly journals, newspapers, and political parties' manifestos, pamphlets, and election material. The actors, or proponents, of this political knowledge were charismatic politicians, scholars, and commentators who diagnosed and prescribed cures to what they saw as the problems of contemporary society. They did so through an imaginative discourse relying on catchy and provocative one-liners, slogans, and terms which claimed authority by merging arguments and examples drawn from the realms of politics, science, and everyday life. Stylising themselves as heretics vis-à-vis the established consensus concerning the welfare state, they shifted the perspective from the market to the state in identifying the obstacles for creating the good society and, in different ways, aspired to initiate market-related reforms.

In shifting the perspective from the market to the state in debating the obstacles for creating the good society, Danish political debate in the 1970s was not unique but in line with trends within the discipline of mainstream economics and with political debates taking place in other countries.

After a period in which the idea of the state as a collective decision-maker had been widely accepted, from the early 1950s onwards, economists from a large number of backgrounds started questioning the legitimacy and capability of government social planning for the common good. Particularly critical were exponents of the emergent public choice paradigm, who started studying the behaviour of political actors, such as voters, politicians, and bureaucrats, through the notion of the utility-maximising individual and who understood government as a political marketplace in which people are motivated by self-interest rather than ideas regarding the common good. According to public choice theory, unless kept in check, politicians and bureaucrats will create a government characterised by an inefficient allocation of resources through excessive spending and an uncontrollable growth of the public sector.[45] One of the proponents of public choice theory was Anthony Downs, whose *An Economic Theory of Democracy* from 1957 became hugely influential in theorising government politics in and beyond the discipline of economics and providing a key source of inspiration for Jørgen Dich's analysis of the welfare state in *Den herskende klasse*.

Likewise, in many countries, political forces on the right as well as on the left expressed a critical view on government administration in public debates. For example, in the United States, business groups, free-market think tanks, conservative politicians, and neoliberal economists such as Milton Friedman spearheaded the deregulation movement in the 1970s, arguing that it was necessary to dismantle the alliance of elites, composed of bureaucrats in government agencies and liberal experts, which was economically ripping off and disregarding the values of average Americans. But the movement also included consumer advocates and New Left intellectuals, who had been in favour of regulation but likewise began to argue that it was necessary to scale back inefficient and repressive federal agencies and self-interested corporate powers and to restore economic efficiency by deregulating the market and liberating the individual as consumer. In fact, even famous consumer advocate Ralph Nader emerged as an advocate for deregulation.[46]

In Denmark, no leftist economist or politician went as far as Ralph Nader. But welfare state criticism also linked together ideas from diverse ideological backgrounds. For example, Bertel Haarder's marketisation agenda cited many different sources of inspiration, including Jørgen Dich, John Kenneth Galbraith, Milton Friedman, and Austrian-American social critic Ivan Illich.

Moreover, many leftist commentators started to focus on the welfare state in addressing the challenges involved in creating a society of economic, political, and social equality. Of course, they did not entirely forget their usual enemies, such as American imperialism and market capitalism, and welfare state criticism often went alongside criticism of the structural issues of capitalism and the inability of social welfare to solve the economic issues considered inherent to capitalism by Marxists. Yet, as previously mentioned, much of the anti-authoritarian critique emerging on the left from the mid-1960s onwards targeted the centralised state as a force exploiting the people economically and repressing individual freedom and ideals of autonomy, self-determination, and self-management.

In a short-term perspective, in Denmark and most other countries, the welfare state survived its crisis in the 1970s, insofar that no major political transformations or reforms took place. Still, welfare state criticism as elite criticism arguably had long-term effects on political thought and practices in many places. Hence, in a larger context, welfare state criticism as elite criticism formed part of what Daniel T. Rodgers has called the rise of the "Age of Fracture", referring to an ideological convergence in respect to the ways in which scholars, intellectuals, and politicians from across the political spectrum interpreted societal phenomena from the late 1960s onwards.[47] Here, on both the political right and the political left, earlier notions of history, society, and politics highlighting collective institutions, interdependence, and common solutions and social circumstances gave way to categories and perspectives highlighting society's many different, and often incompatible, interests, as represented by the diverse preferences and desires held by autonomous groups or individuals. While the state started to be associated with government flaws and was understood as a site for the maximisation of individual interest rather than an arena devoted to the search of public interest societal debate, the market now appeared as a realm of freedom, choice, and efficiency.

Among other things, in the United Kingdom, the United States, and many countries in continental Europe and in Scandinavia, the Age of Fracture entailed a convergence between the so-called neoliberal and centre-left approaches to public administration that became manifest during the 1980s. This convergence responded to debates on the failed promises of the welfare state and to the questioning of the idea of the state as a legitimate social planner and collective decision-maker to which welfare state criticism as elite criticism had contributed significantly. In response, governments of all colours began pursuing political agendas aiming to promote individual responsibility and initiative, reduce patronage and guardianship, and secure economic efficiency and growth in the public sector by modelling it in on the market and by empowering the citizen as its customer and captain.[48]

Moreover, in many countries, political parties and interest groups have carried on, or relaunched, some of the more specific agendas outlined by welfare state critics in the 1970s. In a Danish context, the most famous example is Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party), which was founded in 1995 as a breakaway party from Fremskridtspartiet and continued Glistrup's rhetoric of fighting for the interest of the Danish people against the political and cultural elites in control of government (along with his anti-immigration policies). Another example is the new libertarian party Liberal Alliance, which has revived Glistrup's de-bureaucratisation agenda from the early 1970s.[49] In line with this development, the director of the prominent free-market think tank CEPOS, Martin Ågerup, authored a foreword to a new edition of Jørgen Dich's *Den herskende klasse*, which appeared in 2016, thus using the latter's Marxist critique for CEPOS's economically liberal agenda.[50] However, left-wing commentators and politicians have also embraced Dich. For example, in his recent book *Den lærde klasse* [The Learned Class], Social Democratic

politician Kaare Dydvad Bek draws directly upon *Den herskende* klasse in arguing that a learned class in control of the government and dominating the public debate enforces an academisation of education and a centralisation of Danish politics and economy in the capital of Copenhagen to the disadvantage of the Danish workers and those living in the provinces.[51]

What all the cited examples have in common is the idea of the welfare state as an enterprise run by a new ruling class in control of the state apparatus against the interests of the majority of the population. This idea implies that challenges to the good society are located in the flaws of state institutions and the actions of people in charge of these rather than in capitalism. This is the most important legacy of the welfare state criticism as elite criticism that emerged in the 1970s.

Notes

1 This chapter draws on sections in chapter seven of Niklas Olsen, *The Sovereign Consumer: A New Intellectual History of Neoliberalism* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
2 Francis Sejersted, *The Age of Social Democracy: Norway and Sweden in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Mary Hilson, *The Nordic Model: Scandinavia Since 1945* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
3 Klaus Petersen, *Legitimität und Krise: Die politische Geschichte des dänischen Wohlfartsstaates 1945–1973* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1998).
4 Klaus Petersen, "Velfærdsstaten i dansk politisk retorik", *Tidsskrift for Velferdsforskning* 5, no. 1 (2002); Bo Lidegaard, *A Short History of Denmark in the Twentieth Century* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2009), 233–239.
5 Venstre literally means "left". The party was named Venstre due to its position on the left side in the Danish parliament when it was founded in 1870. It is today known as "Denmark's Liberal Party". However, Venstre in fact only added this description to its name in 1963, which is why the party is consequently labelled Venstre in the following.
6 Petersen, "Velfærdsstaten i dansk politisk retorik", 22.
7 Ibid.
8 Thomas Ekman Jørgensen and Steven L.B. Jensen, *1968 – og alt det der fulgte* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2008).
9 Henrik Nissen, *Landet blev by, 1950–1970* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1991), 274–278.
10 Petersen, *Legitimität und Krise*.
11 Jørn Henrik Petersen, Klaus Petersen, and Niels Finn Christiansen, eds., *Velfærdsstaten i tidehverv. Dansk Velfærdshistorie, bind 5, 1973–1993* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 83.
12 Obviously, elite criticism relies on elite theory. For the emergence and development of elite theory, see Jason Edwards, "Elite Theory", in *Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, ed. M. Gibbons (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 1012–1017, which defines elite theory as a notion stating that a minority of the population governs modern society and excludes the majority from political decision-making. However, none of the Danish critics of the welfare state drew upon or referred to the canon of elite theory that had been established since the rise of the so-called classical elite theory (Pareto, Mosca, Michels) in the early twentieth century and that by the 1960s had come to include the tradition of democratic elitism (Weber, Schumpeter) alongside a range of other works, authored by philosophers and sociologists (such as James Burnham and C. Wright Mills), which used the elite label to criticise the power structures of the welfare state.
13 Jesper Vestermark Køber, "Et spørgsmål om nærhed: nærdemokratibegrebets historie i 1970ernes Danmark" (Diss., University of Copenhagen, 2017), 38–98.

14 Flemming Christian Nielsen, *Glistrup – en biografi om en anarkist* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2013). The investigation into Glistrup's economic conditions dragged on but resulted in Glistrup being sentenced in 1983 by the Supreme Court to three years in prison and a fine of 1,000,000 Danish kroner and the parliament finding him unfit to serve as a member. After serving his sentence, Glistrup was re-elected to parliament in 1987 but was soon outmanoeuvred by Pia Kjærsgaard in Fremskridtspartiet. He was expelled from the party in 1991.
15 While it has frequently been labelled the Social Liberal party, Det Radikale Venstre literally means The Radical Left. Inspired by French radicalism, the party was founded in 1905 and was located further to the political left compared to Venstre.
16 Lidegaard, *A Short History of Denmark*, 294–295.
17 In fact, already in the 1960s, Glistrup attempted to be nominated as a parliamentary candidate for the established parties, and he had supported Peter Rindal in his protest against Statens Kunstfond and encouraged him to form a political party. Moreover, as late as 1971, the Conservative Party rejected Glistrup as a parliamentary candidate.
18 Michael Kuur Sørensen, "Den innovative ideolog i politisk historie: Mogens Glistrup som case", *Temp* 4, no. 8 (2014): 115–129.
19 Peter Damborg and Torben Østerby, *Glistrups lille sorte* (Copenhagen: Nørhaven Bogtrykkeri, 1973), 43, 60.
20 See the party journal *Fremskridt* 1, no. 8 (1975), front page, and the party's first program Fremskridtspartiet, *Partiprogram* (1973), 4.
21 Jørgen S. Dich, *Den herskende klasse* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1973).
22 Arne Hardis, *Den kætterske socialdemokrat: Jørgen Dich og den herskende klasse* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2018).
23 Jørn Henrik Petersen, Klaus Petersen, and Niels Finn Christiansen, eds., *Dansk velfærdshistorie. Bind 3: 1933–1956: Velfærdsstaten i støbeskeen* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2012), 117–151; Jørn Henrik Petersen, Klaus Petersen, and Niels Finn Christiansen, eds., *Dansk velfærdshistorie. Bind 4: 1956–1973: Velfærdsstatens storhedstid* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2012), 145–162.
24 Jørn Henrik Petersen, "Værdier og interesser i socialpolitikken", *Politica* 28, no. 4 (1996): 440–451.
25 Dich, *Den herskende klasse*, back cover.
26 Ibid., 135–136.
27 Ibid., 137–143.
28 Hardis, *Den kætterske socialdemokrat*, 225.
29 "Videnskabsmand gør op med snyltersamfundet", *Fremskridt* 11, no. 1 (1973): 6.
30 See, for example, "Folketinget domineres af Den herskende klasse", *Fremskridt* 2, no. 2 (1975): 2; "Herremændene på skattekontorerne", *Fremskridt* 3, no. 3 (1975): 13–14; "Vi har brug for sund dømmekraft – ikke politikereksperter", *Fremskridt* 3, no. 3 (1975): 16; "Kulturbevidst", *Fremskridt* 8, no. 4 (1976): 1; "Den herskende klasse", *Fremskridt* 8, no. 4 (1976): 21; "Den tabte tråd", *Fremskridt* 14, no. 4 (1976): 1. The 1974 issues of the journal presumably contain further references to the ruling class but are not available at the Royal Danish Library.
31 Margit Bech Vilstrup, "Kampen om arbejderne–Arbejderbegrebets politiske historie, 1750–2017" (Diss., University of Southern Denmark, 2017), 267–270.
32 Hardis, *Den kætterske socialdemokrat*, 223–228.
33 Quoted from ibid., 243. See also Kuur Sørensen, "Den innovative ideolog i politisk historie", 123–124.
34 Mikael Kuur Sørensen, "Velfærdsstatens politiske anarkist – eksempler på Fremskridtspartiets politiske sprogstrategi 1973–1980", *European Journal of Scandinavian Studies* 43, no. 2 (2014): 26–74.
35 Moreover, Christophersen, Ellemann-Jensen, and Fogh Rasmussen became chairs of the party, and the latter also became a very influential prime minister (2001–2009).
36 Galbraith did not, in fact, use the specific term "producer sovereignty". Interpreters of Galbraith coined it to conceptualise his argument of how producers, and not consumers,

determine what is produced and ultimately how resources are allocated in the market economy. Raymond Benton Jr., "Producer and Consumer Sovereignty", in *Encyclopedia of Political Economy*, vol. 2, L-Z, ed. Philip Anthony O'Hara (London: Routledge, 2001), 912.

37 Bertel Haarder, *Statskollektivisme og spildproduktion – om årsagerne til overforbruget, skatteplyndringen, institutionernes tyranni og det tiltagende misbrug af vores ressourcer* (Copenhagen: Bramsen & Hjort, 1973). Haarder's book appeared before *Den Herskende Klasse*; however, Haarder was familiar with the notion of the ruling class from Dich's contemporary talks.

38 Køber, *Et spørgsmål om nærhed*.

39 Jeppe Nevers and Niklas Olsen, "Liberalism and the Welfare State: The Danish Case in a European Perspective", in *Liberalismus im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Anselm Doering-Manteuffel and Jörn Leonhard (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015), 260–263.

40 Bertel Haarder, *Institutionernes tyranni* (Copenhagen: Bramsen & Hjort, 1974).

41 Bertel Haarder, "Kunstig oppustning af offentligt forbrug", *Fremskridt* 2, no. 1 (1973): 10–11; "12 års uddannelse betyder nye offentlige udgifter på 15 mia. kr.", *Fremskridt* 9, no. 2 (1973): 12–13.

42 Bertel Haarder, *Op mod strømmen. Med højskolen i ryggen* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1973), 176.

43 Ole R. Brandt and Per B. Jensen, "Hårders bog – genistreg eller gal streg?" *Liberal* 8 (1974): 50–54.

44 Bertel Haarder, "Svar på tiltale", *Liberal* 8 (1974): 55.

45 Beatrice Cherrier and Jean-Baptiste Fleury, "Economists' Interest in Collective Decision After World War II: A History", *Public Choice* 172, no. 1–2 (2017): 23–44.

46 Eduardo F. Canedo, "The Rise of the *Deregulation* Movement in Modern America, 1957–1980" (Diss., Columbia University, 2008); Matthew Hilton, *Prosperity for All: Consumer Activism in an Era of Globalization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 152–184; Lawrence Glickman, *Buying Power: A History of Consumer Activism in Post-war America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 275–302.

47 Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

48 Olsen, *The Sovereign Consumer*, 227–258.

49 Liberal Alliance, "Liberal Alliances afbureaukratiseringsoplæg", https://www.liberalalliance.dk/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/LA_afbureaukratisering_v2.pdf

50 Jørgen Dich, *Den herskende klasse* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2016).

51 Kaare Dydvad Bek, *De lærdes tyranni* (Copenhagen: People's Press, 2017).

7 The entrepreneur's dream

Credit card history between PR and academic research

Orsi Husz

What is knowledge worth in transactions between the market and academia? And why would a young company invest in writing corporate history? This chapter explores a book project initiated in the mid-1970s by Erik Elinder (1912–1998), a charismatic entrepreneur and owner of the Swedish credit card company ContoFöretagen. His dynamically expanding business was established in 1971, later renamed InterConto, and it was the company to introduce the VISA card to the Swedish market in 1978. In 1970s Sweden, however, consumer credit was seen by many as a morally dubious issue that had been criticised since the early twentieth century by the Consumer Co-operative Union, by consumer educators, and by official savings campaigns. Elinder commissioned two economic historians at the University of Gothenburg to write a scholarly grounded but popular historical book on small everyday loans (i.e., consumer credit). The working title *The Right to Credit* summarised the overarching ideological message about credit as an age-old moral right that he wished to convey. Elinder, describing the book as "a long-nourished dream",[1] hoped for a wide distribution and, as a consequence, moral justification for consumer credit:

> The book will be a classic for the first time presenting a credit operation, which is of extraordinary importance for consumers, retail trade and social life. . . . The better this book, the more it will be read and the faster we will get respect for the credit card operation and its social and economic role.[2]

The ambitions were high with a partial international scope and a long historical perspective. The target audience included university researchers and students, politicians, journalists, bankers, teachers, people working in retail trade, members of the consumer cooperative and trade unions, as well as participants in study circles.[3] However, the book's scope, topic, and realisation were subjects to negotiations and interpretations. The historians quit the project in 1980, and the book, only lacking a concluding chapter, was never published. The manuscript, an extensive correspondence between Elinder and economic historian Jan Kuuse (one of the two authors of the manuscript), along with a large number of other letters and memos concerning the project are preserved together with the uncatalogued archival material left behind by Elinder and stored at the

Stockholm Centre for Business History.[4] This rich documentation and the fact that economic historians Jan Kuuse and Kent Olsson kindly shared their memories offer a dual opportunity. First, it gives a close-range insight into the ideas, negotiations, and strategies involved in the ambitions to destigmatise consumer credit by influencing prevalent ideologies. Elinder shared these ambitions with the entire industry, although the strategies used might have varied. Second, it is possible to deconstruct and problematise the ways in which a business actor uses scholarly legitimate knowledge. "Knowledge" was a word recurring in the written sources, but how was it understood, valued, and exchanged?

Transactions of knowledge and boundary work

Although I am writing about a failed book project, this is not merely a study on why circulation of knowledge may not be successful. While trying to reveal blockages, I also show how knowledge circulated during the process of researching, discussing, writing, and commenting the book. I use two analytical concepts to make sense of my empirical material. First, I propose the concept *transactions of knowledge*, which relates to the notion of circulation of knowledge[5] but highlights an oft-overlooked aspect. Circulation stresses the importance of how knowledge takes shape and how it is transformed while moving in society. Now, the movements of knowledge sometimes take the form of hybrid exchanges based on both economic and other values. What was knowledge worth for the different actors? Which transactions were imagined, proposed, realised, or hindered? Which forms did knowledge take in these transactions? Hence, with the concept of transaction, I highlight the exchanges between actors operating along different logics of value, within different "orders of worth", as originally defined by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot. I am interested in how – in relation to which order of worth – the actors justified their "investments" in the production, distribution, and exchanges of knowledge.[6] The relevant orders of worth in this case are: (1) the market order of worth; (2) the one I choose to refer to as the scholarly order of worth (a version of what Boltanski and Thévenot denote "inspirational"); and (3) the civic order of worth (which in my case refers to general societal ideas, morals, and ideologies).[7]

The second analytical concept, *boundary work*, originates from the field of science and technology studies (STS). Thomas Gieryn introduced this cartographical metaphor analysing the efforts put into drawing symbolic demarcation lines between real and illegitimate science, between science and other epistemic authorities, and between science and outside powers trying to exploit the authority and legitimacy of science, such as political or market forces.[8] Instead of merely focusing on how academics establish and reinforce cultural boundaries, my study directs the spotlight towards the opposite side of the symbolic border, specifically the field of business. I use this concept to highlight and unpack the transactions of knowledge *across the borders* between academic research, applied marketing, popular history, and politics. The symbolic boundaries also demarcate different orders of worth that may render hybrid exchanges

problematic for both parties. Calculating and negotiating values, costs, and benefits – symbolic and economic – in these knowledge transactions is in fact also a kind of boundary work.

Gieryn, as well as sociologists and historians of science in general, mainly focuses on natural and technical scientists when scrutinising relationships between market/industry and university research.[9] Within the discipline of history, it is more common to problematise *the uses of history*.[10] Company histories based on scholarly work as well as so-called corporate storytelling or history marketing represent examples of history being "used" by commercial actors.[11] Business history (*företagshistoria* in Swedish) became an established field in economic history in Sweden in the 1970s when large corporations had their histories written by university-based historians. This brought discussions on the boundaries of scholarly research to the fore, which, furthermore, coincided with an ongoing discussion on historical research and scientific methods. Historical narratives regarding particular companies were not sufficient as such, as generalisations, theorising, and a methodological awareness were considered necessary for scholarly credibility.[12] Thanks to the extensive documentation in the present case, *boundary work* may be studied as a process, through actions, communications, negotiations, and actual transactions of knowledge. This offers a different perspective from the retrospective accounts by scholars – however initiated and insightful – regarding their own boundary work. The main question of this chapter concerning how the circulation of knowledge was used to destigmatise, legitimise, and ideologically recontextualise consumer credit may now be specified by asking which transactions it involved across the boundaries of academia and business. How was knowledge perceived, valued, and exchanged between a market order of worth and a scholarly order of worth when aiming to influence a civic order of worth?

The credit card market and the moral stigma of consumer credit

Professional credit card schemes were introduced in Sweden around 1959–1960 by a number of small card companies, such as retailer-owned Stockholms Konto-Ring (1959); Shoppingkonto (1960), financed by Skandinaviska banken; or City- and Söderkonto (1959), financed by Handelsbanken. In a series of mergers, all bank-owned card schemes amalgamated into one joint venture in 1962, Köpkort AB/Ltd, which became the first proper nationwide card company in Europe.[13] Offering so-called revolving credit plans, it followed the example of BankAmericard (1958) rather than that of Diners Club (1950), the latter being a "travel and entertainment card" with monthly accounts for elite and corporate users. Dominating the Swedish market, Köpkort's operations increased continuously but slowly in the 1960s. An explosive development first started in the 1970s. Between 1968 and 1978, the Swedish card industry had grown tenfold in both credit volume (relative worth) and number of cards in use.[14]

The retailer-owned card company, Stockholms Konto-Ring, was not part of the early 1960s mergers, instead continuing as a small-scale operation until 1971, when Erik Elinder bought it – in search of a new investment. Under a new name, ContoFöretagen, and starting with no more than 3,000 accounts in 1971, within a few years, the company grew into becoming the main competitor of Köpkort. By clever marketing and by purchasing older, small-size card systems, such as Göteborgs Ekonomicentral (Gothenburg's Economy Centre), a former credit union for workers (est. 1929), Elinder turned his card business into a great success. In addition to the company's own cards, ContoFöretagen also managed private label cards for retailers such as IKEA. In 1978, when the company changed its name to InterConto and introduced VISA to Sweden, it already had 262,000 accounts, which would increase with a further 20 per cent in the following year to 320,000, leading to a stable second position after bank-owned Köpkort, with its 350,000 accounts.[15]

The aggressive marketing of credit cards around 1960 triggered an emotionally charged debate in the media with representatives of the Consumer Co-operative Union (Co-op, Kooperativa Förbundet, KF in Swedish),[16] which, since the early twentieth century, had propagated for cash-only purchases, and others criticising consumer credit in general and credit cards in particular. The lead figure among the critics, consumer cooperative advocate Herman Stolpe, even published a book arguing against consumer credit. He warned of a new generation uncritically accepting consumer credit as they no longer remembered the "disasters" of the late nineteenth century, when workers, regularly indebted to their employers' stores, ended up in a deplorable state of dependence. He described the credit card as the "new usurer" imported from the United States without a second thought. For Stolpe, the credit card was the "gravedigger of welfare and prosperity". It was expensive and lured people into making unnecessary purchases, thus counteracting thrift.[17] As a consequence of this massive criticism, advertising efforts for credit cards became much more cautious.

A governmental commission of inquiry on consumer credit studied the issue between 1961 and 1966 and prepared a proposal for legislation (SOU 1966:42), which would mainly regulate selling on instalments. However, legislation was not realised until 1977, after a second commission of inquiry and a new proposal (SOU 1975:63).[18] The new regulations (Konsumentkreditlagen/Consumer Credit Act 1977:81) restricted traditional instalment credit, thereby, in fact, facilitating the growth of card credit, but this outcome was in the mid-1970s far from clear for representatives of the card business, who anxiously monitored the work of the commission of inquiry.

The explosive growth of the Swedish card industry in the 1970s, along with the introduction of VISA (by InterConto in 1978) and MasterCharge/MasterCard (by Köpkort in 1979) and the Savings Banks' plans to launch a new combined ATM-credit-debit card, led to a new moral debate in the media, this time not concerning consumer credit in general but credit cards in particular. A new commission of inquiry at the Ministry of Finance was initiated in 1980

to prepare special legislation in relation to credit cards.[19] A main concern for card companies during the 1970s was thus not only to change general negative moral attitudes but also to influence decision-makers, experts, and important stakeholders and thereby regulatory policies. The ambitions for destigmatising consumer credit in general and credit cards in particular took different forms. Köpkort marketed its card as "modern money", diverting the attention of critics and the public from it (also) being a credit device, while Erik Elinder attempted to justify the use of consumer credit ideologically by (re)writing its history.

Breaking down ideological boundaries: thrift revisited

> The toughest opponent in my work is Erik Elinder model 1940–1950 (i.e., the ingrained idea that you should save first and buy later). As you can remember, I was the head of *Lyckoslanten* [the children's magazine of the Savings Banks] with [its stories about the characters] Thrift and Spendthrift and all that ideology. I built up the savings club movement, the household savings box movement, school savings activities and all this, which was a wonderfully nice and fun job in a world that appears quite distant from ours. This ideology/mythology from 1940 is what we must break down and instead make people adapt to a new situation: the high-tax society with ever-increasing inflation. . . . Another ideology that we must fight is Herman Stolpe model 1940–50 – we talked about this on the phone. The broad base of the consumer cooperative movement is still against credit.[20]

This quote comes from a 1974 letter by Erik Elinder to economist, publicist, and (neo)liberal commentator Sven Rydenfelt, member of the Mont Pelerin Society and associate professor at Lund University.[21] This is an illuminating document in multiple ways. Not only is this the first time Elinder explicitly mentions the idea of publishing a book about consumer credit, asking Rydenfelt if he would be willing to write or edit such a work. It also highlights Elinder's background and ambitions. Furthermore, the choice of Rydenfelt as a possible author and discussion partner offers a hint regarding the ideological affiliations of this book project.

Early in his career, Elinder, a Swedish pioneer of advertising and marketing, worked with savings campaigns as the head of the Savings Banks' Bureau of Information (Sparfrämjandet). Swedish savings campaigns with the children's magazine *Lyckoslanten* and its cartoons characters – the two young girls Spara (Thrift), always righteous and successful in all her undertakings, and her opposite Slösa (Spendthrift), irresponsible and lazy, mismanaging all her tasks and causing trouble – have become emblematic in Swedish consciousness and everyday culture. In 1950, Elinder left the Savings Banks to head an advertising agency, which he later developed into a large advertising chain called Säljinstitutet. He sold this company and was actively looking for a new field of operation around 1970, when he decided to enter the credit card business by purchasing the old Stockholms Konto-Ring.

As an advertising expert and not least due to his background in savings "propaganda" (as it was called in the mid-twentieth century), he not only was aware of the general negative attitudes towards consumer credit but also knew that it was possible to shape morals. After all, he had already done that but from the opposite standpoint. Information, education, knowledge, and also stories (such as those about Spara and Slösa) could be mobilised to change attitudes. The quote given earlier illustrates how he used a good story about himself working with savings campaigns in the past, clearly conscious of the fact that this added legitimacy to his new message.[22] This is true, even though – based on my reading of a fair amount of his writings, including notes not intended for circulation – he seems to have been sincerely convinced of the merits of credit cards.

Elinder repeatedly complained about the limited and obsolete knowledge in Sweden regarding consumer credit among politicians, the general public, and, as a matter of fact, even bankers. He believed that this lack of knowledge was both the cause and the consequence of the persistent negative moral attitudes towards credit. The speedy development of the card business in the 1970s and especially the prospects of its growth motivated "investments" in social science research, not only investments in computerisation and product development, he argued. The planned historical book was thus important not only for raising the prestige of his company but also because, in Elinder's mind, it was a way to influence politicians, governmental agencies, banks, and other businesses.[23] In the letter to Rydenfelt and in other writings, Elinder mentioned the hostile attitude of the Social Democratic Party towards consumer credit (as well as towards advertising), as reflected in its party platform. Instead of the pitiful image of the commercially manipulated consumer forever trapped in a web of credit, he wanted to move the spotlight to a different figure: a rationally thinking, diligent person who wants to consume but not overconsume.

> Read SAP's [The Social Democratic Party] latest platform, which is still lingering in the 1850s [sic!] Co-op ideology, which sees consumer credit as a danger for workers, debts as cruel and evil, while the right to buy on credit, which we argue is a benefit, is regarded as a shameless and dangerous seduction.[24]

He wanted to convince Social Democrats and consumer cooperators that their fears were exaggerated, at least if credit giving was professionally organised. This aim became especially important in 1973–1975, when the governmental inquiry was working on a proposal for a new consumer credit law, and then again in 1980, when a new committee focused on the sole issue of credit cards. Elinder believed that in order to influence politicians, he needed the credibility of (social) science: "If we are to earn respect for our operations from the politicians of today and tomorrow, we have to move firmly forward with scientifically well-grounded publications highlighting the importance of our field of business."[25] This conviction was probably based on the strong technocratic

tradition and the role of scientific research in Swedish politics, where, historian of ideas Per Wisselgren argues, public inquiries served as boundary zones opening a gate for social science to influence political decisions.[26]

Elinder thus expected a dissemination of research-based knowledge to change both popular moralising and negative political attitudes in two ways. First, he wanted to demonstrate that the critics were wrong with regard to the harmfulness of credit card use. In a society with high taxes, general welfare, relatively high incomes, and high inflation, borrowing for consumption and thus for a higher living standard could be economically rational, even more rational than saving. Or, as Elinder and his colleagues wanted to put it, consumer credit was a form of saving – saving after the purchase instead of before. That credit cards were also useful for retailers was, at least at that point in time, a less controversial part of the message.

Second, a historical account based on serious research would demonstrate that credit in everyday transactions was, in fact, a "natural right" or an age-old "quality of life" that had been "forgotten" or "lost".[27] Consequently, consumer lending and borrowing should not be seen as problematic. These ideas regarding the moral right to credit along with the ambition to influence government policy not to impede and even secure consumers' access to credit resonate with emerging neoliberal notions of the sovereign consumer, who should be allowed to freely exercise his or her economic agency. In his work on consumer credit and neoliberalism, Christopher Payne explores the early writings from a British think tank, the Institute of Economic Affairs, which argued for this right to borrow. Payne demonstrates that this line of reasoning is akin to Milton Friedman's emphasis on *consumers-entrepreneurs* in contrast to the *workers-savers* conceptualised by John Maynard Keynes.[28] Nevertheless, as both Payne and Niklas Olsen point out, also centre-left forces in the United States and the United Kingdom later came to subscribe to the same ideas about the economic agency of the sovereign consumer.[29]

However, Sweden in the early 1970s was different. Consumer policy treated the consumer as someone in need of protection. Much of the political discourse of the day was informed by criticism of market practices. The report from the governmental commission of inquiry, which had led to the establishment of the Consumer Agency (1973), included a warning about a novel type of "intensive marketing" for constantly new (and implicitly unnecessary) products. Rather than merely advising and educating consumers to make informed choices, the Consumer Agency had a mandate to propose regulations and impose guidelines on producers and retailers so that only good products in a limited range were introduced in the market. In that way, the consumer could not go wrong.[30] This provoked some debate in the 1970s with liberals arguing that consumer policy infantilised consumers, treating them as if they were incompetent.[31] Hence, the negative views on card credit also included a notion of easily manipulated consumers not being able to manage their own personal finances, alongside with criticism against misleading advertising and non-transparent costs for credit.

Elinder was obviously aware of the possibilities of advertising, the advances of applied marketing research, and how these could be used to map and influence consumer attitudes. In 1973, he wrote to American psychologist (of Austrian origin) Ernest Dichter – an old acquaintance of his it seems – who was a well-known pioneer in motivational marketing research and a key figure in twentieth-century advertising history.[32] Dichter replied: "You asked whether I could help in finding out the attitudes of the Swedish people and also how to change this attitude. The answer is yes." After presenting the costs for a "psychologically constructed interviewing guide", interviews, and practical recommendations, he added: "But having been in the advertising business yourself, you may not need too much of this help."[33] Instead of hiring Dichter's firm, the marketing expert Elinder attempted to change moral attitudes by producing and disseminating knowledge in collaboration with *university-based* social/historical science.

What is a historical book worth?

Although the idea of a historical study was mentioned in Elinder's correspondence earlier, the first steps were taken in 1976.[34] Elinder's interest in the historical perspective awakened when he bought the Gothenburg-based Göteborgs Ekonomicentral. This was a small credit operation, a former cooperative credit union launched in 1929 by financier and Olympic medallist athlete Bruno Söderström.

Following the advice of one of his university contacts, Elinder got in touch with Professor Arthur Attman at the Department of Economic History at the University of Gothenburg. Attman suggested that a younger colleague, Jan Kuuse, would be interested in the book project. Elinder was pleased with the idea. Not only did he find Associate Professor Kuuse to be a nice and knowledgeable person, he also greatly appreciated the fact that Kuuse co-authored the book for LM Ericsson's 100-year anniversary.[35]

Commissioned book projects had been carried out within the university also before. However, economic historian Ulf Olsson describes a veritable upsurge of such projects from the mid-1970s, many of them initiated by the Wallenberg group. By means of these projects, the leaders of Swedish businesses and industries aimed to document and also take control over the history of their companies. They wanted their role to be written into the history of Sweden and also defend themselves against political criticism.[36] These commissioned research projects resulted in historical monographs on companies such as Alfa Laval, Stockholms Enskilda Bank, ASEA, and Ericsson, as well as a series of biographies on members of the Wallenberg family. Ulf Olsson emphasises that such works were recognised as serious scholarly merits and earned their authors (himself included) academic positions.

Elinder gladly compared his project with Ericsson's anniversary book: "I am aware that there are huge differences between the resources of LM Ericsson and our resources, but I do not think that our book therefore needs to be less

good."[37] However, the case of the book project on "The Right to Credit" differs from the Ericsson book and other corporate history writing of the time. Clearly, it might seem strange for a young company to commission a historical book. But Elinder's aim was not to position his company in the mainstream historical narrative, nor to produce a book as a monument over a glorious past. Rather, he wanted to write an *alternative history* where consumer credit fits in better compared to mainstream narratives.

Elinder thus met with Jan Kuuse, who proposed that he should work with a colleague, Kent Olsson.[38] Elinder had to gain acceptance for the book project with the board at ContoFöretagen. He presented it as an "investment" in internal education and external information. Managing Director Reine Olsson, a computer technology expert, wrote a sceptical comment on the margin of Elinder's memo regarding the cost of such a project: "I wholeheartedly support investing large amounts in personal development, but doubt the value of the concrete proposal. Can it be worth far over SEK 100,000? What can we get for 25,000?"[39]

The economic valuation of knowledge is clearly spelled out here. The book project would in the following years cost way more than 100,000 SEK, including more than 15 months of salary and a long research trip to the United States for the authors.[40] Elinder, wanting to look at the big picture, later stated that if such a book influences general attitudes and especially legislation, it would be extremely valuable for the entire industry, definitely worth the money invested.

> Then our book, with all our fine arguments and all our valuable elucidation of the issue from 1800 to 1980, could become the introductory publication of the commission of inquiry on credit cards. It could affect developments in a way that nothing else could. Two researchers from a university department with great integrity would present the first objective, comprehensive, accurate story of how consumer credit issues have been handled for 180 years, with an emphasis on the credit card developments in the 70s, where most people had not yet seen the pattern. I ask you to include the costs of this activity in our 1981 budget so that we really get this material on time. It is worth millions for our company alone and tens of millions for the whole industry if we can secure reasonable legislation and prevent much foolishness and much short-term patronising mentality.[41]

The emphasis on the book as a scholarly product ("objectivity" and "integrity" being keywords here) is clear. This quote, as well as the comment by Reine Olsson, at the same time reveals that both men justified and measured the worth of the production and dissemination of scholarly knowledge (along with a moral/ideological message) in terms of economic value. Elinder proposed a long-term and more visionary calculation, trying to justify the considerable amounts of money he had already invested. But, as we shall see in the following, he also exploited the knowledge or rather the pieces of information collected by the economic historians in a more immediate way.

Whose book? Message, story, and information

"Our book", Elinder wrote in the memo quoted earlier. Reading the first exchanges between Elinder and Kuuse, where the former replied to the latter's outline for a book with an "alternative outline" and where Elinder was very resolute regarding the title "The Right to Credit" (implying a readymade message), one may in hindsight wonder why the historians took on the task at all. Kuuse tells me that he and Kent Olsson were intrigued by the interesting research problem and realised the originality of the topic. Writing the history of consumer credit and credit cards in Sweden and working with both historical and contemporaneous material seemed a pathbreaking project. Furthermore, Kuuse says, Elinder was very persuasive, his enthusiasm being almost contagious.

In order to further discuss the negotiations about the contents of the book, the imagined circulation, and the actual transactions of knowledge, I need to discern three different aspects of "knowledge". Elinder, and to some extent also the historians, were talking about: (1) *the argument* (ideological, or scientifically generalising), referred to as "our argumentation", "the message", "the main line of argument", etc.; (2) *the story*, presented as a fascinating history, a narrative, "thrilling like a novel", etc.; and (3) *the information/facts* referred to as such or sometimes only as "knowledge" (*kunskaper*), a word that also denoted the entire package of argument, story, and information. As Hayden White pointed out, moralising is always present in any factual storytelling, in every narrative.[42] Morality, narrativity, and facts were intertwined also in this case.

I have already discussed the ideological message, the main argument, which Elinder insisted upon from the outset. As to the story, at least an important portion of it was also plotted by Elinder at the earliest stage. In a memo to the board of ContoFöretagen in 1977, he wrote that he had for some time been looking for a historian who could write a book:

> Ever since we took over Göteborgs Ekonomicentral, I have been absolutely fascinated by this company's origins and further development. I would therefore, for my own information and because I believe that the story of this company has an exceptionally rare potential to interest a broader audience, people who are otherwise quite uninterested in our world, want to present the company's background, start, development, etc. up until this point. What makes the Göteborgs Ekonomicentral interesting is the following: 1. The creator was an incredibly fascinating person; 2. Behind the initiative were workers' trade unions in an intimate collaboration with Gothenburg's merchants; 3. Idealism, economy, social responsibility and economic innovation are mixed in a fascinating way.

Thus, in Elinder's mind, the story was perfect as it included not only a celebrity, Bruno Söderström, but also poor, diligent, and unionised workers. Both elements served well to underscore the main argument. Addressing the workers' trade unions was of great significance:

> I feel that it is very important having the unions and the Social Democratic Party with us in our efforts to develop an effective consumer credit system alongside the banking system. [. . .] It is for this reason that I find it so exciting to have this history explained by an independent expert.[43]

In another memo, he developed the idea further, hoping that such a story would be interesting for a large general readership. It is also worth noting that he here talked about the historical book as the *first* research project of many to come:

> Since those days, I have dreamed that we would hook our first research assignment on Göteborgs Ekonomicentral, because in this operation there is so much drama, so much innovation, so much idealism, so much feeling for the real needs of the broad masses that we can expect that a scientifically correct, well-illustrated, dramatic and exciting, vibrant, and at the same time instructive little book could be read by even thousands of people who never read the reports of governmental inquiries and who do not care for small credits or even less so for credit card companies.[44]

He might have been right about the possibilities of reaching out to a wider audience with this specific story, if only the project had not outgrown its initial framework. It is important to note in these quotes that Elinder insisted not only on a dramatic and lively story but also on a scientifically correct one. Jan Kuuse tells me, 40 years after the events, that Elinder, although always nice, generous, and charming in his manners, had no understanding of scientific historical writing, that he was "barging into the domains of the researchers", involving himself too much with the writing process. The economic historians recall that they tried to explain that a book written in the way Elinder proposed would not serve its purpose. This, again, resonates with the boundary work described by Gieryn. According to Kuuse, they referred to the Swedish Research Council's guidelines. "We wanted to ask the questions ourselves", he says.

Indeed, Elinder's letters show him having plenty of ideas and opinions, which he relentlessly communicated. He was tenacious in terms of making the moral argument on behalf of the right to credit more apparent, but he was also engaged and persistent when it came to telling a good story, which may not be surprising coming from a marketing man. On 30 May 1978, he wrote to Kuuse:

> Today, in the morning when I was cycling around Djurgården, I was thinking of your book. . . . [It] contains a lot of valuable information, but which nevertheless does not involve me. It does not really stimulate me, it is not really as characteristically unique as I have dreamed of. [This is because] there are too few people in your book. It is a stream of information flowing calmly and kindly . . . Help us put in lively, exciting, vital people in every chapter.[45]

When criticising the manuscript, he thus called it "your book" and he wanted to add "more drama", more events. In his next letter, the day after(!), Elinder

linked the problem of a missing narrative to his feeling that the main line of argument about "the right to credit" was disappearing as the manuscript progressed and that the link to the trade unions had also faded.[46] If only the economic historians would hold on to the line of argumentation, he wrote, both story and argument would be stronger:

> The book can be as exciting as a detective novel if only the common thread of the story is sufficiently strong. It can be exciting without sacrificing objectivity. What we are writing is an economic history of ideas.[47]

This is a clear example of trespassing the demarcation lines of university research. On the one hand, boundaries are recognised by Elinder's mention of "objectivity" and by the term "economic history of ideas". On the other hand, however, they are deconstructed by the words "*we* are writing" and by the comparison with a crime novel. Furthermore, Elinder and a small group of people within the company commented on the manuscript in detail and made suggestions for changes. One reader consequently deleted words like "debt collection" (*inkassering*, *indriving*) and suggested "softer" expressions. The word *köpkort*, which in the 1960s and 1970s became a generic expression denoting credit cards, was also banned, probably because it was the company name of ContoFöretagen's main competitor. Admittedly, Elinder assured Kuuse in a letter that "[a]ll I write and everything I comment on are my own spontaneous reactions, you are the one responsible for the contents, you decide what should be in the book."[48] However, considering Elinder's passionate engagement in the project, this sounds rather like a defensive statement or might have been an explicit reaction to a previous conversation. Nevertheless, it shows that despite constantly "barging into" the academic domains of expertise, Elinder was keen on preserving the *idea* of the boundaries of scholarly research, most certainly because the credibility it could offer was highly valuable to him.

Transactions across boundaries: writing business history or changing the judgement of history

Historiographic works on business history frequently highlight the potential problem of commissioning companies trespassing the boundaries of scholarly research. Historian Brita Lundström has shown that the executives of Ericsson carefully considered the choice of authors for the anniversary book in 1976 and also controlled and restricted the historians' access to the archival material.[49] Ulf Olsson, one of the authors, was critical when he decades later learnt that Ericsson withheld archival material from him; however, he also claimed that in other similar collaborations, he did not encounter such problems and was free to write as he wished. Manuscripts were read beforehand but seldom commented upon. Olsson specifically stresses the great scientific value of the company archives, which, thanks to corporate history projects, were preserved and made accessible for research (albeit with some limitations). This is one of

the main reasons, he writes, why economic historians should engage in writing commissioned company history projects.[50] His statement clearly links boundary work to the transactions of knowledge and the justifications involved in such transactions. Karl-Gustav Hildebrand, professor of economic history and author of corporate history books (e.g., on Handelsbanken), painted, in 1989, a similar, rather unproblematic picture of the boundary work and transactions involved in writing corporate history.

> What the researcher offers the company is his working time and his scientific judgment, but the conclusions drawn are his own and no one else's. I have quite a lot of experience of this kind of work, my own and that of others, and I have never faced or expected to face any contraventions.[51]

According to this argument, the transactions of knowledge when writing commissioned history for commercial companies should be, and usually were, rather straightforward: the scholars offered their time and scientific expertise providing an interpretation and a wider contextualisation, and they benefited – in addition to monetary funding – from access to valuable information from archival sources and interviews provided by the company in question. The transactions were justified by references to both economic and scientific values. As for the corporation, Hildebrand writes, "the PR effect lies in the fact that their company is considered deserving a scientific presentation." In some cases, the historical account is part of strengthening corporate identity, but, he continues, both uses are based on having respect for "the judgement of history."[52] In our case, we have a different setup for this transaction: a business leader with no archival material to offer and with only a few years of experience of the business in question, but with an ambition to control the main argument and interpretative approach of the book commissioned by him. Not to mention Elinder's notions of a "selling" narrative. Rather than having respect for the judgement of history, he wanted to rewrite history.

There was, clearly, an underlying conflict from the beginning between, on the one hand, the ideological ambitions and expected market value of the book and, on the other hand, its academic value. This conflict was not put into writing, but Jan Kuuse and Kent Olsson recall that in a 1970s university setting, it was controversial for them to work on a book commissioned by a credit card company. The topic itself was dubious, especially for the intellectual left of the time, which would rather focus on problematic issues regarding indebtedness, over-consumption, and the social dangers of credit purchases. Kuuse remembers the media coverage of credit cards in 1978–1979 while they were working with the book. As mentioned earlier, media rediscovered credit cards as a problematic issue, probably triggered by the launch of VISA and by the figures published on the explosive growth of the card business. Critical articles (e.g., about drug addicts abusing the new credit possibilities) abounded and shared the space of newspaper pages with the now all-the-more-conspicuous adverts for plastic cards.[53] For the same reasons, the political message became

even more important for Elinder, and he wrote to Kuuse, probably making the scholars' dilemmas even more difficult:

> Neither the Social Democratic Party and the Consumer Ombudsman nor the banks and financial institutions have yet discovered this right [the right to credit]. This is why our story is dynamite, both politically and economically. That is why it must be written, not as a war pamphlet, but as a depiction of a silent struggle that is not yet settled and where ContoFöretagen can be portrayed as the company that through its remarkable history is able to represent the interests of both the poor savers and the merchants in a very special way. Let's meet before you set out to America to talk more about this; if this line of argumentation is lost, we will miss the main point. The book will not have any message, the book gets no grip on the readers, and this we cannot afford to risk.[54]

Kuuse and Olsson found themselves balancing between the academic criticism of colleagues and the increasingly spelt-out ideological and business ambitions of their temporary employer.

The transactions of knowledge thus took a different shape than the one described in historiographic recollections by prominent business historians. In the present case, there was no valuable archival material (providing facts, information) to which the researchers could be allowed or denied access. Their employer was just as keen on himself dictating the main argument and wider contextualisation (the story), thereby changing the "judgement of history", as he was on getting valuable pieces of information (e.g., from the United States) with the help of the scholars. I discuss this latter aspect in the following, but before that, I have to introduce the third party in these transactions of knowledge, namely the publisher.

Finding a publisher: morality, science, or good writing?

In his earliest memos, Elinder stated that such a book must be published by a "real publishing house", as that was the only way to attract enough readers and gain credibility.[55] In 1977, Erik Elinder contacted a friend, P.A. Sjögren, who was the managing director of Rabén & Sjögren, the well-known publisher of Astrid Lindgren and other famous authors. Despite their friendship, the idea of Rabén & Sjögren publishing a book about "The Right to Credit" definitely appears to be bold. The publishing house was owned by the Consumer Cooperative Union, which, as mentioned previously, was the organisation where criticism against consumer credit for a long time had been the most severe.

Nevertheless, Sjögren took Elinder's proposal seriously and responded that the topic, everyday economic matters, would in principle fit their profile. He also admitted that it represented a timely issue and that a historical study of consumer credit would benefit the ongoing and certainly intensifying debate on credit in society in general and within the Co-op in particular. "After the

war, neither our country, nor the cooperative movement itself remained uninfluenced – uncontaminated!" – Sjögren added with emphasis – by the new views on consumer credit. He concluded in a resolute tone, showing interest but clearly taking a stand against the commercial promotion of consumer credit in the shape of a book and (literarily) underscoring the significance of a scientific approach:

> The premise, after all, is that the outline of the work is scientific – it describes and analyses economic historical processes and problems. The fact that the initiator is one of the most dynamic and successful promoters of consumer credit does not mean that the book will be a polemical pamphlet/biased account of the unrestricted and unlimited growth of consumer credit.[56]

Elinder had taken this as a positive answer, and it probably reinforced his conviction that the book had to be written by university researchers. A few months later, Elinder again wrote to Sjögren to confirm their mutual understanding that Rabén & Sjögren would publish the upcoming book. Only the publisher's answer is preserved, but it seems that Elinder argued for the increased timeliness of such a book by referring to plans within the Co-op about introducing their own payment card – with a credit possibility. Apparently, this was clearly a relevant factor for the publisher as well, although he pointed out that the consumer credit issue was not yet resolved within the Co-op. Not only was the question currently still under debate internally, these negotiations were also far from public. The outcome, he agreed, was important for the book project – the required scientific objectivity becoming less crucial in case the Co-op would opt for accepting and even issuing credit cards:

> Should the Co-op really go in for card credits, then a material highlighting the history of such credit is a good and important thing, and then it does not matter all that much if the material is directly or indirectly characterised by a certain Elinderian enthusiasm for the credit card phenomenon.
>
> If, however, the negotiations within the cooperative movement would lead to the Co-op not wanting to embark on the credit card ship, this naturally forces us to take some extra care to ensure the objective character of this book.[57]

Again, we see an example of balancing the value of scientific research against a moral deficit inherent in the topic. However, Sjögren also underlined that their final decision would be based on the contents and qualities of the manuscript itself.

Five months later, Sjögren hit a different tone. The negotiations about the Co-op card were still ongoing, and it was only a year later that a credit card (Kontoköp) was introduced under protest from some local associations. Sjögren and his colleagues had now read the first four chapters, and they were not enthusiastic. In fact, Sjögren rejected the manuscript based on this partial reading. The main reason, he said, was market-related. Despite Elinder paying for

the publishing costs, they feared that the book would not be easy to sell or, as both Sjögren and Elinder had initially hoped, to use as a textbook for study circles. Sjögren quoted a reviewer saying that some passages on political economic theory, public debt, and the quantitative reasoning on standards of living would be too heavy (did he mean too scientific?) and thus boring for a general readership. But, he added, the book became more fascinating when it discussed the everyday history of small credits, and writing along this line more consistently would have made it more interesting for publication despite its obvious bias towards consumer credit.

What the reviewer and the publisher found the most problematic, however, was not the "propaganda" for consumer credit per se but what they perceived as polemics against the Consumer Co-operative Union and the historical accounts of such polemics back in the 1930s.

> It would seem strange in a book published by a Co-op-owned publisher that the opponent it attacks, which is in fact the Co-op itself, cannot defend itself. Walter Sjölin is dead and Axel Gjöres is no longer able to work or respond.[58]

This is a somewhat peculiar argument, as any historical account of the early-twentieth-century debates on consumer credit would necessarily include both the Co-op and those arguing against their cash-only policy. And, in fact, the manuscript also cited the sharp criticism by Axel Gjöres (chairman of the board in the Consumer Co-operative Union in 1926–1938 and social democratic politician) against Göteborgs Ekonomicentral, when he pejoratively described this organisation as a superficial US-inspired creation (like "the head of a well-groomed American film star").[59]

Regardless of the qualities of the manuscript itself, it is obvious that the refusal was at least partially motivated by ideological reasons, which clearly also had economic implications. It seems that the supposed "scientific" character (political economy and social history context) became more of a burden than a free pass to publication, contrary to what was said earlier. The rejection was a setback, but Elinder did not give up. He contacted the publishing house of SNS (Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle/Centre for Business and Policy Studies), a think tank for collaborations between the business sector, decision-makers, and academia, which certainly offered an appropriate, but less striking, context for the book.[60]

International transactions: importing knowledge from the United States

The credit card has been characterised as an American innovation by both contemporary voices and historians describing the distribution of the cards in Europe in terms of Americanisation.[61] With Köpkort launching its operations already in 1962, Sweden was an early adopter of the revolving credit

technologies. Perhaps exactly due to this early start, Swedish companies developed their own systems instead of licensing the American schemes. In the UK, credit cards were introduced when Barclays Bank licensed BankAmericard in 1966. While Swedish postwar criticism against consumer credit always included a sharp hostility with regard to this American "contamination" of Swedish society, as reflected in the quote by P.A. Sjögren, card companies looked with intense curiosity at the American market. Elinder was extremely eager to learn more about American businesses, including marketing methods, credit products, and impacts on society.

This eagerness, rather than a projected historical study, motivated a research trip in the summer of 1978 for the two economic historians. They had a busy schedule for their coast-to-coast journey, from New York to San Francisco, with a long list of people to visit at card companies, banks, consumer research centres, and consumer organisations. Elinder acted as an intermediary in most contacts, but the fact that the travellers were scholars rather than working in the card industry seems to have opened some doors more widely. In a presentation letter, Elinder was keen to emphasise that Jan Kuuse, a prominent and "well-known professor", had recently finished a monograph on the history of the telephone company Ericsson.[62]

Elinder expected a great deal from this trip. He wanted the historians to gather information about "the present situation", and he asked for interviews "about future perspectives" with key figures in the business. He also wanted to know if the specific card product he had introduced in Sweden (so-called selective card systems) could be exported to the United States. Elinder knew perfectly well that he was asking for more than academic historical research. He tried to argue for such requests:

> I have often said that for you scholars, it must be immensely interesting to get as close to the real thing as possible while writing this particular book. I am aware that it might be difficult for you to keep scientific research and economic journalism apart. For us, in our work, it is at the same time immensely valuable that you at this very expansive stage are able to supply us with lots of important information.[63]

Knowledge – *information* – on contemporary American card businesses was thus "immensely valuable" for Elinder's company in the expansive period of the late 1970s. Gathering such knowledge was clearly not a typical task for historians, nor was "spreading the word" about InterConto, which they were also asked to do. The boundaries demarcating historical/social science research were once again blurred, which Elinder justified by referring to the (economic) value of such information for his business.

Another letter reveals more details about Elinder's strategic use of the legitimacy of university research in his quest for knowledge concerning the American card industry. He asked Kuuse to, in his capacity as a historian at the University of Gothenburg, write a number of key figures in the American card

industry requesting information (manuscripts of presentations at high-profile specialised banking conferences):

> If you write this on stationery with the University of Gothenburg letterhead, they will feel flattered and happy and they will likely send you the manuscript they presented in America [at the conferences]. This way, you acquire knowledge and so will I, and we both get contacts. [. . .] Let's work together in this way so that you as a person and your department become a radar station for our knowledge acquisition.[64]

This correspondence uncovers that Elinder had other purposes with the book project than merely presenting a new interpretation of consumer credit based on a historical study. As hinted earlier, contrary to traditional business history, while Elinder was keen on offering an interpretation (the argument) and suggesting a good narrative to properly disseminate it, he needed and requested extensive information. Simply put, he himself wanted to learn a great deal by using the historians as intermediaries. Kuuse had not only sent a detailed report of their encounters and experiences in America but also, on the request of Elinder, ranked the usefulness of the information provided by these contacts. One of the top-ranked contacts, for example, was Ken Larkin, a long-time executive at Bank of America and a key actor in its VISA operations.[65]

Dreaming big: a catalyst of knowledge

Another task for Kuuse and Olsson on their trip was to purchase a large supply of books about consumer credit. This literature would not only be used as reference material in their historical study. Elinder had further dreams, as he wanted to create an international library in Stockholm:

> I am waiting with excitement for what you have to tell me when you come home, when you unpack all your tapes and memos and start reading all the books I hope you bought during your American trip and which can serve as the basis for what I hope will become Sweden's most complete international library concerning small credits and in particular credit card systems and payment systems.[66]

> I am writing to you because I assume that the 30 kg of books you and Kent purchased during your trip in the US have now arrived and that you have gone through the material.[67]

The American books were thus supposed to be the first cornerstone of such a library, open to researchers and students.[68] The library was part of a larger and more quixotic plan for a research centre in Stockholm in collaboration with a university, which would involve 10 to 20 researchers. As Elinder recurrently put it, this would turn InterConto into a "catalyst" of knowledge regarding consumer credit.[69]

> My dream is to within five years build a research unit in collaboration with some university, since payment systems with credit possibilities, in a world where bills and coins are disappearing, are turning into a world-wide industry with the unassuming little square plastic card as the common denominator.[70]

Elinder even "dreamed" of setting up an international research institution, including education and book publishing, financed by the VISA network, which his company was now part of. In his letter to Jan Kuuse about these ideas, his ambition to control the texts produced by the researchers was again spelled out, albeit projected onto VISA.[71] On the one hand, his plans to organise international research sound unrealistic, and they probably were. On the other hand, we know that Elinder was a gifted entrepreneur with a number of successful ventures behind him. Also, he had taken some concrete steps in organising an international research network and book production.[72] He corresponded with quite a few university scholars abroad, including Lewis Mandell, one of the earliest historians of the credit card industry, and Elizabeth Hirschman, today a renowned professor in marketing. He also regularly exchanged letters and information on the consumer credit industry and developed a friendly relationship with Spencer Nilson, editor and founder of a global newsletter for the credit and payment card industry, *The Nilson Report*, which still exists and has published statistics and information since 1970.

Among his numerous Swedish academic connections, we find a long list of scholars from business studies, economics, statistics, sociology, ethnology, numismatics, and other fields. In relation to the book project and an idea about another edited volume, he also corresponded with scholars in prominent positions at Swedish universities and outside academia, in think tanks, governmental authorities, non-profit, and other organisations. For example, he had contact with Hans Zetterberg, sociologist and director of SIFO (Swedish Institute for Opinion Research), asking for studies about the "micro-thinking of consumers".[73] In Elinder's correspondence during the book project, a dense and various network of academics, experts, and opinion leaders unfolds. He even contacted Herman Stolpe, the arch-critic of credit cards, trying to convince him of the idea of people's natural right to credit and the benefits of plastic credit cards. Stolpe replied in a long and polite letter arguing firmly for his unchanged critical stand.

Finally, one more knowledge-related activity deserves mention, which also started as a byproduct of the book project. InterConto – and Elinder personally – encouraged university students to write their theses on consumer credit, credit cards, or payments in retail trade in general, or on the company in particular. Elinder suggested such topics and also helped students working in fields of special interest for him.[74] Some university students received scholarships for trips abroad. This activity started already in 1974, when a list of suggested research topics composed by Elinder was distributed among students writing their third-year theses in business studies at the University of Gothenburg.[75] He also discussed with Kuuse – as a "spin-off" of the book project – about

proposing PhD thesis topics at the economic history department. "All this takes time, but if we have thrown the stone into the water, then the circles of waves will travel for a long time", he wrote.[76]

Elinder's passionate interest in research and all kinds of knowledge concerning cards and consumer credit, however, did not stop him from explicitly characterising all research-related activities as PR. This kind of PR work, he wrote, was more important, especially at the earliest stage of the creation of a new market for cards, than straightforward advertising. It was crucial to develop good products without attracting too much attention and without risking to "irritate" the government, parliament, the Consumer Agency, or competitors with harsh advertising.[77] All these academic contacts (senior scholars as well as students) thus had a dual function: first, they were to provide knowledge to the company and its owner – knowledge regarding the consumer finance industry, social and moral attitudes, statistics, and history. Second, through these contacts, directly and indirectly, Elinder conveyed – put into circulation with the added value of scholarly prestige – the message about his own company and its achievements as well as his perspective on consumer credit in general.

When Kuuse and Olsson, protecting their scholarly integrity, left the project in early 1980, Elinder tried to complete and publish the book without them (after all, the manuscript had five extensive chapters) in collaboration with the think tank SNS. He even had hopes for publishing it as part of the inquiry on credit cards at the Ministry of Finance (Kontokortskommittén 1980–1984).[78] However, in 1981, Erik Elinder sold InterConto, and his interests shifted away from the credit card industry.

Conclusions: reorganising morality by knowledge transactions

Was this book project a failure? Despite the manuscript not being published, some explicit objectives and implicit ambitions were, in fact, realised. Elinder sought to exploit the legitimacy of scholarly knowledge to convince policymakers as well as the general public. As the marketing expert he was, he believed that this was more effective than "noisy" advertising or direct promotional campaigns. He needed the credibility of university-based research but wanted to control the main argument and the narrative of the book while the historians were keen on protecting the boundaries of scholarly work. Transactions between a scholarly and market order of worth, while aiming to influence politics and opinion (a civic order of worth), were not easy. However, with his entrepreneurial spirit and communicative talent, Elinder emerges as skilled in handling these transactions of knowledge. Although starting out without much to offer in terms of access to a unique archive, he managed to use the project in progress (and the prestige of scholarly research) also to acquire information about American companies, to boost an extensive network not only with businesses but also within academia and with opinion leaders – in Sweden and

abroad. By mentioning the ongoing research, he could communicate the message that the credit card was a rational device as well as the ideological claim that credit was a natural right. In this way, he took out an advance on the symbolic profit he hoped to make with a published book.

American business historian Lewis Mandell, author of the first comprehensive historical book about the credit card industry discusses Sweden as a peculiar card market, where VISA had some difficulties to enter. He mentions Elinder as an innovative credit card pioneer and InterConto emerges as the only significant card company in Sweden besides Eurocard (created in 1965 for corporate users and partly owned by the Wallenberg sphere). Mandell's account entirely omits Köpkort, despite it starting much earlier and dominating the Swedish market until the 1980s.[79] Now, Mandell was one of Elinder's international contacts, and his misinterpretation of the situation in 1970s Sweden might, in fact, be explained by the intense activities of Elinder.

Extensive circulation and intricate transactions of knowledge thus occurred when researching, writing, and commenting on the book. New channels for circulation opened up in the Swedish and international context. Knowledge was exchanged between the United States and Sweden, between Elinder and university researchers, students, opinion leaders, journalists, and even politicians. Furthermore, explicit reflections concerning knowledge circulation are abundant in the material: the university department is described as "a radar station for knowledge acquisition", and InterConto aspires to a role as "a catalyst" of knowledge. Collaborations with university students were compared to expanding circles of waves on water.

Destigmatisation, boundary work, and knowledge transactions were intertwined. The book project and its spin-off ventures, such as contacts with students, most certainly contributed to the destigmatisation of consumer credit, although the effect might not have been immediate. The project was performative: the mere fact that work on a scholarly book was in progress could be used for circulating the message and dismantling some of the ideological obstacles for a widespread use of credit.

This chapter, based on a unique archival material, has thus shown, first, that the efforts of creating societal acceptance for consumer credit went beyond traditional straightforward marketing activities. The credit card company attempted to reorganise morality by means of circulating scholarly legitimate knowledge. The movements of knowledge not only were multidirectional but also involved hybrid exchanges. Therefore, and second, this chapter proposed the concept of knowledge transaction as a specific but recurrent aspect of knowledge circulation. The empirical analysis highlighted the usefulness of this concept by unpacking the intricate negotiations over the symbolic and economic values, costs, and benefits of knowledge circulation. The focus on these *transactions* across the *boundaries* of science and business – the university and the market – furthermore adds a new dimension to the concept of boundary work developed by Gieryn.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1 Erik Elinder (EE) to Jan Kuuse (JK), Stockholm, 9 January 1979 (vol. Kontoboken [3]) and "PM beträffande den nya boken" [memo regarding the new book] "Rätten till kredit – en glömd livskvalitet" undated (vol. Rätten till kredit, from now on referred to as RTK).
2 EE to Erik Landberg, 12 November 1980 (vol. Kuuse). Swedish quotes translated by Husz.
3 EE Memo, 18 May 1978 (vol. RTK).
4 My main source material consists of ten volumes in Erik Elinder's archives and interviews with the two authors, economic historians Jan Kuuse and Kent Olsson: March and November 2018 by telephone with JK and 12 April 2019 in a meeting with both of them.
5 For the concept of knowledge circulation, see the introductory chapter of this volume.
6 Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, *On Justification* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006 [1999]); Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2007); David Stark, *The Sense of Dissonance: Accounts of Worth in Economic Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
7 This focus on the *transactions* between different orders of worth differs from how the concept is used as in "transaction spheres" by historians of science and technology. See, for instance, Helga Nowotny, Peter Scott, and Michael Gibbons, *Re-Thinking Science: Knowledge and the Public in an Age of Uncertainty* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001); Per Wisselgren, "Vetenskap och/eller politik? Om gränsteorier och utredningsväsendets vetenskapshistoria", in *Mångsysslare och gränsöverskridare*, eds. Bosse Sundin and Maria Göransdotter (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2008).
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11 Sara Kristoffersson, *Design by IKEA: A Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Mads Mordhorst and Stefan Schwarzkopf, "Theorising Narrative in Business History", *Business History* 59, no. 8 (2017): 1155–1175; William M. Foster et al., "The Strategic Use of Historical Narratives: A Theoretical Framework", *Business History* 59, no. 8 (2017): 1176–1200.
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13 Carl-Johan Bouveng et al., *Konsumtionskrediter i Sverige* (Stockholm: SNS, 1963).
14 Barbro Anell and Charles Berkow, *Kontokreditmarknaden på konsumentområdet* (Vällingby: KoV, 1980), 6–9; *Kreditkorten och Konsumenten. Delrapport III* (Stockholm: Konsumentverket, Allmänna byrån, 1981), 2–3; Kreditköpskommittén, *Konsumentkreditlag mm: betänkande,* SOU 1975:63 (Stockholm: Liber Förlag/ Allmänna förlaget, 1975), 47.

15 Orsi Husz, "Att sälja kredit kredit som pengar: Kreditkortets domesticering i 1960-talets Sverige", in *Vardagslivets finansialisering*, eds. Erik Andersson et al. (Gothenburg: Centrum för konsumtionsvetenskap, 2016), 45–57; "Protokoll fört vid sammanträde med styrelsen för City-Shoppingkonto AB fredagen den 28. oktober 1960", Archives of Handelsbanken, vol. F12:58; see also job advertisement in *Dagens Nyheter*, 24 September 1960; "Utredning av kreditkortsystem, Januari 1960", Archives of Skandinaviska Banken, vol. F:71 101(494).
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25 Ibid.
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29 Ibid., 10; Niklas Olsen, *The Sovereign Consumer: A New Intellectual History of Neoliberalism* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 249; see also Paul Langley, *The Everyday Life of Global Finance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
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46 EE to JK, 31 May 1978 (vol. Kuuse).
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73 EE to Hans Zetterberg, 27 August 1979 (vol. Kontoboken [3]).
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8 State feminism revisited as knowledge history

The case of Norway

Eirinn Larsen

In 1987, Norwegian University Press published *Welfare State and Woman Power: Essays in State Feminism* (1987) by political scientist Helga Hernes. This book, which for the first time defined state feminism, offered a new and forward-looking understanding of Western democracies by turning the feminist notion of women's relationship to the state on its head. This was done by using Scandinavia as an example, where, Hernes wrote, "women [had] made significant advances in terms of political power", and the state itself was becoming increasingly woman-friendly due to the "interplay between agitation from below and integration policy from above".[1] State feminism was still practiced in relatively narrow spheres, according to the late political scientist Hege Skjeie, using her own experience from drafting the first parliamentary proposition on gender equality in 1980 as evidence.[2] From the basement of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Administration and Consumer Affairs, she worked on behalf of the publicly appointed Council of Gender Equality in a dialogue with the minister herself, Labour Party politician Sidsel Rønbeck. And together, "we fought the bureaucracy", Skjeie wrote in hindsight, "which always meant whining about money."[3] But how did state feminism develop as political knowledge – and from where did it derive?

This chapter revisits state feminism by exploring its various origins and places of knowledge.[4] In so doing, it shifts the perspective from what Hernes herself addressed (i.e., women's political power and integration in state institutions) to analytical focal points from the emerging field of knowledge history. It particularly draws upon Christian Jacob's *lieux de savoir* in its attempt to show how, but also why, state feminism by 1980 had become the new authority in Norwegian public policy-making in relation to the welfare state. Jacob sees knowledge as a process of building a common world, located in places and unfolding in temporal sequences, involving various agents and material objects, and specific operations ruled by social codes.[5] But as no knowledge exists without circulation – and circulation requires reception or reaction of some kind – this chapter also leans on Philipp Sarasin's argument that "knowledge is evolving, changing, 'realizing' through *circulation between different social spheres*".[6] In this process, academic institutions normally play a vital role, as this chapter also shows. However, various political institutions and impulses, in addition

to inter-Nordic cooperation and exchanges, assisted gender knowledge in the form of sex role research circulating and transforming into feminist interpretations of the welfare state. This dynamic, so to speak, created the epistemic foundation of state feminism as political knowledge in Norway.

Making sex role research "a kind of Norwegian specialty"

After World War II, publicly financed research was to become an important trope in the political discourse on the rebuilding of Western democracies, as the final years of the war had shown not only what science could do for humanity but also what generous state funding could do for science and scientists. In his seminal report *Science – The Endless Frontier* (1945), American war scientist Vannevar Bush argued for increased state support to basic research. Initially prepared for the American president, this report soon turned into a must-read. In Norway, university professors leaned heavily on Bush and his war-like rhetoric, as they, in the late 1940s, began preparing the ground for a national research council. In a speech to the Norwegian government in February 1949, Svein Rosseland, an internationally recognised astrophysicist at the University of Oslo and former colleague of Bush, moved the war from the trenches to the laboratories. He said:

> During the winter months of 1939–1940, we talked about not having the resources to mobilise militarily, and as late as during the first week of April 1940, we talked about the same. In hindsight, we see how yonder this issue was. . . . The war is now conducted elsewhere and on different fronts than in 1940: We cannot anticipate whether it is in the military sector that we shall meet our next 9 April.[7]

The speech, playing on the Nazi occupation in 1940, was successful but only barely. Norwegian cabinet members, being predominantly working-class men, had no experience of the kind of large science projects the speaker had in mind. Thus, the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities (NAVF), formally launched in September 1949, was given a more applied mandate than what its advocate had initially argued for. Rosseland and his fellow academic entrepreneurs aimed for limited state involvement but ended up with a research council under state control, consisting of four units of basic research. In addition, a fifth unit was created for the new social sciences with funding for projects in education, psychology, and the so-called youth issues in line with political priorities.

Research on gender equality and women's relationship to men, or the state for that matter, was initially not included in these attempts to rebuild and modernise Norwegian society through scientific knowledge and education for all. The new institutions set up in the immediate postwar years by the state in order to facilitate and fund science work primarily served the economic sectors of industry, agriculture, and fishing, in addition to the university sector. In

this landscape of production and social mobility through economic growth and better schooling, women were first and foremost mothers and providers of the family and their dependents.[8] Only later, within the confines of the Norwegian Institute of Social Research (ISF), did knowledge on the ways in which society thought of and practiced gender – termed "sex roles" – develop.

Created in 1950, the ISF was (and still is) an independent and non-profit research institution located at the outside of the university system and financed through various means.[9] The American Rockefeller Foundation and the Norwegian industrialist Erik Rinde, in addition to the unit of social science research at the NAVF, were among its more stable sources of income at a time when the universities of Oslo and Bergen had no social science faculties of their own.[10] Thus, in Norway, research on sex roles was initially carried out by the ISF and its full-time staff of social scientists.[11] Among them was Danish-born Harriet Holter, initially trained as an economist but much later, in 1973, appointed professor of social psychology at the University of Oslo. Yet, in her period as a researcher at ISF, Holter together with sociologist Erik Grønseth carried out various research projects on sex differentiation and social structures financed by the NAVF.[12] In fact, Holter received funding from the research council for a total of 17 years for studying sex roles at the intersection between sociology and psychology. By the early 1960s, Holter and Grønseth had become the leading figures in Nordic sex role research. Both belonged to the so-called "golden generation of Norwegian social science research", in hindsight referred to as the founders of Norwegian family sociology, on the one hand, and Nordic gender studies, on the other. However, in the early years of gender studies, the common term was simply "sex role research", an expression also used by the Swedish sociologist Edmund Dahlström in the introduction to the Swedish-Norwegian publication *Women's Lives and Work* (1962). Initiated by the Swedish Centre for Business and Policy Studies (SNS) a few years earlier, the book looked upon the issue of women in contemporary society "above all . . . sociologically and psychologically conditioned".[13] This approach, according to Dahlström, more than anything was the trademark of Holter, who had made sex role research into "a kind of Norwegian specialty".[14]

In the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, Harriet Holter organised her work on sex differentiation, with a special interest in "those which appear in occupations, education and political behavior".[15] In 1970, she submitted her doctoral dissertation *Sex Roles and Social Structure*, which was later translated and introduced to a Swedish audience under the title *Könsroller och samhällsstruktur* (1973). At the time of its release, the book presented a shift that had already taken place among social scientists.[16] Framed as a critique of Talcott Parson, Holter looked upon sex roles as social and psychological constructs benefiting men, not as something needed for protecting a stable and monogamous marriage. Yet, in the 1960s, when Holter's work diffused into the wider Scandinavian public, her use of this label represented a new way of talking about the social roles of men and women in society.

In the Swedish-Norwegian 1962 co-publication *Women's Lives and Work*, Holter directly discussed the consequences of distributing work, wages, formal rights, social status, and prestige in society on the basis of people's sex. She reflected on contemporary issues regarding the roles of women in society and the consequences of reorganising the established sex order through the term "feminisation". Introduced by her Swedish college professor Dahlström, the statement did not represent an accurate description of the responsibilities and power of men and women in contemporary Sweden and Norway. However, Holter argued, it captured some of the tendencies and future dilemmas of modern society and the embeddedness of sex roles in social structures.[17] "Neither the situation of women nor men is today the same as fifty years ago", she claimed, and continued:

> Boys as well as girls are being raised and socialised quite differently today than [at the time of our grandparents]. These changes consist not only of women's access to the work, knowledge and attitudes previously reserved for men but also the opposite. Work, knowledge and attitudes formerly termed female are today more open to men. This humanistic welfare society is a more feminine society than the society of our grandparents; the role of men and the upbringing of boys is most truly feminised.[18]

The Swedish-Norwegian tome, which was immediately sold out from the publisher in Stockholm, had a much wider impact than Holter's own thesis.[19] American sociologist Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, who in 1971 published *Women's Place: Option and Limits on Professional Careers* after receiving public funding to study the changing American family, in her review of Holter's doctoral work, wrote that it "demand[s] the reader's meticulous attention in almost a line by line reading and careful note taking. Many important ideas are also dismissed too abruptly".[20] And, according to Karin Widerberg, a former professor of sociology in Norway with a Swedish background, Holter's thesis "was so deep and we [as young students] did not have sufficient knowledge to see what was at stake in her often intricate and subtle sentences."[21]

The main work of the Norwegian sex role specialist was not a page turner, at least not compared to the large number of popular books on women's issues circulating at the same time. Since the mid-1950s, weekly magazines, female authors, and filmmakers were increasingly addressing the rising mismatch between social expectations for women and their individual wants and identities. The debate started off with a lengthy reportage in the American monthly *Life* in June 1947 titled "The American Woman's Dilemma", with the opening line: "She wants a husband and she wants children. Should she go on working? Full time? Part time? Will housework bore her? What will she do when her children are grown?"[22] Nine years later, the same magazine followed up by proposing that the twentieth century would be the era of the feminist revolution.[23] Meanwhile, female specialists and intellectuals started producing intruding and

often publicly provocative answers to the female issue. In 1955, Norwegian feminist Margarete Bonnevie published a book titled *From Men's Society to a Human Society*.[24] A year later, together with British sociologist Viola Klein, Alva Myrdal argued for the need to combine women's housework and wage work in *Women's Two Roles: Work and Home* (1956). At the same time, Norwegian cinemas screened *The Woman's Place*, a modern piece of entertainment where "she" worked and earned the money and "he" did the cooking, cleaning, and "mothering".[25] In the words of historian Gro Hagemann, the movie not only highlighted the underlying norms and expectations with regard to women's lives by reversing them and making the established gender order visible but also lacked a clear moral, making the movie far more ambiguous than the reviewers appreciated.[26]

The Scandinavian gender debate continued in the 1960s, but with more emphasis on women's liberation. Swedish Eva Moberg's "Woman's Provisory Liberation" in the edited volume *Young Liberals: Nine Contributions to the Debate of Ideas* from 1961 received a fair bit of attention. In the following year, Moberg published a book of her own, simply titled *Women and People* (1962), which once again illustrated the ideological source of modern feminism. Even Edmund Dahlström, a Swedish sociologist and colleague of Holter, placed himself and much of the work and research on sex roles in the liberal and non-socialist camp, although he acknowledged the ideological role of communism as well. However, the boundary between the public and scholarly debate on the female issue was never particularly strong. For instance, Dahlström introduced many of the public writers on the issue, including Moberg, as he set the scene in the introduction to *Women's Lives and Work* (1962) with the aid of Norwegian and Swedish sex role specialists.[27] This means that academics and experts such as Holter were never alone in producing knowledge on the ways in which society ascribed meaning and importance to sexual differences. However, through her role as an "expert" for the social democratic state, Holter helped sex role theory flow into the realms of party politics and state affairs.

Norwegian politics and state affaires

In 1961, the Norwegian Labour Party lost its parliamentary majority for the first time since the war, as many of its young voters shifted to the newly established radical left. In particular, young women turned their back on the party to the dissatisfaction of the Secretary General Håkon Lie, who in 1963 asked the leadership to update its activities directed towards women: "If this task remains unresolved, women will continue to leave . . . How can we win half of the voting people."[28] Obviously, the image and practical tasks of Norwegian housewives no longer appealed to female voters. Nor did the image of the female consumer, which in the 1950s had served as a successful aspect of the party's courtship to Norwegian women. In this happy moment of Scandinavian social democracy, consumer and family issues formed two sides of the same coin with a bearing on key knowledge institutions, such as the Norwegian Teachers'

College of Home Economics and the Public Institute of Consumer Research. In order to renew the political trust in the party among female voters, a new kind of expertise was needed that could transform the very idea that women were born to be mothers, caretakers, and housewives only – and that women had to earn less than men due to their sex.

In the language of Harriet Holter, wages represented a major example of sex differentiation embedded in and upheld by social structures. In Norway, as in other countries, women had earned less since they were socialised to be housewives and mothers, while men earned more due to their social roles as breadwinners for the family. This was changed with the ratification of the convention of the International Labour Organization (ILO) on equal pay for work of equal value in 1959, at least officially since all ratifying countries were obliged to start monitoring women's labour market participation and remuneration.[29] Women's occupational identities were still complex. Not least the debate running up to Norway's ratification in 1959 exemplified this ambiguity, as well as the requirements of the labour partners. But, even after Norway ratified the ILO convention, wages were to be set in a three-participant bargaining system consisting of the Labour Organisation (LO), the National Employers Organisation (NAF), and the state. However, in 1961, LO and NAF agreed that wages should be based on the character of the work, not gender, and two years later, a gender-neutral Collective Wage Agreement was made. In addition, a Council of Equal Pay was launched as part of the ratification of the ILO convention. Its task was to advise young women to educate themselves and prepare for work outside the home through public information, campaigns, and handouts.[30]

After the speech by Secretary General Trygve Lie in 1963, the Norwegian Labour Party slowly began to modernise its official views on women, moving away from the housewife paradigm towards something new. The first step in this direction was taken in 1964, at the same time as Einar Gerhardsen had to cede his position as prime minster to Per Borten, who represented the non-socialists. One year later, a small green pamphlet titled *The Woman's Place Is – Where?* (1965) was issued, signed by Gerhardsen himself. By using sex role theory in terms of its vocabulary and perspectives on things, it discussed the changing roles of men and women in society, followed by solutions and initiatives, such as better childcare, part-time positions for women, and prolonged education. Many members of the examination panel responsible for its content, such as Harriet Holter, had a foot in both the political and the scientific arenas. Apart from being a specialist on sex roles, she was at the time a member of the Norwegian Labour Party as well as a deputy for male members of the advisory committee of the Norwegian research council NAVF. Likewise, Åsa Gruda Skard, another female advisor to the Labour Party, was originally a professor of psychology at the University of Oslo.

In hindsight, Åsa Gruda Skard is best known for her democratic and modern approach to child rearing, but in postwar Norway, she was also an eager public commentator on the female issue. In the book, *Women's Issue, Third Act* (1953),

Skard argued for the importance of men in solving what she saw as inflexible sex roles during a time of change. Interestingly, this line of reasoning, based on the notion that sex roles were socially and psychologically conditioned, also found its way into the green pamphlet of the Labour Party. Rather than thinking of men – and women – as essentialist beings, they were in the booklet perceived and presented as a changing element of modern society. It stated:

> Many of the aspects earlier considered masculine have been discredited after being brought into full blossom during Fascism and Nazism. Temerity, fighting spirit and ability to subdue strong discipline are some of them. However, characteristics earlier seen as female, such as compassion, tenderness, sympathies, are gradually being accepted also for men.[31]

Holter and Skard did more than advise the political establishment on issues related to women. In the 1950s and 1960s, they served other trusted positions of the social democratic state, even though only Holter was elected member of the Central Committee of Norwegian Research (CNR), established in 1965. Since the early 1960s, overarching bodies of this kind had been actively promoted by the OECD, arguing for the importance of scientific knowledge to national growth. Sweden had introduced a similar committee a few years earlier, set up by social democratic Prime Minister Tage Erlander, with representatives from various ministers and research councils.[32] However, the Norwegian CNR, which unlike the Swedish committee had no budgetary responsibility, never lived up to its own ambition. Initially lunched by the Labour government to coordinate and improve the organisation of Norway's research efforts to benefit national priorities, the CNR survived the political defeat of the Labour Party in 1964. In 1965, the committee was relaunched by the leader of the non-socialist government, Per Borten, who did not assign it any political significance.[33]

Whereas the Norwegian Labour Party argued for a more extensive use of expertise in processes of societal planning, the non-socialists were more reluctant towards social engineering and technocracy. Divergent views on the role of scientific knowledge in policy-making processes also shaped the CNR, where Holter for a long time served as the only woman. The governmental body created by the Labour Party still had some influence over the overall organisation and funding of scientific research in Norway, particularly in its early years. During the late 1960s, Norway experienced a decline in public funding to scientific research. To solve this, the CNR suggested a new financial system that was accepted in the early 1970s. For the first time, each governmental department was itself responsible for commissioning and paying for research meeting their own policy needs and demands. The resources were then to be channelled via the research councils.[34]

Governmental departments, such as the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Family and Consumer Affairs later known as the Ministry of Children and Family (MCF), had since the mid- and late 1960s themselves increasingly commissioned research for in-house use. The call went either through

the research councils or directly to potential research milieus, making it even more difficult to coordinate the national scientific efforts. Even the Norwegian research council NAVF, predominantly academic in its orientation, began talking about policy relevance and applications with greater enthusiasm. In addition, it improved its assessment office with regard to serving public and private administration with figures on things such as annual investments in R&D or the distribution of boys and girls in education.

Sociologist Tove Thagaard Sem in the late 1960s carried out a lengthy study for the research council NAVF assessment office on sex differences in the recruitment to higher education institutions. The study, which was Sem's own master's thesis, was supervised by Harriet Holter together with Sigmund Vangsnes, the husband of the administrative leader of the Council of Equal Pay, Kari Vangsnes.[35] According to Sem, its conclusion proved the importance of sex roles in relation to sex differences in higher education. In her view, sex roles

> motivate a man more than a woman to get higher education, since a good education will make a man better able to fulfil his – according to the sex roles – prescribed duty to support his family, while a woman will have no direct use for a higher education in her sex-role-prescribed duty as a wife and mother.[36]

Nevertheless, few practical solutions were provided for helping mothers work outside the home. The Council of Equal Pay, or the Norwegian government for that sake, focused on collecting general data on men and women in society and on writing and circulating leaflets to inform young women about their opportunities in higher education and various professional careers.[37] In doing so, women were made responsible for breaking the prescribed gender order or established sex role regime. In one of the leaflets published by the council titled *Is the Education and Professional Careers of Young Women out of Step With Society?* (1966), the issue was even addressed as a question of doubt and distrust located in the young women themselves.

> Those young girls considering a future marriage, and most of them truly do, will see that the role of housewife limits the opportunity and efforts of women in working life. They can easily become doubtful regarding the value and return of educating themselves and planning for a professional career. There is reason to believe that these considerations result in a limited effort to undergo professional training.[38]

Despite women's problems in the pursuit of a professional career on their own, due to the dominant notion of womanhood, the portion of working married women and mothers continued to rise, from 10 per cent in 1960 to 30 per cent in 1970.[39] At the same time, Norway had considerably fewer women in the workforce compared to Sweden. This was partly due to different attitudes and approaches to childcare in the two countries.

In 1970, 12,000 children were able to attend kindergarten in Norway, whereas Sweden at the same time had room for 100,000 children.[40] In addition to a rather negative view on childcare within the Norwegian labour organisation LO, this difference mirrored a stronger demand for female labour by the Swedish industrial sector. The Norwegian economy was more based on natural resources and industries linked to these, whereas the Swedish economy was more engaged in the consumer industry. This created more industrial jobs for women, making women's working rights and conditions a key priority of the Swedish Delegation on Gender Equality established in 1972.[41] In Norway, as we have seen, educational supervision of the individual woman was a stronger priority, together with monitoring the social behaviour of men and women in education. In addition to research and gathering information, this would from an early stage make schooling and learning key for the Norwegian approach to gender equality. However, in the other Nordic countries, politicians and bureaucrats also started talking about the need to pay increasing attention to the "cradle of all sex differences in society" – schooling.[42] As a result, sex role theory in 1969 entered the Nordic scene through a Swedish initiative at the Nordic ministerial meeting of education.

Nordic action for gender equality in circulation

Since the creation of the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1952, Nordic cooperation had not only improved on the legislative level but practical solutions were also carved out in fields such as labour and education to coordinate and reconcile the needs of Nordic citizens. If a Finn chose to work in Sweden or a Norwegian wanted to enrol in a Danish higher education institution, he – or she – was to have the same rights and opportunities as at home. In the late 1960s, this made the Nordic meetings of ministers an important arena for coordination and policy-making but also for exchanging ideas and knowledge on how to modernise and plan the Nordic future. In 1969, the Nordic ministers of education met in Helsinki under the leadership of the social democrat Olof Palme. Palme, who at the time served as minister of education until he was elected prime minister in 1973, was already a controversial figure in Swedish politics. However, his appeal for more research and knowhow on issues related to sex roles in Nordic education met with no resistance. Several Nordic countries had already set up institutions or committees on the issue of gender equality or were about to do so. I have already mentioned the Norwegian Council of Equal Pay from 1959, which was renamed the Norwegian Council of Gender Equality in 1972. This, interestingly, was the same year as Sweden and Finland created their respective delegations on gender equality. Whereas the Swedish initiative, as we shall see shortly, was a result of Palme's Nordic request in 1969, the Finnish delegation derived from an initiative of the country's prime minster taken as early as in 1966. In addition, an all-Nordic committee was set up by the Nordic Cultural Commission after Palme's call in Helsinki on behalf of the Nordic Council. It included

representatives from all Nordic countries except Iceland and was led by the Swede Anna-Greta Leijon.

The mandate of the all-Nordic committee was to arrive at different approaches for achieving gender equality in education and schooling. The aim was to establish a common Nordic policy.[43] Choosing Leijon to lead this task was no coincidence. Already in 1964, she began studying women's access to paid labour for the local administration in Stockholm. However, compared to the Norwegian Holter, she was more of a politician than a researcher and scientist. In 1973, as she led the labour market board of the Swedish capital, Leijon signed up as a consultative minister in Palme's own government. Her main responsibility was to lead the new delegation on gender equality, a governmental body completely in line with the recommendations already presented by the all-Nordic committee she had led.

The Nordic report *Sex Roles and Education* (1972) was launched less than three years after the committee first met in Stockholm.[44] By spanning from the symbolic to the practical, it contained elements that were to become crucial for the Norwegian transformation of sex role research into feminist interpretations of the welfare state. This partly had to do with its various proposals and with the Norwegian reception of these. But what did they recommend and how was the Nordic advice received in Norway? Apart from urging "all Nordic ministers of education to draft a decree on gender equality to be passed by the individual states", it recommended the Nordic countries to take women's position into account in development aid programmes.[45] The committee stated that this was the only way to prevent the Western gender regime from being imposed on the beneficiaries and to make aid beneficial to women. Finally, the committee recommended that a Nordic research team should develop a method for decreasing sex differences in learning. Yet, to achieve this, a full overview of existing research and literature on gender inequalities in schools and tutoring had to be carried out, and a reference group had to be set up to monitor the questions at hand concerning sex roles in education and work. At the same time, the report suggested being open to affirmative action during admission processes to universities and scientific personnel being hired. This was imposed to make women and men more equal in all areas of society, as, it stated, "[the committee] sees a more equal distribution of the sexes in different arenas of society as a prerequisite for a more equal valuation of men and women and change of traditional sex role patterns".[46] The endorsement was explained further in the report's introduction, stating that "[f]or us in the Nordic countries, equality between the sexes is as much a question of equal opportunities as equal rights" as "all people should have the same possibilities to participate in society."[47] As sex roles, defined as the social expectations of the individual conditioned by his or her sex, were seen as the major obstacle for equality, the committee arrived at education, since "the educational system is the most efficient instrument for societal change."[48]

As soon as the report *Sex Roles and Education* (1972) was published in Stockholm in the summer of 1972, it began circulating between and within the Nordic

states. In Norway, it first arrived at the desk of the minister of education, social democrat Bjartmar Gjerde, who a few years later, in 1975, claimed that his country had "the best education system in the world".[49] However, in relation to the theme of the Nordic report, "sex roles and education", there was no comparable understanding that being Norwegian was an advantage or an untapped good for the world. This did not imply that the diagnosis of the Nordic countries offered in the report was commonly shared. The notion of sex roles as socially and psychologically embedded was far from general knowledge – and most people had no idea that there was a problem in education that had to be solved. The report was still widely distributed by the Ministry of Education. Universities, university colleges, research councils, administrations, and school boards all received copies, although their readings and reactions differed. The Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration (NHH), for instance, did nothing until it, in April 1974, received a letter from the Committee on Gender Equality at the University of Bergen, asking what the school had done "to improve the conditions for women at their school."[50] But, even at the main Norwegian university in Oslo, few initiatives were taken apart from registering the tome on 18 January 1973 and filing it at the Office of Journals and Paper Affaires.[51]

In 1975, however, the report reappeared, not as a document but as a point of reference in the internal discussion on the condition of women at the University of Oslo itself.[52] What made the all-Nordic report recirculate within the University of Oslo was the distribution of another report published by the University of Bergen titled *Conclusion No. 1 From the Committee on Gender Equality (Appointed by the Academic Senate 18 May 1973)* (1974). This report soon turned into the Norwegian successor of the Nordic advice given by the Nordic Council and Cultural Committee by readjusting it, so to speak, to a homelier context at the University of Bergen.[53] In particular its new distinction between "radical" and "moderate" affirmative action was soon picked up by other public institutions, including higher education institutions, political parties, state departments, and legal scholars and milieus.[54] In its moderate form, affirmative action meant choosing a person from the underrepresented sex among equally qualified applicants. In its radical form, however, affirmative action meant relying more on the institution's own need for gender balance.[55] In the university sphere, the idea was that the institutions themselves had to provide the resources, identify qualified women, coach them, and offer the practical solutions needed to hire them instead of "leaving it up to the individual woman to meet the requirements on her own under the current conditions."[56]

Unlike the University of Oslo, or the NHH for that matter, the University of Bergen had taken immediate action after receiving the Nordic report on "sex roles and education". First, a committee was set up during the autumn months of 1972 on the initiative of the dean at the newly established Faculty of Social Science, sociology professor Ørjar Øyen.[57] Based on this, a formal recommendation was written, which, through a formal approval by the Academic Senate in May 1973, appointed another committee to develop concrete suggestions as to how to improve the situation for women at all levels within the university system. Subsequently, the University of Bergen was not only first to match,

organisationally speaking, the recommendation made by the Nordic council. Its first conclusion, which included a vast empirical mapping of the situation for women in Norwegian higher education, was also soon distributed to other universities via the Norwegian Chancellors Meeting. This led to the University of Oslo but also the University of Tromsø and other higher education institutions appointing their own gender equality committees. In doing so, the debate on female quotas entered the fields of higher education and research. Yet, the feminist worldview and knowledge that helped legitimise this organisational practice caused lively debates and harsh reactions.

At the University of Bergen, the committee on gender equality had justified the use of affirmative action by referring to patriarchal structures in society. In the view of the committee, "[t]here is positive discrimination [to the advantage of men] already, implicitly as well as explicitly."[58] The reason was that the dominant understanding of the social role of men and women

> in combination with a wide range of practical restrictions regarding women's professional work, which is an implicit structure of positive discrimination to the advantage of men, leads to a system where most scientific and leading administrative positions are held by men.[59]

In addition, the report concluded that affirmative action had already been used in Norway to secure a more gender-balanced corps of primary school teachers. In other words, men had been accepted to teachers' colleges with lower grades than women with the aim of training more male teachers. Thus, the report asked rhetorically, the question was "whether gender quotas should *also* be used to the advantage of women?"[60]

The group behind the Bergen report included seven university employees and two students: four men and five women. Three of them – Ida Blom, Karen Helle, and Helga Hernes – were self-declared feminists, all appointed by the Academic Senate and working within different scholarly fields. Two of them, historian Blom and political scientist Hernes, were born outside Norway but keen on developing more knowledge on women's own lives and experiences – in the past as well as in the present. At the time, Norway had its own version of the women's liberation movement. The speech presented by American feminist Jo Freeman in Oslo in the autumn of 1970 had lit the flame and different feminist groups emerged soon afterwards. In 1974, when the Bergen report was released, an organisation called the Woman's Front dominated most places, at least until it was infiltrated by groups on the radical left. How to relate to the established political elite, represented by the Labour Party, was a crucial question for feminists, although it brought disruptive forces to the foreground.

Feminist critique: the new epistemology of the Norwegian welfare state

When the Labour Party in 1973 strategically announced a Gender Equality Act in the autumn of 1973, just ahead of the national election, expectations for

further reforms arose, especially among the growing number of young women affiliated to universities and sympathising with the feminist cause in particular. Since the local election of 1970, more women had entered local politics due to a so-called female coop organised across party lines. Nationally, things were also about to change. Still, the first version of the law on gender equality presented in 1975 lacked the power argued for by many of the young female academics affiliated with the feminist movements. Its third paragraph was at the centre of the debate. The reason was that the first version of the law, launched after the Labour Party returned to political power, only introduced affirmative action in its moderate form. As a result, a group of female students and lawyers at the Faculty of Law at the University of Oslo began campaigning for positive discrimination of women, as they saw women as the real victims of discrimination.[61] Only women had for hundreds of years been structurally and culturally suppressed – not men. This argument, brought forward by students belonging to the legal milieu at Norway's oldest university, was not only based on a feminist conviction. Since 1973, the Faculty of Law had also hosted a women's legal group, in addition to a legal aid clinic for women, where legal principles were confronted with a gendered reality.

As the critical law movement spread to Oslo and Norway in the late 1960s, students set up legal services for ordinary people (i.e., people who did not have the necessary resources to consult a lawyer). The legal clinic for women at the University of Oslo, called JURK, was organised by young female students and scholars identifying with the feminist cause. Under the leadership of Tove Stang Dahl, a young legal scholar and later close friend of Helga Hernes, JURK was to develop into a kind of feminist laboratory. In fact, by providing legal aid to women in need, students received empirical knowledge, thus enabling them to challenge Norwegian law and legal scholarship. Based on this, Stang Dahl coined the term "housewife contract", pointing to the fact that legal principles were not neutral but based on the needs and norms of men. Hence, she argued, married women were in Norway legally inferior and vulnerable compared to men. And this was legal insight that to a large extent turned into the vehicle for transforming sex role theory into a feminist interpretation of the Norwegian welfare state, supported as it was by women's research in other disciplines.

In Norway as well as in the rest of the world, alternative epistemologies emerged in the wake of the social forces spurred by identity politics and women's liberation. History, psychology, sociology, literature, and political science were the disciplines wherein the feminist turn had the greatest impact. In these knowledge fields, female students, individually and in groups, started collecting data and analysing society from the perspective that women were suppressed structurally and individually and that mainstream university knowledge helped maintain this suppression. Even theology students stressed the need for new and feminist guidelines. In 1975, a female student at the University of Oslo said that a feminist conviction was seldom the reason why students like her decided to study theology. Simultaneously, she said, there "was no reason that it [i.e., the study of theology] cannot transform into feminism over time."[62]

Throughout the 1970s, the mobilisation for feminist knowledge influenced the overall field of Norwegian research, including the national research priorities expressed by the authorities. The research councils, more than the Central Committee of Norwegian Research (CNR), had already in the winter of 1973 for the first time addressed the issue of gender after receiving the Nordic report on sex roles and education. Whereas the CNR lost much of its influence already around 1970, the research council NAVF increased its ability to play a more independent political role. By reorganising and dividing the council into four independent units for the natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, and medicine, it became more accountable for its own operations according to both its own and political priorities. Besides, the organisation grew rapidly. In order to handle this, new administrative resources were made available to the increasing numbers of applications meeting the annual deadlines of the council each year – and for handling those who had already received their funding to develop new insights and knowledge in their respective fields. For each of the four individual councils of the NAVF, female administrative secretaries worked full time to support the councils' work led by men.

During the 1970s, the composition of the boards of the Norwegian research councils changed more to the advantage of female scientists. The councils in the social sciences and humanities, in particular, underwent a demographic change. And unsurprisingly, it was here that the first adjustment to the feminist demand for new knowledge had the strongest impact, again based on the Nordic report on sex roles. Distributed equally to all councils, only two of them – the councils for the social sciences and humanities – took the time to discuss its content, which in the longer run helped transform sex role theory into feminist interpretations of the welfare state. The first and far most important decision was taken by the council of social science in February 1973, as it agreed to initiate a public inquiry on Nordic possibilities and needs for research on education and sex roles. The second important decision was the determination of the council in the humanities to support the decision taken by the council in the social sciences. However, the public inquiry never materialised in the way the two councils initially envisioned with eyes for Nordic needs. Instead, the administrative secretaries of the two councils invited young women to an evening meeting at NAVF's main office in Oslo. The invitation addressed "all women interested in the women's cause", and during the evening discussion, the audience arrived at the conclusion that "new knowledge is needed to untangle the mechanism of woman's suppression."[63] In the form of a short note, written after the evening meeting was over, the appeal to intensify feminist research was communicated back to the leaders of the two research councils, suggesting that they should organise a cross-disciplinary seminar for researchers and students on women's role in society in 1974.

The short note circulated after the secret feminist meeting at the NAVF resulted in a common agreement on a cross-disciplinary women's conference. Albeit members of the two councils at first insisted on keeping a Nordic profile on things, everything changed when the secretary general of the

Norwegian research council NAVF in 1974 received a letter from the Norwegian Council of Gender Equality with Labour politician Reiulf Steen as head of the board. Due to the letter, the council of social science research decided to expedite the public inquiry they had already agreed upon. Moreover, in the winter months of 1975, which introduced the international women's year, a group of young female scientists accompanied by two older members began examining the possibilities and needs for social science research on women. Led by a young psychology graduate, Hanne Haavind, the working group concentrated on the Norwegian situation. Consequently, the Nordic perspective was left behind, and in its final report, simply called *Research on Women* (1976), a whole range of new initiatives were launched to develop new knowledge on women's situation in Norway.[64] The most innovative of these was the suggestion to create a secretary for feminist research.[65] The intention was not only to inspire researchers to start documenting and explaining why and how women's inferiority and lack of power was being reproduced in Norwegian society.[66] By offering new analytical categories and perspectives in relation to the study of human society, the social sciences were also to be renewed from within.

Concluding remarks

At first, the idea of having a secretariat for feminist research within the NAVF met criticism, but it was nevertheless introduced in 1977 for a trial period of five years. An administrative secretary was hired full time to coordinate the work and edit the monthly newsletter of the secretariat, called *News on Women's Research*.[67] In addition, Helga Hernes, still working at the University of Bergen, was elected head of the board of the secretariat. At that time, Hernes had moved up in the academic world and was, from 1976, a member of the council for social research in NAVF. Finally, Harriet Holter, serving as professor of social psychology at the University of Oslo, was hired part time to supervise graduates in women's studies. All activities were organised from the facilities of the secretariat, in the old "milk shop" across the headquarters of the NAVF.

In 1980, it was decided that the Secretariat for Feminist Research was to be extended for another five years, financed by the Department of Administration and Consumer Affairs under the leadership of social democrat Sissle Rønbeck. The argument behind this extension was the central role of the secretariat in renewing the Norwegian welfare state. The Equal Status Act passed by the Norwegian parliament in 1978 served as the decisive element for this choice, as it made the state itself accountable for changing society to benefit women more. In the final version of the act, paragraph three had legalised positive discrimination against women with the aim of creating a more woman-friendly society. Or, as the law text stated, "different treatment of men and women that furthers gender equality is not in conflict with the law."[68] For the research council NAVF, this decision changed the organisational status and mandate of the secretariat.

Starting in 1981, the Secretariat for Feminist Research was to become a more integrated part of Norway's national research efforts by not only supporting and organising women's research but also helping women qualify for scientific work. Helga Hernes again assumed a central role, now as head of research. Over the next seven years, she was to serve as chief editor of 17 volumes in the book series "Women's Lifecycles and Living Conditions," presenting empirical evidence on the modern Norwegian welfare state from a feminist perspective.[69] Her own book, *Welfare State and Woman Power: Essays in State Feminism* (1987), which I referred to in the introduction of this chapter, was not formally part of the series. However, the book complemented the work edited by Hernes on behalf of the Secretariat for Feminist Research by offering a meta-analysis of the current state of Nordic women. It did so by showing how women had mobilised over time and were finally able to enter the headquarters of the welfare state (i.e., parliaments, corporate channels, and state bureaucracies). What the book did not mention was the importance and crucial role of female scholars like herself by producing evidence for a particular Scandinavian version of state feminism, characterised by an "interplay between [feminist] agitation from below and [state] integration policy from above."[70] In this picture, the Secretariat for Feminist Research was the ultimate *lieu de savoir* of state feminism in its role as a bridge between feminist scholars and the Norwegian state. The Nordic context was still decisive for what has been argued in this chapter: that over the period 1960–1980 sex role research and theory changed into feminist interpretations of the Norwegian and Scandinavian welfare state by circulating between different social spheres and adjusting to the university sector at a time when many of its young women sympathised with the feminist cause.

Notes

1 Helga Maria Hernes, *Welfare State and Woman Power: Essays in State Feminism* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press/Scandinavian Library, 1987), 9, 11.
2 Hege Skjeie, "Hva er statsfeminisme?" in *Krysningspunkter: Likestillingspolitikk i et flerkulturelt Norge*, eds. Cecilie Thun and Beret Bråten (Oslo: Akademika Forlag, 2013), 35.
3 Ibid., 34.
4 The research upon which the chapter is based is related to a larger project on the history of the Norwegian research councils. For additional information, see Thomas Brandt, Mats Ingulstad, Eirinn Larsen, Marte Mangset, and Vera Schwach, *Avhengig av forskning: Historien til de norske forskningsrådene, 1946–2016* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2019).
5 Christian Jacob, "*Lieux de Savoir*. Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge", *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1, no. 1 (2017): 86, 88.
6 Philipp Sarasin, "*Was ist Wissensgeschichte*?" *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 36 (2011): 166 (emphasis added).
7 Quoted fron Øystein Elgarøy, "'Tippelunchen' på Continental – hvordan forskningsråd blir til", *Forskningspolitikk* 2 (1995): 12 (author's translation).
8 Eirinn Larsen, "Rådsetablering til grunnforskningens nytte", in *Avhengig av forskning: De norske forskningsrådenes historie 1946–2016*, eds. Thomas Brandt et al. (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2019), 96; Kjølv Egeland, "Forskning – kulturgode eller produksjonsfaktor? En studie av de politiske partienes syn på forskning etter 1945" (MA diss., University of Oslo, 1973), 43; Stig Kvaal, *Forskning og industripolitik: Om gjennombruddet for forskning*

i industripolitikken, STS-Arbeidsnotat 10/93 (Trondheim: University of Trondheim, 1993), 18.

9 Fredrik Engelstad, "Kunnskap og refleksjon. Institutt for samfunnsforskning 1950–2000", in *Kunnskap og refleksjon: 50 år samfunnsforskning*, ed. Fredrik Engelstad (Oslo: ISF Rapport 2, 2000), 5–6.

10 The University of Oslo received a social science faculty in 1963, while the University of Bergen launched its faculty ten years later.

11 Edmund Dahlström, Harriet Holter, Sverre Brun-Gulbrandsen, Per Olav Tiller, and Gösta Dahlström, *Kvinnors liv och arbete* (Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle [SNS], 1962), 14.

12 In the 1960s, psychologists Per Olav Tiller and Sverre Brun-Gulbrandsen were also at the ISF, working on issues similar to those discussed by Holter and Grønseth.

13 Dahlström et al., "Innledning", in *Kvinnors liv och arbete*, eds. Dahlström et al. (Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle [SNS], 1962), 14.

14 Ibid.

15 Cyntia Fuchs Epstein, "Book Reviews [*Sex Roles and Social Structures*. By Harriet Holter, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1970]", *Acta Sociologica* 14, no. 1/2 (1971): 130.

16 Harriet Holter, *Sex Roles and Social Structure* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1970).

17 Dahlström, "Introduction", in *Kvinnors liv och arbete*, eds. Dahlström et al. (Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle [SNS], 1962), 15.

18 Harriet Holter, "Kjønnsroller og sosial struktur", in *Kvinnors liv och arbete*, eds. Dahlström et al. (Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle [SNS], 1962), 107.

19 In 1974, Harriet Holter republished her contribution to the Swedish-Norwegian book on women's lives and work. The reason given was that the original book was sold out, and despite being replaced in an English version and later a Swedish version, it was difficult to get a hold of it in Norway. See Harriet Holter, *Kvinners liv og arbeid* (Oslo, Bergen, and Tromsø: Universitetesforlaget, 1974), 5.

20 Epstein, "Book Reviews [*Sex Roles and Social Structures*]", 130.

21 Karin Widerberg, "Harriet Holter: A Pioneer in Gender Studies and Sociology", *Acta Sociologica* 43, no. 4 (2000): 415.

22 "The American Woman's Dilemma", *Life*, 16 June 1947, 101.

23 K.A. Cuordilone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 140.

24 Margrete Bonnevie, *Fra mannssamfunn til menneskesamfunn* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1955).

25 Gro Hagemann, "Tøffelhelter og karrierekvinner: Etterkrigstidens kjønns(u)orden", in *Feminisme og historieskriving: Inntrykk fra en reise* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2004), 146–147.

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27 Eva Moberg, "Kvinnans villkorliga frigivning", in *Unga Liberaler: Nio inlägg i idédebatten*, ed. Hans Hederberg (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1961); Eva Moberg, *Kvinnor och människor* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1962).

28 Quoted in Hagemann, "Tøffelhelter og karrierekvinner", 150.

29 Iceland was in 1958 the first Nordic country to ratify the ILO convention on equal pay, whereas Denmark ratified the convention in 1960, Sweden in 1962, and Finland in 1963. The International Labour Organization, Ratification of C100 – Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), Date of entry into force 23 May 1953, see accessed 3 April 2019, www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11300:0::NO::P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:312245.

30 Mari Haugland, *Tvetydig likelønn. Norges ratifisering av ILO-konvensjon nr. 100 i 1959* (Master thesis: University of Oslo, 2018).

31 Author unknown, *Kvinnens plass er – hvor?* (Oslo: Det norske arbeiderpartiet, 1965), 113; Doris H. Linder, *Aase Lionæs: En politisk biografi* (Oslo: Det norske arbeiderpartiet, 1999), 172–173.

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33 Eirinn Larsen, "Fra styringsoptimisme til sektorisering". In Thomas Brandt et al. 172.
34 At the time, Norway had four national research councils: NAVF (1949), the National Research Council for Technology and Science (1946), the National Research Council for Agricultural Science (1949), and the National Research Council for Fishery Science (1972). A fifth research council was created in the 1980s for applied social sciences. In 1993, all councils merged into one – the Norwegian Research Council.
35 Tove Thagaard Sem, *Kjønnsroller og studiemotivering: En studiet av kjønnsforskjeller i rekruttering til høyere utdanning* (Oslo: Norges allmennvitenskapelige forskningsråd Utredningsavdeling, 1967).
36 Ibid., 131.
37 In the 1970s, 30 per cent of married women were registered as wage earners in the national statistics, whereas it had been 10 per cent ten years earlier. Hilde Danielsen, "Det lange 70-tallet", in *Norsk likestillingshistorie 1814–2013*, eds. Hilde Danielsen, Eirinn Larsen, and Ingeborg W. Owesen (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2015), 159.
38 Author unknown, *Er pikenes utdanning i utakt med samfunnsutviklingen?* (Oslo: Likelønnsrådet, 1966), 10 (author's translation).
39 Danielsen, "Det lange 70-tallet", 159.
40 Ibid., 161.
41 "Arbejdet med ligestillingsspørgsmål i de nordiske lande", attachment 1 in *Betænkning vedrørende Kvindernes stilling i samfundet. Slutrapport afgivet af den af statsministeren nedsatte commission vedrørende kvindernes stilling i samfundet*, Betækning No. 715 (Copenhagen, 1974), 105–109, accessed 2 July 19, www.kvinfo.dk/kilde.php?kilde=636.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., 108–109; Nordiska rådet, Nordiska kultursekretariatet, *Könsroller och utbildning*, Nordisk utredningsserie nr. 6/72 (Stockholm: Nordiska rådet, Nordiska kultursekretariatet, 1972), 9.
44 Nordiska rådet, Nordiska kultursekretariatet, *Könsroller och utbildning*, 9.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid., 15 (author's translation).
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49 Kim Helsvig, *Reform og rutine: Kunnskapsdepartementets historie 1945–2017* (Oslo: Pax, 2017), 70.
50 The central archive of NHH: Letter from the principal of NHH, Olav Harlad Svendsen, to the Committee on Gender Equality, University of Bergen, dated 16 April 1974. This was an answer to the letter from the Committee on Gender Equality, University of Bergen, by Assistant Professor Ida Blom, dated 26 March 1974.
51 Eirinn Larsen, "Jubileumshistorie nedenfra–UiO og nye studentgrupper", in *Universitetet i Oslo: Samtidshistoriske perspektiver*, eds. Peder Anker, Magnus Gulbrandsen, Eirinn Larsen, Johannes W. Løvhaug, and Bent Sofus Tranøy (Oslo: Unipub, 2011), 66–67. My copy of the report, borrowed from the university library, to a large extent verifies this by its fading stamp on the cover sheet, in combination with partly unspoiled and unbroken pages.
52 The central archive of the University of Oslo: 0008.8-011, Notat Arbeidet med likestilling mellom kvinner og menn, dated 8 March 1976. The Gender Equality Committee at the University of Oslo was approved by the Academic Senate on 8 March 1976.
53 *Innstilling nr. 1 fra Likestillingskomiteen (oppnevnt av Det akademiske kollegium 18. Mai 1973)*, University of Bergen, June 1974.
54 *Aftenposten*, 9 May 1980.
55 *Innstilling nr. 1*, 47.

56 Ibid. (author's translation).
57 Ibid., 1 (author's translation). Interview with Helga Hernes 23 January 2017.
58 *Innstilling nr. 1*, 49 (author's translation).
59 Ibid. (author's translation).
60 Ibid., 50 (author's translation, italics in original).
61 Tove Stang Dahl, *Juss og juks: En arbeidsbok i likestilling* (Oslo: Pax, 1975).
62 *Kvinner og klær*, 18 September 1975. Referred to in Larsen, "Jubileumshistorie nedenfra– UiO og nye studentgrupper", 62.
63 Eirinn Larsen, "Sekretariat for norsk statsfeminisme", in *Er pikenes utdanning i utakt med samfunnsutviklingen?* (Oslo: Likelønnsrådet, 1966), 271.
64 Norges almenvitenskapelige forskning, *Forskning om kvinner. En utredning om muligheter og behov for samfunnsvitenskpelige forsking om kvinners livsforhold og stilling i samfunnet*, Utarbeidet av et utvalg nedsatt av Rådet for samfunnsvitenskapelig forskning i NAVF (Oslo, Bergen, and Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1976).
65 Ibid., 273–274.
66 Beatrice Halsaa, "Feministisk forskning – feministisk politick", *Kvinneforskning* 27, no. 1 (2003): 2.
67 The Norwegian title was *Nytt om kvinneforskning*.
68 Lov om likestilling mellom kjønnene, approved 9 June 1978, enacted on 15 March 1979, § 3 (author's translation).
69 Helga Hernes, ed., *Kvinners levekår og livsløp* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1981–1987).
70 Hernes, *Welfare State and Woman Power*, 11, 15.

Part III

Education, culture, and the humanities


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9 The city, the church, and the 1960s

On secularisation theory and the Swedish translation of Harvey Cox's *The Secular City*

Anton Jansson

In 1994, sociologist of religion José Casanova wrote in the introduction to his influential book *Public Religions in the Modern World* that a paradigm shift had occurred in his field. His colleagues had abandoned an earlier paradigm "with the same uncritical haste with which they previously embraced it."[1] What he had in mind was the theory of secularisation: that is, the notion that with modernisation, religion would disappear from the public sphere, if not altogether. The theory was now, he claimed, something of a myth in the eyes of many of his colleagues, rather than the accepted knowledge it used to be.

However, it is reasonable to claim that secularisation is, or above all was, a form of knowledge in the sense of being a well-defined and well-founded conception concerning a certain condition, in this case the fate of religion in modern societies.[2] With its paradigmatic status, this was knowledge that, in the words of James Secord, was "taken-for-granted", not only in a narrow academic field but for wider groups of people, also outside scholarly circles.[3]

Secularisation theory has a long and multi-faceted history, introduced very briefly in the following, but seemed to enjoy its heyday during the postwar era. Sociologist of religion Hans Joas has claimed:

> [W]ith particular self-assurance from the 1960s onwards, those who assumed that secularization was a virtually inevitable outcome of modernization enjoyed hegemonic status in every debate on religion and the future of modern society, whether in philosophy, the humanities and social sciences, or intellectual life in general.[4]

In this chapter, I aim to present and discuss secularisation theory as a time-specific form of knowledge in Sweden. And I do so by focusing on one of the most famous (and infamous) books of the 1960s addressing secularisation, namely *The Secular City*, by American theologian Harvey Cox, first published in 1965. However, I do not delve deeply into the contents of the book but rather look at its circulation in the Swedish public.[5] Cox's book was translated into Swedish already in 1966 as *Har Gud skapat tätorten?*, came out in a further edition in 1967, and was accompanied by a study material. I put this publication

in its Swedish context and analyse its initial reception and further circulation in the Christian and mainstream public. In doing so, this chapter focuses on the translation and adaptation of an internationally renowned work into a new national context and how it was remoulded in the process.[6] The main focus is thus on the circulation of a specific work by a specific author, but by focusing on this book, I also hope to say something broader concerning the articulation and circulation of secularisation theory. Apart from this, this chapter discusses the relationship between religion and knowledge, specifically the role of churches and the entanglement of knowledge with ethical encouragements.

The chapter follows in four parts. I start out with a general brief introduction of secularisation theory, including the Swedish context in relation to this. I then briefly introduce Harvey Cox and his book before turning to its circulation in the Swedish public. First, I present the introduction and initial reception of Cox in Sweden. Here, I emphasise two contextual aspects – urbanisation and discussions about the church – which played an important role both for the publication of the book and for how the book was perceived in reviews and analyses in cultural journals and daily newspapers. In the following part, I present the study material that accompanied the book and discuss how the book was coupled with ethical and political encouragements. In addition to this, I show how Cox became a general point of reference in scholarly presentations of secularisation theory. In a concluding discussion, I pull the threads together and discuss secularisation theory and the history of knowledge in somewhat more detail.

Looking back on secularisation

In 21st-century discussions on the fate of religion in contemporary society, a specific narrative thrives: religion has "returned" or has "new visibility"; we may today even live in a "post-secular" society.[7] This is often accompanied by a critique against an earlier simplistic secularisation theory, according to which there was a necessary and universal link between modernisation and the disappearance of religion. Generally, critics of the secularisation theory do not deny that there has been a religious transformation during the modern era but doubt the necessity and universality, as well as the progressive or even teleological implications, of the secularisation theory, which they claim have been dominant for much of the 20th century.[8]

The concept of secularisation – originating in ecclesiastical law where it meant that something was transferred from an ecclesiastical (churchly) to a non-ecclesiastical (secular, worldly) domain – was established as a cultural-historical concept in most European languages in the early 20th century.[9] However, the idea that human progress would disqualify, marginalise, and even wipe out religion has a longer history. Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire once predicted that the death of Christianity would arrive within fifty years, and in his famous outline of human progress, his younger colleague Condorcet envisioned a society where human beings recognised "no other master but their reason", which meant that priests would exist only in history books.[10] This

notion grew stronger among intellectuals during the 19th century and gained more scholarly credibility with the establishment of sociology. Auguste Comte imagined that the theological and metaphysical stages in human progress would be succeeded by a positivistic era, and Max Weber's foundational notion of the disenchantment of the modern world could be considered a variant of secularisation theory.[11]

Hans Joas is not alone in having identified the 1960s and 1970s as the period when secularisation theory was at its peak.[12] During these decades, there was much scholarly output offering theoretical substance to the idea of secularisation. Thomas Luckmann in *The Invisible Religion* famously formulated a secularisation theory positing that the traditional religious institutions were doomed and that religion in modern society would increasingly be found in the private sphere.[13] His colleague Peter Berger wrote in *The Sacred Canopy* that secularisation was a "global phenomenon of modern societies".[14] Similarly, Bryan Wilson claimed that while societies differed in how secularisation occurred, secularisation could be taken "simply as a fact".[15] Some of these scholars have later recanted. Berger – whose prediction in the *New York Times* in 1968 that religion would be virtually gone by the turn of the millennium is often quoted as a sign of the self-assurance of secularisation theorists – in 1999 instead published a book entitled *The Desecularization of the World*.[16]

Sweden, during this period famous for developing a modernist self-image and identity, is no exception to the rule that secularisation theory constituted an important part of the interpretation of where society was heading. In Swedish society, this had, for instance, been prepared in the 1950s by influential political scientist and newspaper publisher Herbert Tingsten. Tingsten is noted for at an early stage presenting a theory on the end of ideologies, accompanied by propagating for the case that religion was dying out as well. Thanks to the rationalisation of modern societies since the Enlightenment, Tingsten held, people no longer believed in religious truths, and what was left was a toothless church with a non-substantial message that was on its way to becoming irrelevant.[17] Others agreed, whether or not they shared Tingsten's culturally radical values: the priest Egon Åhman, for instance, in the mid-1960s published an extensive and much noted characterisation of secularisation from historical, sociological, and theological perspectives, and here as well, it seemed self-evident that society was steadily bound to a process of secularisation.[18]

It should be pointed out that the fact that secularisation theory was widespread is not the same as there being a secular society. The secular character of postwar Sweden should not be exaggerated, and the 1960s did present a strong Christian public sphere and movement in Sweden.[19] This was no monolithic entity: theologically, institutionally, and politically, Christianity spanned a wide field, inside the Lutheran state church and outside. There were older free churches, such as the Mission Covenant Church, Methodists, and Baptists with roots in the 19th-century popular movements, and newer ones, such as the Pentecostal movement. These all had to react to and position themselves in relation to secularisation and did so with varying degrees of zeal.

In 1964, a new political party was established. The Swedish Christian Democrats (KDS, Kristen demokratisk samling, today Kristdemokraterna), mainly an organ of the Pentecostal movement and not supported by the older free churches, was founded over a "concern about the far-reaching secularisation of society."[20] The igniting sparks consisted of a reaction to the substitution of confessional Christianity studies (*Kristendomskunskap*) for neutral religious studies (*Religionskunskap*) in upper secondary schools and the perceived loss of public morality, primarily represented by the controversial 1964 movie *491*.[21] KDS wanted to counter secularisation, which the party at the time frequently conceptualised as the de-Christianisation (*avkristning*) of Sweden.

Secularisation could perhaps be countered, but the epistemological credibility of the secularisation theory was rarely challenged. In a way, secularisation theory was accepted and even bolstered by parts of the Christian establishment. While KDS was perceived as a "battling party"[22] against secularisation, in other corners of the Christian public sphere, it was not self-evident that secularisation should be countered. Both in Sweden and internationally, there were tendencies to rather accommodate ideas concerning secularisation and the demise of religion within Christianity and Christian thought. The so-called "Death of God theology" emerged in the early 1960s. This was heterogeneous but included various ways of theologically responding to living in a society where God was perceived as dead; in some cases, it even meant affirming the death of God.[23] A related movement was what has been termed secularisation theology or secular theology, which still advocated the existence of God but embraced secularisation as welcome to or even grounded in the Christian tradition. In this context, internationally and in Sweden, Harvey Cox's *The Secular City* became one of the most notable and circulated works. Before presenting its fates in the Swedish public, I briefly introduce Cox and the main arguments in his book.

Harvey Cox and *The Secular City*

At the beginning of 1965, Harvey Cox was an anonymous Baptist minister and assistant professor who had finished his dissertation at Harvard in 1963.[24] A year later, however, he was one of the most famous theologians in the world, owing to the unexpected success of a paperback book he published, which landed on the bestseller list in the United States. The book was eventually translated into fourteen languages and sold nearly a million copies worldwide. Leading Christians all around the globe read it, including Pope Paul VI, who in an audience with Cox told him that while he did not agree with all of it, he had read the book with great interest.[25]

The book was called *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* and was based on themes from Cox's doctoral dissertation, which was on religion and technology.[26] In the book, he mainly linked secularisation theory to discussions about urbanisation, for instance, referring to the famous urban theoretician Lewis Mumford. Cox himself claimed that he was astonished by the success of the book, which he originally drafted to serve

a specific purpose, namely serving as a study material for a series of conferences held by the National Student Christian Federation.[27] However, writing about secularisation with engaged laypeople in mind, rather than colleagues in theological seminars, turned out to be a recipe for success. Cox later called the book a pamphlet, written not in a scholarly manner but in a sweeping, stylistically non-academic way, making it accessible to a wider public.[28] The pamphlet character and accessibility certainly contributed to the success of the book. A decisive element was also how Cox linked theology to many of the hottest social issues of the day. Apart from urbanisation and modern city life, the book also thematised topics such as sex and sexuality, work life and the modern organisation, as well as education.

Cox later claimed that "the city" in the book was a kind of metaphor for modern life in a secular society, but the city and urbanisation were certainly very tangibly presented in a highly modernist or even futuristic way. He speaks about the "technopolis", about "cybernation" (a combination of cybernetics and automation), and what he refers to as an accompanying urban "new cultural style".[29] A defining characteristic of the city or the technopolis is that it is secular. In what can be termed a stadial interpretation of history, Cox presents the city as a form of third and final stage in a historical development going from the tribe to the town and ending up in the technopolis, the secular city. This is a form of secularisation narrative in that it presents how secularity is the inevitable outcome of modernity. For Cox, secularisation seems to be an entirely self-evident piece of knowledge, something that becomes clear already in the introduction to the book.[30] That religious events and movements are still noticeable in the public space should not be seen as too significant; they are "no real threat to the secularization process" as religion and metaphysics "are disappearing forever".[31] Secularisation is totally triumphant and, as he says later in the book, "almost certainly irreversible".[32]

Cox not only presented his taken-for-granted view of secularisation; what created his fame (and infamy) was how he embraced it and his positive theological appropriation of secularisation. Here, he was influenced by German theologians such as Friedrich Gogarten, who argued that secularisation in a sense was an emanation of Christianity into the world, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who formulated the need for a "religionless" Christianity.[33] Cox claims that secularisation is something positive: "it is basically a liberating development", a deliverance of man from religious and metaphysical control and oppression.[34] It emancipates the human being and lets him or her become the master of the world, a partner with God, who is free to do godly works in the world. Cox cites Bonhoeffer in saying that secularisation means "man's coming of age".[35] This positive interpretation was not restricted to secularisation but is similar regarding urbanisation. The anonymity and rootlessness of the secular city, Cox claims, must be interpreted as something positive, as this could mean a liberation from burdensome expectations of town life and could serve as an antidote to ossification within the Christian community. In biblical terms, it is a deliverance from the Law, and from Baal, from stale traditions and false idols.[36]

As mentioned earlier, the book was a commercial success, and its brashness made it a topic of debate. As soon as 1966, an edited volume dedicated to this debate was published, and the same year, there were already six translations underway.[37] One of them was into Swedish, the only Scandinavian language into which the book was translated. And in Sweden it resonated well with certain developments in church and society.

Har Gud skapat tätorten? Publication and initial reception in Sweden

Swedish Christianity during the 1960s was generally attentive to what was going on in American Christian life and theology, so it was no surprise that word of Cox's success would reach the country. When Torsten Kälvemark, later a well-known author and top civil servant, reviewed the just published Swedish translation in late 1966, he said that this book was already something that had to be mentioned if you wanted to show that you were *à jour* with the theological debate.[38] Kälvemark points out that Cox was introduced to the Swedish public by Kerstin Anér earlier that year. While Kälvemark missed that Cox's sensational book was discussed in *Kristet Forum*, the journal of the free church movement student association, already in 1965, he had a point in that Anér was a key introducer.[39]

Anér wrote about *The Secular City* in the Christian cultural journal *Vår Lösen* but presented it for a wider public as well in the spring of 1966.[40] Anér, who later became a top politician for the liberal People's Party, was at the time not only a writer but also a radio producer on the national public radio. In a broadcast of the programme *Tidsspegel*, which was an important programme for three decades (1947–1976) and where current debates and hot topics were presented, she discussed Cox and linked him to a well-visited exhibition about urbanity, *Hej Stad!*, at the newly opened architectural museum in Stockholm.[41] And when the Swedish translation of the book was published towards the end of 1966, Anér was included on the back cover with a quote from her earlier review, stating that Cox is no "academic theologian but a man who wants things done, Kennedy style."[42]

When Cox's work was published in Sweden, the title was not translated literally. In Swedish, the book was called *Har Gud skapat tätorten? Kristen tro och sekulariserat stadssamhälle* [Has God created the locality? Christian faith and secularised urban society]. The word *tätort*, officially translated as "locality" but hard to translate literally, was topical. In 1960, the term was officially adopted jointly by the governments of the Nordic countries and given the definition that it "consists of a group of buildings normally no more than 200 metres apart from each other and must fulfil a minimum criterion of having at least 200 inhabitants."[43] It was used to statistically distinguish between urban and non-urban areas, and in this way, it was reasonable to use it to denote something urban. However, a locality could be very small and, in that sense, very different from the technopoleis Cox was writing about. This was also pointed out by a few of the Swedish reviewers.[44]

The publication in Swedish of a controversial or at least debated foreign work of theology was not without precedent. In 1964, the English bishop John Robinson's *Honest to God* – a work that has been linked to the Death of God-movement[45] – was published in Swedish as *Gud är annorlunda* [God is different] by the publishing house of the Swedish Mission Covenant Church.[46] In a sense, *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* was the logical follow-up to the publication of Robinson's work but was instead issued by a publishing house linked to the state church. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelse, short Diakonistyrelsen, founded in 1910 had many tasks within the church, including organising social work, local parish work, publicity, and education for laypeople.[47] Part of the latter mission was the publishing house SKDB, later Verbum, which published *Har Gud skapat tätorten?*

Diakonistyrelsen also issued a weekly newspaper, *Vår Kyrka*, where the publishing house regularly presented its newest publications. In late 1966, *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* was here introduced as the highlight of the season's publications and presented as the greatest attempt in a long time to interpret the contemporary world in light of the Bible.[48] There were also ads for the book posted in the major daily newspapers, and the caption here was that the book was widely debated in the United States and Europe, and it was also pointed out that the author looked upon secularisation not as a threat but as a possibility.[49]

The book was reviewed, discussed, and/or analysed in the major Christian cultural journals, both the more liberally inclined, such as *Vår Lösen*, *Kristet Forum*, and *Årsbok för Kristen Humanism*, and the more conservative *Svensk Pastoraltidskrift* and *Nya Väktaren*.[50] The review in the latter stands out in its assessment of the work as "heretical" (*kättersk*) and in warning the readers.[51] Otherwise, there are some general themes in its initial reception – themes that were also raised when the book was addressed in the large daily newspapers *Aftonbladet*, *Expressen*, and *Göteborgs-Tidningen*: Cox's book was seen as an inspiring or challenging work, especially for the modern church, but overly optimistic. Furthermore, the discussions concerning it revolved around the city.

To begin with the latter point, that Cox's book was not only about secularisation or modernity in general but about the city seems to have hit a nerve in mid-1960s Sweden. Also 1966, the year of *Har Gud skapat tätorten?*, has been referred to by philosopher Sven-Olov Wallenstein specifically as the year of "thinking the city" in a retrospective discussion on the previously mentioned exhibition *Hej Stad!*[52] And not only in 1966 alone but in the mid-1960s Sweden saw a peak in public debates about urban life. In 1965, the so-called Million Programme was launched. This was a national initiative to erect one million houses and apartments in ten years, which was criticised already at the time; above all, the large apartment blocks in newly designed suburbs were seen as a "newly-built slum".[53] Another necessary form of modernisation of cities, albeit deplored by many, consisted of redevelopments where older houses were torn down to make way for more modern city centres. The most ambitious and most contested of these was the redevelopment of Norrmalm in central Stockholm. This went on from the 1940s into the 1970s but was in its most intensive

phase in the 1960s.[54] The landmark edifices of the project, the five tall "Hötorget skyscrapers" were finished in 1966, and they made it to the cover of the *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* In the picture depicting a neon-lit Stockholm by night, the skyscrapers are symbolically foregrounded by the nearby Klara Church, which has one of the tallest church towers in Sweden.

Modern cities, urban life, and the perceived downsides of these were widely discussed also by Christian actors. Notable is that in the first party platform of KDS, no fewer than three of its twelve points addressed the city in one way or another. It speaks about the "unfortunate" migration to towns and the "maladjusted and lost" inhabitants of the large cities.[55] An interesting fact here is that the Swedish Christian Democrats Party modelled its platform on the Norwegian party Kristelig Folkeparti, founded in 1933, with the exception that the three points on the city did not have counterparts in the previously founded Norwegian party.[56] The utter topicality of the city in Swedish debates in 1966 is probably one of the reasons why Cox's book was discussed and translated (for instance, it was not translated into the other Scandinavian languages), and as mentioned earlier, it was also a main theme in the reception.

The Hötorget skyscrapers illustrated the article about Cox (with the headline *Halleluja Stad!*) by author and priest Rune Pär Olofsson in *Expressen*, and a tower crane was pictured in a long article in *Göteborgs-Tidningen* written by Bernt Eklundh, at the time cultural editor of the paper. He very tangibly links *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* to the development of Gothenburg, as he writes about moving to the countryside northeast of the city only for this area to be incorporated into the city when the authorities created the new suburb of Angered, the largest Million Programme area in the city. While Eklundh denies that there is a strict dichotomy between urban and rural lifestyles, his main critique of Cox's book is that the author has nothing to say about the noise, stench, and overcrowding of the modern city.[57] That Cox has too little to say about the downside of the city is a critique presented by both the more positive and the more negative reviewers. In Kerstin Anér's generally welcoming review in *Vår Lösen*, she ends by asking whether Cox was not too positive about the city in light of what is known about biocides and noise.[58] Religious scholar Eric J. Sharpe later reviewed the Swedish translation more negatively in a longer article in *Vår Lösen*, and one of his points was that Cox was wrong about the city, which in reality is full of loneliness, meaninglessness, addiction, and suicide.[59] Ragnar Oldberg in *Kristet Forum* has another version of this, claiming that it is remarkable how Cox hides facts by not acknowledging warnings from the World Health Organization concerning the health hazards of modern cities.[60]

In the Swedish reception, Harvey Cox thus almost mainly appeared as a (partly flawed) interpreter of the city, and the point that the city could almost be a metaphor for modern secularity was not appreciated, as his discussions about the city were taken at face value. That a book about urbanisation spurred discussions about city life is naturally self-evident in one sense. But while the contents of books are fixed, they may come to mean different things in their circulation, or at least be given different accents.[61] In the case of *Har Gud skapat*

Tätorten?, it is notable that the Swedish discussion differed from the international. The part that was most widely debated and most quoted in general, according to Cox himself, was the chapter on sex.[62] In Sweden, however, this theme was mostly mentioned in passing, if at all. The reason for this is probably that Sweden had already experienced a very lively debate on sex and sexuality during the first half of the 1960s, when there was a breakthrough of sexual liberalism. However, according to its main historiographer Lena Lennerhed, this debate ended quite suddenly in 1965 and was not that topical in 1966 and 1967. This had also been somewhat more radical than Cox, who mainly criticised Playboy and propagated for a more pragmatic view on pre-marital sex, which probably meant that there was not enough to awaken the Swedish discussion – not even in Christian circles, which had not been untouched by the earlier debate.[63] The chapters on work life and universities were also hardly picked up in the Swedish reception.

Another aspect of the book that was picked up and related to Swedish conditions, however, was the challenges facing the church in modern society. If one important contextual aspect of the 1960s was urbanisation, another was discussions about the relationship between, on the one hand, the church and, on the other, the state and society. Since the adoption of a new law on the freedom of religion in 1951, which finally allowed Swedish citizens to leave the state church without having to belong to another officially recognised denomination, there had been calls for further reform of the Church of Sweden, above all for a separation of church and state. From 1958 to 1968, a large government study was carried out on the future of the state-church relationship, suggesting various solutions to the issue. While the question was eventually tabled in 1973 and not resolved until 2000, when the Church of Sweden ceased to be a state church, it was highly topical throughout the 1960s.[64] And the issue of the relationship between church and state was not only formal or legal, it also had to do with the relationship of the church with politics, society, or "the world" in general.

Reviewers often mentioned how Cox insisted that the church had to avoid being dogmatic and introvert. In the first presentation of Cox's book, by Olle Engström in the free church journal *Kristet Forum*, a longer description of *The Secular City* is included in an article entitled "Radical critique of the church" (*Radikal kyrkokritik*).[65] In the older free churches, which were generally more liberal than the younger Pentecostal movement, there was a positive reception of Cox's call for church reform and the embrace of secularisation. In meetings in both the free church student movement and for free church theologians around the New Year 1966/67, Cox's book was a central topic and discussed in positive terms. A message then picked up was how going out in the world should be prioritised over an inward orientation within the churches.[66]

In *Expressen*, the priest Rune Pär Olofsson focused on how *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* was an "explosive device" against a state church reluctant to take criticism.[67] Regarding the state church, Cox's book also became more topical later in 1967, partly linked to the election of a new archbishop of Sweden. One of

the (unsuccessful) candidates had been Krister Stendahl, who was a professor of theology at Harvard. He had discussed the sensational book by his colleague Cox in *Vår lösen* already before it was published in Swedish, claiming that it was an "utterly emancipatory" work.[68] In an interview in *Expressen* a few months after the election, which spurred further debate, Stendahl advocated a separation between church and state, and while he did not here mention Cox by name, other actors claimed that he had influenced Stendahl's unexpected position regarding the church. Another priest, Ingemar Ström, pointed this out in an attack on Stendahl. And the Swedish publisher of the book used this opportunity: ten days after the interview with Stendahl, it placed an ad in *Expressen*, saying that in order to understand Stendahl's position and the ensuing debate, one must read *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* and even included a cut-out coupon for ordering the book.[69]

So, Cox relatively quickly became a kind of general point of reference and stayed this way into the 1970s. He was often mentioned in passing as an example of internal criticism against the church and secularisation.[70] In other words, *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* was not quickly forgotten. It did come out in a second edition in 1967, something that the translation of John Robinson's *Honest to God* did not achieve, and, as we shall see, there was some further circulation of Cox's ideas.

Further circulation: study material and scholarly works

As mentioned earlier, almost a trope in the reception of *The Secular City* in Sweden, both in its English and Swedish incarnations, was that it was inspiring and challenging but too optimistic. This was the case regardless of whether the main assessment was critical or positive. Those who praised it admitted that it was perhaps too positive. In a generally affirmative evaluation, Hansson in *Kristet Forum* talked about Cox's "tiring self-confidence", and Anér said he was "overly optimistic".[71] Those who were more sceptical towards Cox still admitted that he raised important issues. Kälvemark, for instance, argued that Cox in his optimism was oblivious to the realities of the city but that there were inspiring and thought-provoking aspects of the book.[72] This comes close to how many reviewers claimed that Cox's way of posing questions was important and that the *questions* rather than the answers represented the real value of the book. In this lay an assessment that the present condition of the secularised modern urban life challenged Christians to respond to societal issues in new ways. In the words of Olle Engström, it was "time to leave the hammocks".[73]

One version of this trope came from Pastor David Holm, who worked for the church with adolescents. In *Årsbok för Kristen Humanism*, Holm writes that Cox admittedly may be "too optimistic" and "over-simplistic" but that he was "receptive to the most important questions of our time."[74] And this rhymed well with Holm's further work in circulating the book, as Holm was the one to write a study material published by SKDB in 1967, entitled *Tro i teknopol: studieplan till Harvey Cox Har Gud skapat tätorten?* (Faith in technopolis: Study plan

for Harvey Cox *Har Gud skapat tätorten?*). On the back cover of the booklet, it is stated that it "presents and complements the subject, so that it becomes easier to absorb Cox's often very unconventional lines of thoughts."[75] In particular, Holm in the short introduction to the study material explains that it may be difficult to understand how a Christian theologian could praise what is often condemned in the churches.[76] At the beginning of the study plan, there is a focus on acknowledging that Cox's use of the concepts of religion and secularisation is unconventional.

Holm then follows Cox's book quite closely. With one exception, each chapter of *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* gets one chapter in the study plan, and each chapter is envisaged as one meeting with a study group.[77] In most cases, Holm's chapters consist of a few pages of condensed and introductory formulations of Cox's ideas. In some cases, Holm explains how Cox's points are typically American; for instance, he presents what the Ivy League universities are and how the relationship between state, churches, and universities differs between the United States and Sweden. In a few instances, he also exemplifies with a Swedish equivalent to what Cox is discussing.[78]

Apart from this, Holm adds a couple of things in the study material. First, there is a selection of "words to explain", at least implicitly addressed to the leader of the study group. Second, and key here, is that each chapter ends with between four and seven questions for the group to discuss. These are both aimed at providing a better understanding of the book, the secularisation process, and contemporary society and at encouraging ethical engagement in society, various ways of asking what a Christian and the church should do. Some typical examples include: "Discuss secularisation as the necessary condition of 1) scientific research, 2) the development of under-developed countries"; "How could a constructive moral relativism help ethically confused contemporary human beings?"; "What should be the consequences of Cox's broader view of deaconry for the church's diaconic function?"[79] In this sense, the ethical encouragements undoubtedly already existing in Cox's work are strengthened in the study material; there is a combination of trying to acquire and absorb the knowledge about secularisation and modern urban life with a discussion of what is to be done by the modern Christian in order to create a better society.

Harvey Cox did not have an immediate presence in Swedish academic fora. A couple of the articles in the Christian journals discussed earlier had a more scholarly depth, but neither *The Secular City* nor *Har Gud skapat tätorten?* were reviewed in the academic theological journal *Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift*.[80] With time, however, he did make an impact and became a common point of reference. *The Secular City* played a role not least in introductory works. In the 1971 book *Att tolka Gud idag* by theology professor Per Erik Persson, which was an introduction to contemporary theology widely used in university courses, Cox was one of the theologians referred to the most, and his positions on secularisation and the conception of God were extensively presented as being at the forefront of modern theology.[81]

Moreover, the 1960s were a time for sociology of religion, not only internationally but also in Sweden. The most prominent sociologist of religion was Berndt Gustafsson, who was a church historian but in 1962 founded a new institute for sociology of religion (*Religionssociologiska institutet*).[82] Gustafsson and his colleagues at the institute published extensively about religion in Sweden during the 1960s and 1970s, frequently empirical studies of the religious habits of Swedes. Gustafsson was not primarily a secularisation theorist; however, with time he developed his accounts of secularisation. And here as well, Cox's *The Secular City* was one of the (not so many) examples of secularisation theory, which notably did not include some of the more famous sociologists, such as Berger and Luckman.[83] This further use of Cox's work means that his version of the secularisation theory was known to students and other readers interested in theology and the sociology of religion well into the 1970s.

Cox's later activities in the so-called Christian-Marxist dialogue also enabled him to enjoy continued relevance in large parts of Swedish Christianity, which turned leftwards around 1968, and a couple of his 1970s books were translated.[84] This also meant a subtle shift in how his works were interpreted. This can be seen in a 1968 book by two younger scholars at the Uppsala University Faculty of Theology, which presents contemporary debates on ethics and worldviews. Here, Cox is the only secularisation theorist mentioned by name, and *The Secular City* is widely quoted. In relation to this, however, they mention that this work contains *political* preaching.[85] This is a further step in the ethical encouragement aspect discussed previously, highlighting that secularisation implies not only a social but also a political engagement in the world.

Concluding discussion

I would like to conclude this chapter by more explicitly pointing out a few points relating to the field of the history of knowledge. First, the book *The Secular City/Har Gud skapat tätorten?* has been analysed as a form of knowledge object in transit; above all, its adaptation into and circulation within the Swedish public has been in focus. Studying geographical migration and translations from one language to another tells us something about the constant transformations and remoulding of knowledge.[86] This has been pointed out by many historians of knowledge, such as by Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, when they present their view of what they call societal circulation of knowledge. Another point in their discussion is also relevant to highlight here, and that is how crises or perceived changes in society contribute to spark and form the circulation of knowledge objects within society.[87] Regarding the book at the centre of this study, it is clear how topical issues such as urbanisation and the future of the church were contextual aspects necessary to produce an interest in translating the book and that these contextual aspects also shaped how Cox's book was perceived in a specific way in Sweden. With time, secularisation theory became more emphasised as Cox was used as a, if not *the*, main representative in presentations of secularisation theory and secularisation

theology. The political side of Cox's work also seemed to be more important from 1968 onwards, while the theme of urbanisation was less so.

The point of this chapter, however, does not solely concern the migration of Cox's book in itself. Rather, the book has been of interest as a key articulation of secularisation theory during the 1960s. I believe that the analysis of the circulation of Cox's work in Sweden in this chapter has confirmed what is often presented somewhat sweepingly: that the 1960s were a heyday of secularisation theory and how secularisation was more or less taken for granted and self-evident. Church historian Hugh McLeod has claimed that while there were more systematic scholarly works on secularisation in the 1960s, the one major work responsible for bringing the secularisation theory to a wider audience was Harvey Cox's *The Secular City*.[88] And while, as discussed earlier, the notion of secularisation was not *new* in Sweden, the introduction of Cox's work, which was frequently presented and referred to throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, seems to have accelerated and deepened the circulation of secularisation theory as time-specific knowledge within the Swedish public sphere.

The analysis of circulation may thus be seen on two levels here. First, a specific work may circulate. This includes the initial reception, in the form of traditional reviews, but goes wider to include how a work was later remembered, used, and referred to.[89] Second, the circulation of a specific work can be seen as a moment or piece of the puzzle in the ongoing formation and circulation of knowledge in society. In this way, books, or specifically certain bits and pieces taken out of books and discussed in public, play an important role in how knowledge circulates and is established within society. This is the case not least for the 1960s and 1970s, when discussions about non-fiction books played a particularly important role in the public dialogue.

In the case of Harvey Cox and his bestseller, there is also a link to the relationship between religion and knowledge more generally. If following the common dichotomy where knowledge is at on one side and faith or belief on the other, religion, religious actors, and arenas could easily be neglected in the historical study of knowledge. But such neglect would possibly mean an insufficient understanding of history.[90] First, this is because religious propositions in one period regarded as irrelevant or superstitious may have been regarded as accepted knowledge in an earlier era. Second, and more relevant for this study, even in contexts where central theological propositions are disqualified as knowledge *per se*, religious actors are still potentially important conveyers and circulators of different types of knowledge. Churches must be integrated as important actors in the circulation of knowledge in terms of providing arenas for the dissemination of knowledge through the array of publishing houses, journals, educational organisations, and so on linked to the various denominations. In this way, religious actors could be important with regard to forming knowledge. This is not least true for the period in focus of this volume.

The publication of Harvey Cox in Swedish is one example of this, and the general circulation of secularisation theory represents a larger, more important example. Christian Sweden has often been theologically and politically diverse

and strongly so during the 1960s, meaning that there were different attitudes towards secularisation. Still, however, a main position during the decade seems to be that the theory of secularisation was accepted, or even taken for granted. The point was thus not so much to epistemologically negate it but rather finding ways of accommodating and understanding what this possibly multifarious theory actually meant. Cox's message that secularisation was a good thing, possibly even something with its roots in Christianity, proved to be one possible way of understanding and claiming secularisation, circulated by religious actors.

What the reception of Cox's work further shows is an interesting link between knowledge and ethics, in the sense that knowledge calls for different types of action and ethical engagements. Secularisation, a specific form of knowledge about the state and direction of religion in modern societies, whether perceived as negative or positive, provided Christianity with certain problems (or opportunities) that had to be addressed. This means a perception where Christians had to stand up to the challenge and develop new forms of social and diaconic engagements, churchly organisations, and missionary work if they wanted to make the world a better place. This was a major theme in the reception of Harvey Cox's *The Secular City/Har Gud skapat tätorten?* in both Christian and mainstream media and an important thread in the study material accompanying the book. Thus, the circulation of Cox's work has told us something not only about secularisation theory but also about religion, knowledge, and ethics more generally.

Notes

This chapter presents research funded by the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation

1 José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11.
2 Johan Östling, "Vad är kunskapshistoria?" *Historisk tidskrift* 135, no. 1 (2015): 116.
3 James Secord, "Knowledge in Transit", *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science* 95, no. 4 (2004): 655.
4 Hans Joas, *Faith as an Option: Possible Futures for Christianity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 9.
5 David Larsson Heidenblad, "From Content to Circulation: Influential Books and the History of Knowledge", in *Circulation of Knowledge: Explorations in the History of Knowledge*, eds. Johan Östling et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018).
6 Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation – ett kunskapshistoriskt nyckelbegrepp", *Historisk tidskrift* 137, no. 2 (2017): 283.
7 Michael Hoelzl and Graham Ward, eds., *The New Visibility of Religion: Studies in Religion and Cultural Hermeneutics* (London: Continuum, 2008); Ola Sigurdson, *Det postsekulära tillståndet: Religion, modernitet, politik* (Gothenburg: Glänta, 2009); Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds., *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009); José Casanova, "Are We Still Secular? Explorations on the Secular and the Post-Secular", in *Post-Secular Society*, eds. Peter Nynäs, Mika Lassander, and Terhi Utriainen (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012); Anton Jansson and Hjalmar Falk, "Religion i det svenska idéhistorieämnet: översikt och reflektion", *Lychnos* (2017): 74–95; Joel Halldorf, *Gud: Återkomsten – hur religionen kom tillbaka och vad den betyder* (Örebro: Libris, 2018).

8 Rodney Stark, "Secularization, R.I.P", *Sociology of Religion* 60, no. 3 (1999): 268–269; Joas, *Faith as an Option*, Ch. 1.
9 Werner Conze, Wolfgang Strätz, and Hermann Zabel, "Säkularisation, Säkularisierung", in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland. Bd 6, St–Vert*, eds. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990); Lucian Hölscher, "The Religious and the Secular: Semantic Reconfigurations of the Religious Field in Germany from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries", in *Religion and Secularity: Transformations and Transfers of Religious Discourses in Europe and Asia*, eds. Marion Eggert and Lucian Hölscher (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
10 Nicolas de Condorcet, "Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind: Tenth Epoch", *Daedalus* 133, no. 3 (2004): 69.
11 Apart from conceptual histories, long-term empirical studies on the development of the secularisation theory are rare. For short outlines, see Stark, "Secularization, R.I.P."; Joas, *Faith as an Option*.
12 Hugh McLeod, *Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848–1914* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2000), 2–3; Thomas Großbölting, *Losing Heaven: Religion in Germany Since 1945* (New York: Berghahn, 2017), 7; Halldorf, *Gud: Återkomsten*, 22.
13 Thomas Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).
14 Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1969), 108.
15 Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London: Penguin, 1966), 11.
16 Peter L. Berger, ed., *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999). See also Stark, "Secularization, R.I.P", 251. Berger's 1968 prediction is mentioned in, *inter alia*, Joas, *Faith as an Option*, 14; Jansson and Falk, "Religion i det svenska idéhistorieämnet", 75; Halldorf, *Gud: Återkomsten*, 21.
17 Johan Lundborg, *Ideologiernas och religionens död: En analys av Herbert Tingstens ideologi- och religionskritik* (Nora: Nya Doxa, 1991). On religion, see in particular pages 125–146.
18 Åhman wrote this on commission from the state church. The task was to write about how the church should orient itself in a world that was "in a state of secularization". Egon Åhman, *Sekulariseringsprocessen och kyrkan: Några orienterande synpunkter* (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsen, 1966), 7.
19 Henrik Berggren, *68* (Stockholm: Max Ström, 2018), 116–141.
20 Göran V. Johansson, *Kristen demokrati på svenska: Studier om KDS tillkomst och utveckling 1964–1982* (Malmö: Liber Förlag/Gleerup, 1985), 131. However, the party did not reach the Swedish parliament until 1991.
21 Ibid., 69–140. On the successive changes in religious education, see Karin Kittelmann Flensner, *Religious Education in Contemporary Pluralistic Sweden* (Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2015), 30–39.
22 Johansson, *Kristen demokrati*, 125.
23 Gabriel Vahanian, *The Death of God: The Culture of Our Post-Christian Era* (New York: G. Braziller, 1961); Thomas J.J. Altizer and William Hamilton, *Radical Theology and the Death of God* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966).
24 George Huntston Williams, *Divinings: Religion at Harvard: From Its Origins in New England Ecclesiastical History to the 175th Anniversary of the Harvard Divinity School, 1636–1992*, vol. 2, The Augustan Age: Religion in the University, the Foundations of a Learned Ministry and the Development of the Divinity School (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 521.
25 Harvey Cox, "The Secular City: Twenty-Five Years Later", in *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*, ed. Harvey Cox (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), liv; Harvey Cox, "Introduction to the New Edition", in *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*, ed. Harvey Cox (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), xi–xiii.

26 Williams, *Divinings*, 521.
27 Harvey Cox, "Författarens förord till den reviderade upplagan", in *Har Gud skapat tätorten? Kristen tro och sekulariserat stadssamhälle*, ed. Harvey Cox (Stockholm: SKDB, 1966), 9–11.
28 Ibid., 10; Cox, "The Secular City", xliii.
29 Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 5–6, 216–217.
30 Ibid., 1–4.
31 Ibid., 3–4.
32 Ibid., 3–4, 25.
33 For a discussion on the influence of German theology on American theology during the postwar period and specifically Gogarten's influence on Cox, see D. Timothy Goering, *Friedrich Gogarten (1887–1967): Religionsrebell im Jahrhundert der Weltkriege* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017), 368–373.
34 Cox, *The Secular City*, 2, 21, 25.
35 Ibid., 2.
36 Ibid., Ch. 2.
37 Harvey Cox, "Afterword", in *The Secular City Debate*, ed. Daniel Callahan (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 180.
38 Torsten Kälvemark, "Storstadens teologi", *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 8, no. 51–52 (1966).
39 Olle Engström, "Radikal kyrkokritik", *Kristet Forum*, no. 8 (1965).
40 Kerstin Anér, "Varen nyktra och vaken!" *Vår lösen* 57, no. 3 (1966).
41 *Dagens Nyheter*, 28 April 1966. Regarding the programme *Tidsspegel*, see Dag Nordmark, *Finrummet och lekstugan: Kultur- och underhållningsprogram i svensk radio och TV* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1999), 112–117.
42 Anér, "Varen nyktra och vaken!" 167.
43 *Småorter och tätorter* (Stockholm: Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2009), 83, 87.
44 Kälvemark, "Storstadens teologi"; Bernt Eklundh, "Den frigörande storstaden: Tankar av en inkorporerad", *Göteborgs-Tidningen*, 6 January 1967; Bernt Jonsson, "Storstaden som religiöst problem", *Aftonbladet*, 11 January 1967.
45 See, for instance, Ralph Hjelm, "God Is Dead Theology", in *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2, E–I, eds. Erwin Fahlbusch and Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).
46 Lena Lennerhed, *Frihet att njuta: Sexualdebatten i Sverige på 1960-talet* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1994), 222–223; Johan Sundeen, *68-kyrkan: Svensk kristen vänsters möten med marxismen 1965–1989* (Stockholm: Bladh by Bladh, 2017), 94–95.
47 Ingmar Brohed, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria: 8. Religionsfrihetens och ekumenikens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2005), 45–46, 224.
48 See ad on page 10 in *Vår kyrka* no. 50, 1966.
49 For instance, there are identical ads in *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* on 2 December 1966.
50 In his book about the "church of 68", historian of ideas Johan Sundeen mentions *Kristet Forum* and *Vår lösen*, together with the previously mentioned *Vår Kyrka*, as important for the political turn to the left in Swedish Christianity around 1968. Sundeen, *68-kyrkan*, 13.
51 Amythos, "Amerikansk revolutionsteologi", *Nya Väktaren* 60, no. 4 (1967): 55. Amythos was the pseudonym of the journal's editor Axel B. Svensson.
52 Sven-Olov Wallenstein, "1966: Thinking the City", in *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1950–1975*, eds. Tania Ørum and Jesper Olsson (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
53 Claes Caldenby, "The Time of the Large Programmes 1960–1975", in *20th-Century Architecture: Sweden*, eds. Claes Caldenby, Jöran Lindvall, and Wilfried Wang (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 144.
54 Eva Rudberg, "Building the Welfare of the Folkhemmet 1940–1960", in *20th-Century Architecture: Sweden*, eds. Claes Caldenby, Jöran Lindvall, and Wilfried Wang (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 136–137; Caldenby, "The Time of", 152–154.

55 Kristen demokratisk samling, *Kristen demokratisk samling – en presentation* (Stockholm: KDS, 1964), 6.
56 Johansson, *Kristen demokrati*, 122–125.
57 Eklundh, "Den frigörande storstaden"; Rune Pär Olofsson, "Halleluja, stad!" *Expressen*, 6 February 1967.
58 Anér, "Varen nyktra och vaken!"
59 Eric J. Sharpe, "Är storstaden Guds rike?" *Vår lösen* 58, no. 1 (1967). See also Kälvemark, "Storstadens teologi".
60 Ragnar Oldberg, "Vår herres suppleanter", *Kristet Forum*, no. 6 (1966).
61 Larsson Heidenblad, "From Content to Circulation".
62 Cox, "Introduction", l.
63 Lennerhed, *Frihet att njuta*. On the debate in Christian circles, see specifically pages 212–224.
64 Brohed, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 255–266.
65 Engström, "Radikal kyrkokritik".
66 "Explosiv frikyrklig debatt om sekulariserat evangelium", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 29 December 1966; "Frikyrklig studentdebatt kring 'anonyma' insatser", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 3 January 1967.
67 Olofsson, "Halleluja, stad!" 4.
68 Krister Stendahl, "Teologi till vänster", *Vår lösen* 57, no. 3 (1966): 132.
69 The ad was posted in *Expressen* on 23 August 1967. Interview and Ström's response: Per Ahlmark, "Statskyrkan passar inte någonstans i världen", *Expressen*, 13 August 1967; Ingmar Ström, "Kyrkan enligt Stendahl", *Expressen*, 17 August 1967. The week after the interview, there were responses and comments in both *Expressen* and the other large daily newspapers.
70 See, for instance, Bernt Eklundh, "Förargelsens präst: Rune Pär Olofsson", *Göteborgs-Tidningen*, 20 April 1967; Olov Hartman, "En teologkavalkad, presenterad av Olov Hartman, om barnatro och sekularisering", *Aftonbladet*, 2 September 1971.
71 Per-Olof Hanson, "Hej stad?" *Kristet Forum*, no. 6 (1966): 195; Anér, "Varen nyktra och vaken!" 167.
72 Kälvemark, "Storstadens teologi", 993. See also Oldberg, "Vår herres suppleanter", 193; Sharpe, "Är storstaden Guds rike?" 55.
73 Engström, "Radikal kyrkokritik", 274. See also Leif Åslund, "Teologi för teknopolis", *Årsbok för kristen humanism* 28 (1966): 167.
74 David Holm, "Modern amerikansk teologi – några motiv", *Årsbok för kristen humanism* 28 (1966): 20.
75 David Holm and Harvey Cox, *Tro i teknopol: studieplan till Harvey Cox: Har Gud skapat tätorten?* (Stockholm: Studiebokförlaget/SKDB, 1967).
76 Ibid., 5.
77 The exception is Chapter 4, where Cox "travels around the world" and paints pictures of contemporary city life in New Delhi, Prague, Rome, and Boston.
78 Ibid., 22–23, 46–47.
79 Ibid., 16, 36.
80 Sharpe, "Är storstaden Guds rike?"; Gösta Wrede, "Historiesynen hos Einar Billing och Harvey Cox", *Årsbok för kristen humanism* 30 (1968).
81 Per Erik Persson, *Att tolka Gud i dag: Debattlinjer i aktuell teologi* (Lund: Gleerup, 1971), 40–42, 147–149.
82 For more on the institute, see Göran Gustafsson, *Religionssociologiska institutets publikationer: forskningsrapporter, litteraturöversikter, analyserande artiklar, siffersammanställningar* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2013).
83 Berndt Gustafsson, *Religion och samhälle: Introduktion till religionssociologien* (Lund: Gleerup, 1972), 73. Two sociologists he does refer to in his discussions are Henri Desroche and Howard Becker.
84 Sundeen, *68-kyrkan*, 114–115.

85 Jarl Hemberg and Anders Jeffner, *De valde ståndpunkt: Moderna texter om livsåskådning och moral* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1968), 76–79. At about the same time as this book was compiled, early 1968, a text by Cox on the Christian-Marxist dialogue was translated and published in the Christian cultural journal *Vår Lösen*. Harvey Cox, "Nästa steg i dialogen kristna-marxister", *Vår lösen* 59, no. 4 (1968).
86 Östling and Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation", 283.
87 Ibid.
88 McLeod, *Secularisation*, 2–3.
89 On reception and circulation as well as the circulation of a specific work, see Östling and Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation", 280; Larsson Heidenblad, "From Content to Circulation".
90 Östling and Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation", 280.

10 Sex education and the state

Norwegian schools as arenas of knowledge in the 1970s

Kari Hernæs Nordberg

In 1974, Norwegian school authorities revised sex education in school as *relationship* education (*samlivslære*) replaced the former *reproduction* education (*forplantningslære*). This shift marked the ending of a long debate on sex education, which had accelerated at the end of the 1960s. Relationship education, the new type of sex education, was presented in an official teacher's manual. The sexuality of youths – and not only future married life – framed the education. Sexuality should encompass something broader than biological reproduction. The teacher's manual introduced the term "relationship education" in order to capture this new approach to human sexuality.

> The biological function of sexuality is to ensure the continuity of mankind. Sexuality is also a foundation for contact and community, as two people share experiences, ideas, and needs, and it provides answers to one another also by physical contact. Sexuality is thus also relationship.[1]

In this chapter, I analyse the manual and the debates surrounding sex education, drawing attention to the Scandinavian state school as an arena of knowledge and curriculum texts as source material. The teacher's manual is a type of text that may serve as an entry point into the question formulated by Simone Lässig on "how, when, and why particular knowledge emerged or disappeared and how bodies of knowledge with different foundations stand in relation to one another".[2]

By the 1960s, debates on sexual liberation and contraceptives were present in society, and liberal approaches influenced sex education targeting children and adolescents.[3] This challenged the curricula in many countries. Simultaneously as Norway revised its national curriculum and developed a new teacher's manual on sex education, Sweden, which was internationally renowned as the most progressive country in the field, revised and updated its sex education in school.[4] In Denmark, sex education had been practised for years in a number of municipalities, but now it became mandatory in all schools. Hence, the Danish Ministry of Education issued an official manual for teaching.[5] Although I focus on the Norwegian manual, there were similar developments in the three Scandinavian countries, and Scandinavia constitutes the larger context for the chapter, as the sexual knowledge circulated beyond borders.

Historians of education have described the 1974 Norwegian national curriculum as inspired by the generation of 1968. The teaching should be anti-authoritarian and promote gender equality.[6] Although 1968 and the sexual revolution ostensibly found their expressions in the new curriculum of the Norwegian state school in the 1970s, I argue that the body of knowledge upon which the new sex education was based was not sexual radicalism but rather an assemblage of biological, Christian, psychological, and statistical knowledge. The first two types, biological and Christian knowledge, had been crucial for the establishment of the early sex education (reproduction education), while psychological and statistical knowledge had been employed in the 1960s by actors requesting a new and reformed sex education in school.

Knowledge based on different foundations was assembled in the 1974 teacher's manual, and I examine the representations of three sexual practices relevant to many youths: the use of contraceptives, masturbation, and petting. "Old" and "new" bodies of knowledge converge in the description of these practices. The manual presented knowledge that underlines the importance of sexual liberation and individual choice but within the arena of the state school. This was an arena governed by the "Christian object clause" seeking to shape the sexuality of youth in a moral, responsible manner. The manual represents an interesting type of text for studying the production of knowledge that finds a place when knowledge "belonging" to different arenas (such as medicine, therapy, and academia) circulates and converges into another arena (the state school).

Sexual knowledge and the schools: texts and arenas

As in the other two Scandinavian countries, Norwegian elementary school played an important part in the welfare state. The 1974 national curriculum laid down the principles for the sex education, and the new teacher's manual corresponded with these national guidelines.[7] The national curriculum, teacher's manuals, and textbooks comprise the educational media that represent "state-sanctioned" and "official" knowledge. The students are the target group for this knowledge, and at the same time, they represent the future: through school, one has the potential to shape the citizens of tomorrow.[8] Although the guidelines on sex education targeted teachers, the knowledge they provided – and which the teachers were supposed to transmit – indirectly had children and youths as target groups. Furthermore, there was a risk of parents complaining, and the sex education in school did not only concern students and teachers but also parents.[9]

I include the teacher's manual in the category of "textbooks", although it was not intended to be read directly by the students. Textbooks and other educational media may be defined by their use or by their purpose: either as "every text practically used as a didactic tool in teaching institutions" or as "every text especially and explicitly designed to be used as a didactic instrument in teaching institutions".[10] The teacher's manual belongs to the latter category. Only limited Norwegian textbook materials on sex education had been developed by the early 1970s, probably since it was not a specific school subject and

was considered a "sensitive" topic. There were educational media that teachers could use, but these were not textbooks, rather artefacts and books that could assist in the teaching.[11] This was an important distinction, as Norwegian textbooks needed authorisation by the governmental Committee for Textbooks Approval.[12]

The teacher's manual is particularly interesting, as it was the most specific curriculum on sex education and the Ministry of Education issued the text. Such manuals frequently represent an "anonymous" type of knowledge, as the authors are seldom identified and the texts are frequently the result of compromises between different professionals who have taken part in the production of the texts. Simone Lässig emphasises how educational media are "palimpsests" where new and old (and often contradictory) knowledge meet and where knowledge is, to a certain degree, state-sanctioned.[13] These texts may be regarded as an entrance into a point of time when "old" knowledge for some reason was replaced by "new" knowledge and the texts often offer arguments for why the "new" knowledge is now valid.[14] When I use the terms "old" and "new" knowledge, this is not to be read as an indication of the quality or truthfulness of the different bodies of knowledge but rather to highlight the confrontations and melding between bodies of knowledge that were already established in an arena with bodies of knowledge that had not yet circulated in said arena. Different bodies of knowledge assemble in such texts. These are not always compatible; however, they represent knowledge on what may be considered "normal sexuality".[15] In such texts, one finds the "official sexual knowledge" on what the state finds appropriate for teachers to pass on to their students.[16]

Although studies on textbooks in the history of science often focus on natural science and higher-level students in more narrowly defined scientific subjects (e.g., physics, chemistry), they nevertheless demonstrate how textbooks represent something more than "dogmatic and conservative vehicles of normal science".[17] Marga Vicedo provides a helpful overview of arguments on why textbooks constitute an interesting source material for the history of science, and two of the many "interesting things we can do by studying textbooks" include: (1) trace the development of ideas, concepts, and hypotheses and (2) look at the social context of science. Vicedo links the interest in textbooks in the history of science to the discrediting of a "received view" of knowledge production and a related "trickle-down" model of popularisation.[18] In a similar vein, it may be argued that textbooks can help us trace the circulation of knowledge and the social context of knowledge production. By studying textbooks and curricula at a certain moment of time, one may study socially shared knowledge passed on to a new generation.[19]

Studies of textbooks may highlight new actors and how "audiences, publishers, printers, and the silent crowd of unknown authors participated in the construction of science".[20] Adam R. Shapiro emphasises how textbooks expand Robert Darnton's communication circuit "to include state (or local) regulators, regional distributors, and school principals and teachers who interact with the textbook before it reaches the student reader".[21] Similarly, knowledge

circulating within the state school will be adapted to this specific arena. Hence, such texts are particularly suited for studying the circulation of knowledge with regard to state regulation and control.

Teachers and medical doctors were the two groups of professionals who had traditionally promoted sex education, and they had often authored sex education material. Both groups had often advocated in favour of sex education in school, but it is safe to say that many teachers had a more restrictive moral approach to sex education compared to doctors. Christianity had a long, continuing influence on Norwegian schools – the "Christian object clause" stated that students should receive a Christian and moral education, and Christian values had commonly been supported by many teachers.[22] Although new sexual knowledge particularly focusing on the sexuality of youths challenged the Norwegian curricula in the 1960s, there was already an established tradition of interpreting sexuality as biological reproduction that had to find its proper place in a moral social order.

Bodies of knowledge in 1970s Norwegian sex education in school

In this main part of the chapter, I delimit between four different bodies of sexual knowledge that played an important role in Norwegian sex education in the 1970s: (1) biological, (2) Christian, (3) psychological, and (4) social statistical knowledge. Before the 1970s, the traditional Norwegian sex education, the so-called reproduction education, had largely been influenced by biological and Christian knowledge. By the 1960s, psychological and statistical (social science) knowledge on sexuality influenced the public discourse on sexuality and sex education.

By biological knowledge, I refer to knowledge clearly placing human sexuality (reproduction) in the context of humans as a species. The concept of Christian knowledge is discussed by Lässig, who argues that knowledge is "a product of human activity and therefore genuinely historical. Accordingly, the history of knowledge explores what contemporaries themselves understood as knowledge in contrast to other possibly hegemonic interpretations of what it is."[23] Religious knowledge is thus a category in its own right. By psychological knowledge, I refer to knowledge based on psychological theories on sexuality, often in a Freudian tradition of psychosexual development. Social statistical knowledge is grounded in statistics/reports on sexual behaviour and values, and this type of knowledge was produced in many Western countries during the postwar years.

Biological knowledge had constituted the foundation of Norwegian sex education in school, as it was developed by a joint effort of radical and social democratic teachers and doctors campaigning for better sexual hygiene in the interwar years.[24] In 1935, medical professor Otto Lous Mohr had set up the main principles for teaching in the small pamphlet *Reproduction Education as a Subject in Our Schools*. Reproduction education was strictly about the facts of life and belonged to the natural science subjects. Schools were not supposed to educate students in sexual technique, nor should the subject give students

any "emotional associations".[25] Contraceptives were also too controversial to be included. The purpose of the early sex education was simply that all students should gain factual and correct knowledge on human reproduction and the most common venereal diseases.[26] Mohr argued that the child was eager to gain knowledge, and when the student received true knowledge, the result would not be promiscuous behaviour, but rather the opposite. Through rational knowledge, he or she would act rationally – also in future sexual encounters.[27] Sound knowledge served to protect the child. In 1939, the national curriculum included reproduction education and explicitly referred to Mohr's principles as a guide for teaching. However, due to the German occupation in 1940, neither reproduction education nor the national curriculum was implemented in the schools. This had to wait until after the Second World War.

In 1950, the Ministry of Education informed the schools that reproduction education was mandatory. A debate followed on which kind of knowledge should serve as the foundation of the teaching. Would adolescents behave in a rational manner if they acquired the so-called scientific neutral knowledge on reproduction? The main argument against biological reproduction education was that man was more than an animal and that there was no such thing as neutral knowledge. Biological knowledge on reproduction not firmly grounded in Christian morals could be potentially harmful. Man's sexual life was part of a greater social order, and the most important part of this order was the family. Hence, sex education had to focus on family life and ethics.[28] Important proponents of this view were IKO (the Institute for Christian Upbringing, established in 1945) and the Christian Democratic Party. IKO produced alternative educational material to ensure that the schools were on solid moral ground, and sex education in school was thoroughly discussed in the organisation's pedagogical journal.[29]

A governmental committee was appointed to examine sex education in school. The committee's report was finished in 1953 but was not published until 1962, almost ten years later, as a manual for teachers.[30] Although the subject was still referred to as reproduction education, the Christian moral approach to human sexuality was now emphasised and there was an attempt to harmonise this with biological knowledge. The result was a peculiar mixture of knowledge on human sexual drives and Christian ethics, such as when the manual argued for the necessity of abstinence before marriage with reference to a "protection drive": youths could suffer from "serious conflicts of the soul" if they "let their sexual drives flourish without regard to the protection drive".[31] In the sex education material of the period, the use of anthropomorphisms that served to base Christian sexual morals in nature by analogies of man and animal was also a way of harmonising biological and Christian knowledge on sexuality.[32]

Ten years after the manual was published, this attempt to rewrite and adapt sexual nature and drives into a Christianity-based moral educational framework was criticised.

> And in respect of the good intention (read: the healthy abstinence) the schools' people have simply created a new intention: the protection drive.

> This gives us the impression that this is biologically determined and equals the sexual drive. Man most certainly has many drives, but the protection drive is hard to find in serious psychological literature.[33]

A young psychologist, Sverre Asmervik, published the study *Youth and Sexuality* in 1972. As hinted in the quote, he was highly critical of the sex education in school and the knowledge it was based on. The sexuality of youth was the topic of Asmervik's study, and the book encapsulates the new knowledge and critique that challenged the Christian and biological "reproduction education": psychological (sexually radical) knowledge, social statistics on sexual behaviour, and last, but not least, an emphasis on adolescents' own sexuality.

The sexuality of youths was not a topic for the current reproduction education, as an important premise for the teaching was that procreation either took place among animals or between married couples. An increasing number of critics claimed that a troublesome gap existed between the youths' own experiences and the teaching in school. In real life, adolescents had to handle their own sexual desires and feelings, and the biological and Christian moral sex education did not offer the knowledge they required. Simultaneously, there was a related social concern with teenage pregnancies and the intertwined high number of early marriages by dispensation.[34] Teenage pregnancies and early marriages clearly indicated that many youths indeed had sexual relations, and sex education that did not mention contraceptives, in fear of legitimising such relations, did nothing to reduce these figures.[35]

Whether or not it is possible to speak of a sexual revolution, the public discourse on sexuality was changing in the 1960s. New sexually radical ideas were in vogue. Wilhelm Reich's theories were rediscovered by the postwar generation. To Reich, the sexuality of youths was important, and it was only considered a problem due to a culture imposing sexual abstinence on the youth.[36] Herbert Marcuse, "the father, grandfather, or guru of the New Left", emphasised the link between sexuality, repression, and society.[37] Repressing the sexuality of children and youths posed a threat to society as a whole. To avoid future totalitarianism, anti-authoritarian parenting and schooling practices would be crucial.[38] The sexual radicalism of Marcuse and Reich provided the theoretical framework for the study of Asmervik, who wanted new sex education that acknowledged the sexuality of youths and provided knowledge counteracting the commercialisation of sexuality. When the school did not acknowledge the possibility of having a fulfilling sexual life before marriage, it was difficult to provide information on contraceptives. According to Asmervik, this was not in tune with real life, with the youths' behaviour and their values.

Asmervik had interviewed 502 youths between the ages of 16 and 19 on sex education, sexual norms, and experiences. While 60 per cent of the respondents had sexual experiences, only 3 per cent were negative towards pre-maritial sexual relations. According to Asmervik, such figures were not remarkable but implied that there was a striking inconsistency between the teaching in school and the youths' experiences. While the school emphasised that marriage was

the proper framework for sexual relations, the youths claimed that romantic love could be the basis for sexual relations.[39] The publisher presented Asmervik's book as the "Norwegian Kinsey Report". The Kinsey Reports (1948–1953) had been an expression of – and a driving force for – more open discussions on sexuality. Advocates for sex education had employed Kinsey's work, and Asmervik's study was explicitly placed in this tradition. Of course, Asmervik's work was minor compared to Kinsey's large-scale research, and the studies that directly inspired Asmervik were newer reports explicitly concerned with the sexuality of young people: Preben Hertoft's work on the sexuality of young males in Denmark (1968) and Michael Schofield's British study on *The Sexual Behaviour of Young People* (1965).[40]

In the debates on the sexual behaviour of youths, there were three positions: one could (as Asmervik did) embrace the sexuality of youths as normal and healthy and hence use this as a starting point for sex education. On the opposite, one could argue, as a Christian Democrat did in a parliamentary discussion in 1973, that sexual experiences should not be part of adolescence. Or one could not base sexual morals on sexual statistics. Common phenomena could very well be morally wrong. The intermediate position, typically taken by the Social Democrats, was more pragmatic: Asmervik's study showed that youths lacked proper knowledge but that they also lacked proper norms and attitudes. However, the necessary conclusion was to reform the sex education in school – and in particular include contraceptives in the teaching.[41]

In the 1960s and 1970s, politicians, medical doctors, psychologists, and teachers demanded a new and updated sex education. Some of them, such as Asmervik, argued that this should be based on psychological knowledge on healthy sexuality. Others did not embrace the idea of the sexuality of youths as good in itself but rather leaned on the statistics on sexual behaviour as well as the number of teenage pregnancies to argue in favour of a new sex education. A concern in the debates on sexuality and society was the "oversexualised" culture; the youths needed protection from a sexualised commercial culture. Both conservative theologians and radical social scientists could agree on the great challenge of "the grotesque and sadistic depictions of sexuality in literature and film, which confuse the youth, stimulate irresponsibility and prostitute love".[42] Hence, good education could serve as a necessary counterweight to commercialised sexual texts and images.

Parts of the "oversexualised" cultural products were imported from Norway's neighbouring countries. During the postwar years, Scandinavia received a reputation as a region of liberal sexual attitudes. However, if we look at legislation on abortion and pornography, Norway was more restrictive than both Denmark and Sweden. Internationally, Sweden has been regarded as the most liberal and progressive country on sexual politics in the twentieth century, and the "Swedish sin" signified the liberalisation of pornography and the porn industry, but also state-sponsored sex education and an accepting approach to the sexuality of youths.[43] Swedish self-awareness of its own progressiveness and the governmental concern regarding these issues are expressed in a 1974 report on

sex education. The more than 800 pages long report was the result of ten years of work by a governmental committee. The report described the sex education in Norway as more conservative than in the other Nordic countries. It was based on biological knowledge and advocated abstinence during adolescence. However, the Swedish report did mention that Norwegian sex education was now changing.[44]

Although the four bodies of knowledge – biological, Christian, psychological, and statistical – operated in Swedish and Danish sex education, the impact of these on the sex education material and on the public debates probably differed. A major difference, which signifies an awareness of the sexuality of youths, was that the topic of contraceptives was included in the sex education texts in Sweden and Denmark.[45]

The lack of an updated Norwegian educational material led groups and individuals to launch their own sex education initiatives that included information on contraceptives, and many Swedish and Danish books were translated and published in Norway. In some parts of the Christian arguments against "technical" or "non-moral" sex education, one senses a fear of the consequences of this approach with regard to sexuality; if sex education included contraceptives, the school would sanction or, even worse, encourage teenagers to have an active sexual life. In this manner, the school would simultaneously undermine marriage, which was seen as pivotal for society's regulation of sexuality. The new and imported sex education material would not be founded on the "Christian objects clause". Hence, teachers who lacked textbook materials would often rely on texts that were not in accordance with Christian bodies of knowledge.

In Norway, an organised Christian political opposition had an impact on sex education in school. In the early 1970s, IKO (the Institute for Christian Upbringing) requested a governmental initiative. The so-called Oslo Plan, a teacher's guide developed for the schools in the municipality of Oslo, raised much concern. IKO published the guide in the organisation's periodical *Prismet*, followed by their own alternative. According to IKO, topics such as the sexual act (including foreplay and orgasm), disability and sexuality, and impotence and frigidity were inappropriate for the classroom. IKO feared that the Oslo Plan would influence other municipals in their work; hence, a critical review was crucial, and instead of looking to the capital, one should wait for the scheduled governmental work on sex education.[46] In Denmark, the guide that had been used in Copenhagen had spread over the country, which is why IKO's assumption that teachers lacking guidance could turn to the Oslo Plan for advice seems rational.

In Scandinavia, as in many other Western countries, sex education was debated during the "sexual revolution" years. Although Jonathan Zimmerman argues that sex education "changed much more slowly in the 1960s and 1970s than either the heralds or the critics of the sexual revolution imagined", he points to how the number of students who received some sort of sex education rose steadily during the 1970s.[47] Looking at the Norwegian sex education around 1970, the framework of the sex education itself was heavily discussed.

The most obvious symptom of this was that the concept of "reproduction" was no longer useful, and in the new teacher's manual of 1974, it was replaced by the concept of "'relationship".

Conflicting bodies of knowledge? Masturbation, contraceptives, and petting

When the Norwegian national manual was published in 1974, it was the result of a thorough process.[48] In the 1960s, compulsory Norwegian schooling was extended from seven to nine years. The students were now older when they left school, and the new teacher's manual emphasised that the teacher had to take into account the possibility that some students had sexual experiences of their own. The sexuality of youths was acknowledged in the text, and the teaching was supposed to concern the everyday life of the students.[49]

The new sex education of the 1970s did include topics that were relevant for the youths and that involved non-reproductive sexualities. In the following, I look at how different bodies of sexual knowledge were employed in the descriptions of masturbation, petting, and contraceptives in the new official teacher's manual.

Masturbation was by no means a new topic. The first Norwegian sex education texts, published in 1898 and aimed at teachers and parents, were indeed very much concerned with masturbation.[50] These texts warned against masturbation as an unhealthy practice. However, the knowledge on child masturbation had been thoroughly challenged in the interwar period when Freud's work on children's sexual development had a profound impact on Scandinavian psychological and pedagogical knowledge. That being said, in the 1950s and 1960s, the reproduction education did not embrace masturbation as a positive and healthy practice. Although masturbation was not described as harmful but rather as common (especially among boys), there was a risk of the practice being exaggerated, which could lead to weakness and lack of initiative.[51]

In the early 1970s, new sex education books aimed at youths and inspired by sexual liberalism found their way to Norwegian bookstores and libraries, including books from the neighbouring sexually liberal countries: two examples are *Modern Sex-Orientation for the Youths*, written by Danish medical doctor Bent H. Claesson and *Youth: On Sex – For the Youths and Their Parents*, written by Danish journalist Lizzie Bundgaard. Claesson's book included a chapter on masturbation techniques, illustrated with photos. One photograph shows a young boy masturbating in a typical boy's room, surrounded by posters of semi-nude women and football players. The other picture is a close-up of a woman's genitalia while she masturbates.[52] The journalist Bundgaard also described masturbation as good in itself. Some boys could masturbate together or have a friend do it for them, as long as everyone agreed to it.[53] However, a very different kind of knowledge on masturbation and sexuality simultaneously circulated in Norway. In the book *Christian Norms for Sexual Morals* (1971), masturbation was not described as sinful or unhealthy in itself, but it was a

practice that did not "create community". One should not feel guilty for masturbating; however, feelings of guilt could be regarded as a "healthy and normal reaction" if one combined masturbation with erotic fantasies of adultery.[54] In this Protestant ethics, thoughts were as important as actions.

In an atmosphere where masturbation was discussed more openly, the new sex education in school could not stay silent on the subject. When the manual described masturbation, the tone was neutral. There were no explicit warnings against masturbation. In accordance with the explicit gender perspective, girls' masturbation was included.[55] Masturbation, also according to the school, was now to be regarded as a normal and legitimate expression of the sexuality of children and youths. The students should not be ashamed of masturbation, but the teacher should avoid getting into details on masturbation techniques.[56] In an odd section on how the teacher's own sexuality (emotions and possible suppressions) could influence the teaching, the manual exemplifies how the teacher would react if a student masturbated in the classroom. If the teacher reacted with anger, this could provoke an "unnecessary feeling of guilt" in the student. Such a reaction by the teacher was often linked to his own anxiety: "If the teacher had analysed [his] own feelings regarding sexuality, he would probably be able to avoid such a reaction."[57] Introspection into one's own feelings and emotions was an important means for managing difficult situations that could arise.

Psychological and Christian moral knowledge would also be combined in the descriptions on contraceptives, which were finally included in the education. Whether or not contraceptives could be included in teaching had been the main topic for political discussions on sex education in school in Norway in the 1960s and early 1970s, and in this regard, Norway differed from the other Scandinavian countries. Opponents of such teaching claimed that it could encourage youths to engage in sexual experimentation. When it was included in the national curriculum, it was still a very touchy topic, as the curriculum stated that one could *inform* on contraceptives; however, youths should not receive instructions on how to use contraceptives.[58] It was not always easy to draw the line between information and instruction, such as when a teaching programme emphasised a certain contraceptive (condom with spermicidal lotion) as being well-suited for youths. Was this to be considered information, or did it cross the line to become instruction?[59] In the teaching guide, the ambiguity related to contraceptives was also present on the subject of premarital sexual relations. The manual stated that youths had to decide for themselves whether they wanted to have sexual intercourse before marriage. However, if they decided to engage in intercourse, this had to be carried out in a responsible, mature manner. This included not only the use of contraceptives but also insight and knowledge regarding how sexuality was more than satisfaction of lust. The use of contraceptives presupposed mature and responsible subjects.[60] The psychological dimension was a part of relationship education. Identity, self-awareness, and personal boundaries had to be discussed in the classrooms. It was not sufficient to present biological knowledge to the students. The "desired" result of

the teaching was a responsible subject who could process the knowledge on contraceptives and reflect on sexuality in a mature and ethical manner. Such an attitude, according to the manual, would be compatible with both Christianity and humanism, and in this manner, there was an attempt to harmonise different bodies of knowledge.[61]

Another non-reproductive sexual practice, which involved a partner, was *petting*, an activity that received attention in the 1970s' sex education material. However, the state-sanctioned teacher's manual did not embrace this sexual practice.

> Many youths who feel that they are not mature enough to engage in love and sexual relationships with the responsibilities and consequences this involves will nevertheless express their love by sexual play, which almost corresponds to the foreplay of sexual intercourse, often by caressing each other's genitals, which may lead to orgasm. In these situations, it may be more difficult to stop than one might have imagined. *What is natural is that the "foreplay" immediately leads to sexual intercourse. It is unnatural to stop*.[62]

In the descriptions of petting, different forms of sexual knowledge are at work. There is a clear assumption that sexuality, in its essence so to speak, equals sexual gratification, as the "natural" script would be that such practices, which are the same as "foreplay", should result in intercourse. According to the manual, "it is unnatural to stop". Orgasm by penetration thus becomes an action that signifies sexuality while petting is devalued. This is in accordance with Reich's (and other Freudian) theories on orgasm that had inspired critique of sex education. However, orgasm by penetration was not recommended for youths (most of whom were below the age of consent), so one could not recommend the "natural" result of petting. However, the problem with petting was not only physical, it was also complicated as the physical arousal could lead to emotional attachments and unrequited love. A Christian moral knowledge was at play, especially when the manual emphasised the hazards of petting with regard to girls.

> Stimulating our sexual emotions without natural release *may* lead to tensions and dissatisfaction. An intimate relationship can lead to emotional attachments – maybe especially for the girl – that the relationship cannot provide, and that will make it difficult for her.[63]

Previously, sex education had emphasised the importance of protecting the girl's natural shyness. The concept of natural shyness represented "old" religious and moral knowledge, which was no longer valid. However, emotional difficulties constituted a concept more in tune with psychological sexual knowledge. Petting was considered risky behaviour as the two individuals excited each other without achieving the final orgasm by penetration, but it was also risky when it did lead to the sexual intercourse that would "naturally" follow

such sexual acts, as the youths, caught in the moment of desire, seldom used contraceptives.

Masturbation, contraceptives, and petting were important themes in the sex education of the 1970s, and they could all be clearly linked to the sexuality of youths. Sex education that concerned the sexuality of youths and non-reproductive sexual practices involved different bodies of knowledge that highlight two interrelated dilemmas: (1) the fine line between instruction and information – and the fear of encouraging sexual experimentation and practices, and (2) the need to shape responsible youths who make responsible decisions for themselves. An underlying premise seems to be that the more detailed the instructions, the more likely that the youths will try them out. The reluctant inclusion of contraceptives may be seen in this light. Masturbation (which was and probably still is the most common sexual practice among adolescents) was mentioned and explained, but not in detail. This was (and probably still is) regarded as a very private and solitary form of sexual pleasure that the school should not get involved in. The Norwegian manual did not recommend petting; hence, there was no instruction on this either. The Danish teacher's manual did not reject petting in the same manner as the Norwegian manual, but the text emphasises that the teacher should never give information on techniques that may facilitate achieving orgasm.[64]

The 1974 teacher's manual was based on a national curriculum that has been described as anti-authoritarian, and although knowledge based on religion was still present, it had weakened. "How can I figure out my own sexual morals?" was a typical open question emphasised in the manual.[65] The school should not instruct the student on how he or she should live but support the youth growing up in a society with less clear-cut rules and regulations. This belief in the students' capacity for reflection and decision-making may be seen in light of the so-called "psy"-knowledge that, according to Nikolas Rose, embodies "a particular way in which human beings have tried to understand themselves – to make themselves the subjects, objects, targets of truthful knowledge".[66] The new sex education in the 1970s can be seen as regulation that promoted and shaped future subjects who could be "capable of bearing the burdens of liberty".[67]

State-sanctioned knowledge: arenas, actors, and effects

Educational media circulate within the school system, which is an arena of knowledge of utmost importance in modern society. As Lässig argues, the material has an important status as a result of the "state-sanctioned" stamp.

> Anyone inquiring into the ways and settings in which knowledge is acquired, stored, applied, and altered must have an interest in consulting educational media, particularly textbooks and curricula that are mostly defined and determined by the state.[68]

The authoritative status may be strengthened by reading and using the material. It is important, especially for academics, to remember that a textbook may

very well be the main source of knowledge a person consults on a subject.[69] Most teachers are not experts on sex education, so what they consult is probably the manual/text at hand. It was seen as necessary to provide the teachers with an authoritative manual, as they might otherwise choose competing alternative texts. Whether they read and used the teacher's manual, and whether their teaching actually had an effect on the youths' behaviour, is obviously a different and complicated question. The *use* and *actualisation* of educational media may provide interesting perspectives for future histories of knowledge. According to the 1970s manual, the students were supposed to discuss peer pressure, sexual norms, and dilemmas that may arise. The purpose was to train the students and prepare them for possible future sexual encounters, and this potential embodied knowledge broadens the circulation of knowledge into arenas beyond the scope of this chapter.

Psychological, Christian, social statistics, and biological bodies of knowledge were combined in the teacher's manual representing Norwegian sex education in the 1970s. The same bodies of knowledge circulated within the sex education of the other two Scandinavia countries, but they circulated within three separate national school systems. A key difference was that Christian knowledge had a stronger hold on Norwegian sex education, most explicitly expressed by the long-lasting refusal to discuss contraceptives and the intertwined exclusion of the sexuality of youths. That being said, the three Scandinavian countries all had a state school system integrated into a welfare state. The social context of the production of knowledge, such as the specific arenas and actors involved, needs to be taken into account when writing histories of knowledge. Although the texts were produced within a state structure, the state often depends on organisations, experts, and pressure groups in ways that it is not always clear what the state represents or constitutes. The degree of "state involvement" in the production and circulation of knowledge is thus something that could be further explored.

In the history of knowledge, the subject under study, knowledge, is often defined as what historical actors and institutions considered knowledge.[70] In this case, the actors and institutions were embedded in the state school as an arena. The institutional structure of this arena and the actors involved (children, youths, parents, teachers, experts, and politicians) shaped the production and circulation of sexual knowledge – including how the knowledge should be passed on in an appropriate manner. Hence, sex education in school cannot only be considered ideas reflecting its "time". There was no "sexual revolution" going on in the schools. The circulation of sexual knowledge was embedded in and shaped by an arena that had to promote certain values and which included teachers and students as (more or less anonymous) actors of knowledge.

As the sex education was "state-sanctioned" and as the knowledge was expected to shape the behaviour of the youths in "desired" ways, it was vulnerable to criticism. In the 1970s, changing sexual mores and different and competing bodies of knowledge did not necessarily promote clear normative implications. The regulation was more indirect, and the youths' own capabilities for reflecting upon and managing sexual choices became the "desired"

outcome of sex education in school. Different and contradictory bodies of knowledge were not necessarily regarded as particularly problematic in the arena of the school, as the individual should make his or her own decisions. However, these decisions should be based on what was considered true sexual knowledge, and some common ground had to be found if this knowledge were to be "approved" by the state school.

Notes

1 Grunnskolerådet, *Samlivslære: Forplantningen – Lærerveiledning*, Informasjonshefte nr. 10 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1975), 7.
2 Simone Lässig, "The History of Knowledge and the Expansion of the Historical Research Agenda", *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 59 (2016): 40.
3 On "sexual revolution" and "permissiveness" in the history of sexuality, see, for example, Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politcs & Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800* (London: Longman, 1989), 249–272; Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). On sex education, see Lutz D.H. Sauerteig and Roger Davidson, eds., *Shaping Sexual Knowledge: A Cultural History of Sex Education in Twentieth Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2009); Jonathan Zimmerman, *Too Hot to Handle: A Global History of Sex Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
4 An interesting source in this regard is the 1974 Swedish government official report that included a proposal for a new sex education manual, in addition to a thorough review of sex education and research, both in an international and historical perspective. The report is 814 pages long, and many experts had been consulted during its ten years of development. Members of the committee included well-known names such as sexologist Maj-Briht Bergström-Walan, medical doctor and chair of RFSU Thorsten Sjövall, and teacher Torsten Wickbom. See *Sexual- och samlevnadsundervisning*, SOU 1974:59 (Stockholm: LiberTryck, 1974). On sex education and sexuality in Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s, see Birgitta Sandström, *Den välplanerade sexualiteten* (Stockholm: HLS Studies in Educational Sciences, 2001); Lena Lennerhed, *Frihet att njuta: Sexualdebatten i Sverige på 1960-talet* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1994).
5 Folkeskolens læseplansudvalg, *Vejledning om seksualoplysning i folkeskolen* (Copenhagen: Folkeskolens Læseplansudvalg, 1971). The Danish manual had been developed by medical doctor Henrik Hoffmeyer and teacher Ingolf Leth in cooperation with Folkeskolens Læseplansudvalg. Hoffmeyer and Leth were also involved in the Danish Minsistry of Education's manual from 1961: *Vejledning i seksualundervisning i folkeskolen: Udgivet på foranledning af undervisningsministeriet* (Copenhagen: Undervisningsministeriet 1961). There is not much research on the history of sex education in Denmark, but the subject is addressed in the thorough Danish work on school history. See Anne Katrine Gjerløff et al., *Da skolen blev sin egen: 1920–1970*, vol. 4 (Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 2014), 239–241; Ning de Coninck-Smith et al., *Da skolen blev alles: Tiden efter 1970*, vol. 5 (Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 2014), 241–247; Charlotte Appel and Ning de Coninck-Smith, eds., *Dansk skolehistorie* (Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 2014). Representations of sexuality in Danish biology textbooks are analysed in Anne Katrine Gjerløff, "Fra celler til sex", in *De røde sko: Feminisme nu*, ed. Leonora Christina Skov (Aarhus: Tiderne skifter, 2002), 250–262.
6 Alfred O. Telhaug and Ole A. Mediaas, *Grunnskolen som nasjonsbygger: Fra statspietisme til nyliberalisme* (Oslo: Abstrakt, 2003), 220.
7 Grunnskolerådet, *Samlivslære*, foreword.
8 Scholars have problematised how curricula are used politically in order to "solve" social problems and have pointed to how "society's problems become the schools' curricula."

Birgit U. Engelsen, *Ideer som formet vår skole? Læreplanen som idébærer: Et historisk perspektiv* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2003), 14–15.

9 In 1971, a Danish case of complaints from parents went to the European Court of Human Rights. See Zimmerman, *Too Hot to Handle*, 83; Coninck-Smith et al., *Da skolen blev alles*, 242.

10 Antonio García-Bernal et al., "The Power of Didactic Writings: French Chemistry Textbooks of the Nineteenth Century", in *Pedagogy and the Practice of Science: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. David Kaiser (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), 223.

11 See Torhild Skard, "Seksualopplysning for barn og ungdom", in *Synspunkter på seksualpedagogikk*, ed. Gudrun Sivertsen (Oslo: Lærerstudentens forlag, 1971); Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet/Sosialdepartementet, *NOU 1982:7: Samlivslære i skolen* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1982).

12 Berit Bratholm, "Godkjenningsordningen for lærebøker, 1889–2001: En historisk gjennomgang", in *Fokus på pedagogiske tekster*, eds. Steffan Selander and Dagrun Skjelbred (Tønsberg: Høgskolen i Vestfold, 2001).

13 Lässig, "The History of Knowledge", 41; Simone Lässig, "Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)", *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* 1, no. 1 (2009): 1–2.

14 On such texts as source material accounting for change, see Jane Pilcher, "Sex in Health Education: Official Guidance for Schools in England, 1928–1977", *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7, no. 2/3 (2004): 205.

15 Lutz D.H. Sauerteig and Roger Davidson, "Shaping the Sexual Knowledge of the Young: Introduction", in *Shaping Sexual Knowledge: A Cultural History of Sex Education in Twentieth Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2009), 1.

16 The Norwegian textbook material that I analyse in the chapter was part of the source material in Kari H. Nordberg, "Ansvarlig seksualitet: Seksualundervisning i Norge 1935–1985" (PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2014). In the work I refer to this as "state-sanctioned" sexuality.

17 Garia-Belmar et al., "The Power of Didactic Writings", 243.

18 Marga Vicedo, "Introduction: The Secret Lives of Textbooks", *Isis* 103, no. 1 (2012): 83–86.

19 Lässig, "Textbooks and Beyond", 5.

20 Garia-Belmar et al., "The Power of Didactic Writings", 243.

21 Adam R. Shapiro, "Between Training and Popularization: Regulating Science Textbooks in Secondary Education", *Isis* 103, no. 1 (2012): 106.

22 Gro Hagemann, *Skolefolk: Lærernes historie i Norge* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1992), 248.

23 Simone Lässig, "Religious Knowledge and Social Adaptability in the Face of Modernity", *History of Knowledge*, 21 July 2017, https://historyofknowledge.net/2017/07/21/religious-knowledge-and-social-adaptability-in-the-face-of-modernity/.

24 Kari Telste, *Det rare: Jenter og seksualitet gjennom 100 år* (Oslo: Schibstedforlagene, 2005); Berit Nesheim, "Striden i Norge om seksualopplysning for barn fra 1890-årene til 1930-årene" (Thesis in pedagogy, Universitetet i Oslo, 1973).

25 Otto L. Mohr, *Forplantningslære som fag i våre skoler* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1935), 12.

26 Ibid., 27–31.

27 Ibid., 63.

28 Erling Kristvik, *Forplantningslære: Foreldrekunnskap* (Oslo: Land og Kirke, 1951).

29 Today, the journal *Prismet* and the organisation IKO (Church Educational Center) describe their activities as being at the intersection between pedagogy, theology, and education. See www.iko.no.

30 "Komite til drøfting av spørsmålet om undervisning i menneskets forplantningslære i skolen", 13 December 1951 (The National Archives of Norway), RA S-3538 KUD, SRA, Statsråd L. Moens arkiv 1948–1954, Db 16, forplantningslæra.

31 Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, *Undervisningen i forplantningslære: Rettleiing for* lærere (Oslo: Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, 1962), 32.

32 On the use of anthropomorphism in sex education, see Julian B. Carter, "Birds, Bees and Veneral Disease", *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10, no. 2 (2001): 245.
33 Sverre Asmervik, *Ungdom og seksualitet* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1972), 55.
34 Sosialdepartementet, *Tenåringer og ekteskap* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1972). Similar discussions took place in other countries. See, for example, Weeks, *Sex, Politics & Society*, 252–256.
35 Trude Lappegård, "Sex, men ikke barn", *Samfunnsspeilet* 6 (2000): 3. The number of teenage pregnancies among primiparous women was as high as 20 per cent in 1970. Thirty years later, it was less than 5 per cent.
36 Wilhelm Reich, *The Sexual Revolution: Toward A Self-Governing Character-Structure* (New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1969), 80.
37 John Abromeit and Mark W. Cobb, "Introduction", in *Herbert Marcuse: A Critical Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 2.
38 Cf. Herzog's discussion on German left-wing literature in the late 1960s. Dagmar Herzog, *Sex After Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 159–161.
39 Asmervik, *Ungdom og seksualitet*, 32.
40 Asmervik refers to Hertoft and Schofield in the thesis in pedagogy that his book was based on. He also mentions the Swedish report *Om sexuallivet i Sverige: Värderinger, normer, beteende i sociologisk tolkning* SOU 1969: 2. See Sverre Asmervik, *Storbyungdom og seksualitet* (Oslo: Pedagogisk forskningsinstitutt, Universitetet i Oslo). On Kinsey's influence on public discourse on sexuality after the war (in a Nordic context), see Lennerhed, *Frihet att njuta*.
41 "Interp. Fra repr. Aano om å fremja høgverdig etisk undervisn. og opplysn. i samlivsspørsm. for barn og ungdom m.v.", 14.2.1973, S.tid 7b, St.forh. 1972–73: 1916–1929. Both Asmervik's study and the Swedish *Om sexuallivet i Sverige* (which presented results similar to those of Asmervik) were discussed in the Norwegian parliament. A similar, pragmatic argument was put forward by a young medical doctor (and later prime minister) Gro H. Brundtland, who used Asmervik's statistics to argue that the school had to discuss contraceptives. The appropriate argument in this case was not that the sexuality of youths had a value of its own but rather the pragmatic one: that the school could not pretend that all youths were sexually inexperienced. See Gro H. Brundtland, "Seksualundervisning i skolen", *Tidsskrift for den norske Lægeforening* 95, no. 5 (1973): 310.
42 The editor's foreword in Øivind Foss, ed., *Seksualitet og frihet* (Aschehoug: Oslo, 1966), 8. Foss was a radical, left-wing theologian, but the book included articles by both the Reichian social scientist Erik Grønseth and the theologian Per Lønning, who offered diametrically opposed opinions on the question of contraceptives.
43 Pornography was legalised in Denmark already in 1967/1969 and in Sweden in 1971. Norway maintained a strict legislation. Lennerhed, *Frihet att njuta*, 241–242. On sexuality in Sweden, see Klara Arnberg, *Motsättningarnas marknad: Den pornografiska pressens kommersiella genombrott och regleringen av pornografi i Sverige 1950–1980* (Lund: Sekel, 2010); Frederick Hale, "Time for Sex in Sweden: Enhancing the Myth of the 'Swedish Sin' During the 1950s", *Scandinavian Studies* 75, no. 3 (2003): 351–374; Marta Kuzma et al., eds., *Whatever Happened to Sex in Scandinavia?* (Oslo: Office for Contemporary Art, 2011).
44 SOU, 141–142.
45 Undervisningsministeriet, *Vejledning i seksualundervisning i folkeskolen*.
46 Asbjørn Dale, "Kommentar til Oslo kommunes plan for samlivslære med seksualkunnskap for ungdomsskolen", *Prismet* 2, no. 25 (1974): 68–69.
47 Zimmerman, *Too Hot to Handle*, 76.
48 The original text was written by pedagogue Unn Eriksen Stålsett and teacher Inger Takle (who also published other sex education materials), but there were no official authors. The original manuscript had been revised based on suggestions from medical doctors but also by teacher Inger Egeland, who had led the work on the so-called Oslo Plan, and psychologist Thore Langfeldt. "Notat om Grunnskolerådets arbeid med

informasjonshefte nr. 10 – samlivslære, fra GSR til KUD, grunnskolekontoret 15.8.1974", RA S-2845, KUD, Folkeskolekontoret L, Da 273, Forplantningslære 1961–1974.

49 Grunnskolerådet, *Samlivslære*.
50 Mathias Skard, *Hvad vi bør sige til vore børn om kjønslivet: Et ord til foreldre og lærere* (Kristiania: Cammermeyer, 1898); O. Klykken, *Fars og mors undervisning om kjønsforholdet* (Kristiania: Cammermeyer, 1898).
51 Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, *Undervisningen i forplantningslære*, 30.
52 Bengt H. Claesson, *Dreng og pige, mand og kvinde: Moderne sex-orientering for unge* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels forlag, 1969), 42–44.
53 Lizzie Bundgaard, *Ung: Om sex for de unge – og dere foreldre* (Oslo: Tiden, 1971), 26–27.
54 Albert Assev (ed.), *Kristne normer for seksualmoral: Et ord fra kirken* (Oslo: Land og kirke, 1971), 99–101.
55 Grunnskolerådet, *Samlivslære*, 36.
56 Ibid., 51.
57 Ibid., 12.
58 Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, *Mønsterplan for grunnskolen* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1974).
59 Nordberg, *Asvarlig seksualitet,* 121.
60 Grunnskolerådet, *Samlivslære*, 69.
61 Ibid., 9.
62 Ibid., 64–65, emphasis added.
63 Ibid.
64 Folkeskolens læseplansudvalg, *Vejledning*, 33.
65 Grunnskolerådet, *Samlivslære*, 78.
66 Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Free Association Books, 1989/1999), vii.
67 Ibid., viii.
68 Lässig, "Textbooks and Beyond", 1.
69 Ibid., 2.
70 Peter Burke, *What Is the History of Knowledge?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), 7.

11 Mobilising the outsider

Crises and histories of the humanities in the 1970s Scandinavian welfare states

Hampus Östh Gustafsson

> The humanities in crisis? In Sweden? This is what we have been told. The crisis is even mapped and identified with the accuracy of numbers in a report published by the Research Council for the Humanities. Among other things, the report shows that the humanities have a weaker position in Sweden than in other comparable countries in Northern and North-Western Europe.[1]

In the 1970s, the idea of a crisis of the humanities in Scandinavia started to circulate with new intensity. The quotation above introduced a famous essay by Swedish intellectual historian Sven-Eric Liedman (1939–), included in the anthology *Humaniora på undantag? Humanistiska forskningstraditioner i Sverige* (1978). The connotations of this Swedish title are difficult to translate. Literally, "*på undantag*" refers to something being set aside or excluded, thus constituting an impoverished exception (by referring to an archaic agrarian term) – in this case from an international perspective. For three years, a group of relatively young scholars from the University of Gothenburg had conducted a project on Swedish research traditions in the humanities, funded by the Research Council for the Humanities (HFR). The 1978 collection of their results was recently described as a "legendary" publication that shaped the self-understanding of Swedish scholars in the humanities for decades, not least by inspiring them to engage more actively – and critically – in the legitimation of their field.[2] The expression "*humaniora på undantag*" has become an entrenched trope, resurfacing as soon as the state of knowledge in the humanities is discussed. This trope, however, was not new but had been used in previous decades when there were also attempts to revitalise the humanities. Preparatory works and parallel initiatives – not just in Sweden but in a wider Scandinavian context – run the risk of becoming invisible in the shadow of this book. By perceiving the debates on, and mobilisation of, the humanities in these years as part of a long renegotiation of their intellectual as well as societal legitimacy, I hope to generate new perspectives on the role of knowledge in postwar Scandinavian society.[3]

Scandinavian perspectives on the history and crisis of the humanities

In a newspaper review of *Humaniora på undantag?*, it was noted that: "When a branch of science is in crisis, it is time to write its history, because if science

refuses to see its past, it has no future."[4] This historiographic strategy is still used for responding to perceived academic crises. One example is the recent call for comparative contributions to the history of the humanities (promoted as part of a broader history of knowledge) as a response to ongoing concerns regarding the so-called "crisis of the humanities".[5] The Swedish book from 1978 may be regarded as an early example of this strategy, as it provided historical narratives aimed at bringing about change. The project was a prompt reaction to a 1973 HFR report that presented findings from a transnational survey of the state of the humanities (and theology).[6] In retrospect, Sven-Eric Liedman stated that the report was shocking, demonstrating that many scholars in the humanities had never truly reflected upon their own value.[7] Previous attempts to mobilise the humanities in Sweden lacked the theoretical awareness demanded in this new generational charge by Liedman and his colleagues, advocating perspectives such as Marxism, structuralism, and semiotics (and hermeneutics). Furthermore, the report concluded that the humanities were defunded and had fewer academic positions than could be expected compared to other Scandinavian and Western European countries. This paved the way for the emergence of a narrative of national exceptionalism. It was questioned whether Sweden would be the only country in the world to have "discovered that research in the humanities and theology no longer had any real value for cultural and societal developments".[8] Or, as a journalist sarcastically commented on the report, "We know that we are the very best, but at the same time we are aware that there are some peripheral civilisational activities in which Sweden, out of all countries in the West, is definitely the worst."[9] The marginalisation of the humanities was thus contrasted to Sweden's leading position as a welfare state.

The challenges facing the humanities were obviously not only identified in Sweden. Transnational comparisons, alongside cross-references and joint Scandinavian arenas for debate and exchange of ideas, played a vital part in shifting the thinking of the postwar historical actors themselves. For instance, *Humaniora på undantag?* was preceded by a theme issue of the journal *Nordisk forum*, published in 1977 by the Nordic Summer University (a research network funded through the Nordic Council of Ministers), with the explicit title "Crisis in the humanities?" Instead of simply reproducing the Swedish narrative of exceptionalism, the problems raised could thus be interpreted as characteristic of Scandinavian welfare states in general, at the time regarded as social democratic havens. These crisis narratives challenged the political knowledge priorities of these countries, which held social science, technology, and medicine in high esteem as satisfying ideals of rational planning and social engineering – ideals that, on the other hand, probably peaked in 1960s Sweden.[10] The mobilisation of the humanities thus went hand in hand with a general critique of the postwar system of the welfare state, in many cases seen as an expression of unchecked capitalism, bureaucracy, or even technocracy.

The role of the humanities in the context of an increasing critique of the welfare state was further explored in literary fiction at this time, for example in Carl-Henning Wijkmark's satirical novel *Den moderna döden* [The modern death] (1978), depicting a symposium held at the Öresund strait separating

Sweden and Denmark. In the novel, cold-hearted Swedish administrators and scientific experts meet to discuss how to address death in the most rational and economically effective way in order to be held accountable to "society", while an invited Danish intellectual historian, a "learned humanist", desperately tries to defend traditional humanistic values.[11] A contemporary picture of the Swedish welfare state as particularly hostile to humanistic values thus flourished. The question is: when conceptions of the welfare state apparently changed in these years and the previous picture of Sweden as an idyllic exception began to crack,[12] could the humanities themselves define a more relevant role in a context of societal change?

Critique and crisis

The seminal status of *Humaniora på undantag?* generates a risk that any marginalisation of the humanities is simply equated with the emergence of an explicit discourse of crisis during the period when this book was published.[13] It has, for example, been said that critical theory and the post-1968 academic left brought about their marginalisation.[14] I rather claim that the humanities were already seen as marginalised at this point, no longer a priority of the future-oriented welfare politics, as indicated by the HFR report.[15] The mobilisation of the humanities in the 1970s should be seen as an active response to this political marginalisation relative to other fields (the irony being that, in absolute terms, the humanities saw a great institutional expansion during the postwar period). A new generation of scholars in the humanities embraced their peripheral positions, but in order to accomplish this mobilisation and generate change, they were helped by the circulation of the notion of a crisis and by narratives that made their attacks on previous scholarly traditions meaningful. Accordingly, during these years, the notion of a "crisis of the humanities" had a breakthrough in Swedish parlance. The expression was used strategically in struggles over the legitimacy of knowledge. Implying a comparative state of affairs in geographical terms, but also chronologically, "crisis" served as a tool for bringing about a different future.[16]

"Crisis" was indeed a general buzzword of the 1970s, marked by political radicalisation in the wake of the 1968 movements. Established traditions were widely criticised, as well as the consensus-seeking welfare politics, whose national myths and optimistic narratives regarding the future were questioned.[17] The Frankfurt School played an important part in raising awareness of the latent conflicts of modern capitalist societies by reformulating Marxist and critical theory for new audiences. The young Gothenburg scholars contributed to the introduction of such theories. Sven-Eric Liedman, today an international authority on the history of Marxism, and literary historian Kurt Aspelin, who served as an intellectual mentor to many scholars who became part of the new theoretical turn, were particularly important in this respect, not least by editing the book series "Kontrakurs", in which *Humaniora på undantag?* was published. Important introductory work was also conducted through articles

in the influential journal *Häften för kritiska studier* [Journal of Critical Studies], where Liedman presented parts of his famous essay already in 1977 next to a brief presentation of their research project.[18] A common target of all their publications was empiricism and positivism, whose expanded influence was described as a pan-European phenomenon. These ideals were criticised for not having acknowledged that research is carried out and acquires its legitimacy within the context of social structures.[19] This social dimension of science was exactly what the Swedish group of critical Marxist scholars wished to highlight, arguing for theoretically advanced research in the humanities driven by socio-political problems.[20]

Sven-Eric Liedman, who has been one of Sweden's most prolific public intellectuals for more than half a century, was originally trained as a philosopher. Feeling alienated by the direction taken by the increasingly ahistorical Swedish 20th-century field of academic philosophy, he soon departed for a career in history of science and ideas at the University of Gothenburg, defending his doctoral thesis in 1966. Ever since, he has shown a profound interest in the relationship between knowledge and society, not being afraid to participate in public debates. In 1977, he presented a model for the societal applications of science in a two-volume monograph on Friedrich Engels, *Motsatsernas spel*, and also in a brief report, *Den vetenskapliga specialiseringen*. Here, and later also in *Humaniora på undantag?*, he argued that 20th-century discussions on the use and value of science had focused too narrowly on material utility, thus overlooking the constantly present theoretical and ideological dimensions. This caused a depreciation of the humanities. In short, he claimed that science could have three types of societal applications: material, administrative, or ideological, as represented by the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities, respectively. This tripartite division was obviously influenced by Jürgen Habermas' model on the instrumental/technical, emancipatory, and practical (or hermeneutic) knowledge constitutive interests.[21] In Liedman's version, the ideological use of the humanities referred to their significance in terms of shaping worldviews in general. On this point, he often seemed to invite misunderstandings, as critics interpreted "ideology" in a limited, political sense. Liedman claimed that the wider ideological significance of science had been overshadowed by its material and administrative applications in discussions on the utility of science for modern welfare states. The societal contributions of the humanities thus went unacknowledged; their ideological function needed recognition and redirection.[22]

Introductions to critical and Marxist theory sometimes took the form of joint Scandinavian ventures. For instance, two articles by Liedman were included in a Scandinavian anthology with translations of international articles on Marxist theory in the humanities.[23] Another parallel research project offers further evidence of this broad Scandinavian horizon. In 1977, literary historian Jan Thavenius presented findings from this project in the aforementioned theme issue of *Nordisk forum*. Previously, his research group had published an anthology on the crisis in the subject of Swedish, drawing inspiration from some Danish

volumes that, in the wake of the 1968 protests, presented a critique of existing pedagogical traditions in higher education in an attempt to renegotiate the social contract of the humanities and emancipate them from bourgeois ideology. Through an ambitious historical overview, the school teaching of Swedish was likewise depicted as stuck in a tradition reproducing capitalist social formations instead of acknowledging conflicts and stimulating change, thus failing to adapt to the demands of democracy and equality.[24] This attempt to write politically motivated historical syntheses, paralleled in *Humaniora på undantag?*, was characteristic. The critical authors needed a history of the humanities they could react against. As Thavenius put it: "Change can be achieved through the conflicts and ruptures in history. One must find the root in order to pull it up."[25]

Thavenius' group worked in an activist way, encouraging readers to form politically engaged groups at their workplace and to take contact if they wished to participate in future work.[26] Through such institutional practices and publishing strategies, these new attempts at mobilising the humanities were integrated into the political struggle of the left movement. These projects were far from the first attempts to revitalise the humanities, although *Humaniora på undantag?* and *Nordisk forum* tended to frame them as novel and original. Previous attempts, however, had not to the same extent articulated lines of conflict within the field of the humanities. Now, such lines emerged clearly, leading to an open confrontation.

An exceptional publication?

Humaniora på undantag? was published by Norstedts in the "Kontrakurs" series, aimed at a new audience generated by the student expansion.[27] The publishing of original, low-cost paperback editions exploded in the mid-1960s and represented one of the most important forms of media for the New Left movement and consequently also for the mobilisation of critical humanities and social science.[28] In the 1970s, Swedish publishers faced challenges as the market shrunk and prices declined. Still, however, they continued to publish original paperback books, regarding the category as having strategic importance for the public debate and theoretical introductions.[29] Norstedts evidently had faith in *Humaniora på undantag?* While eventually achieving the status of a "legendary" milestone, the initial circulation of the book should not be exaggerated.[30] Its reputation gradually accumulated over the years. That said, the book also received immediate attention, and by the mid-1980s, it was already described as an "underground" classic.[31]

Several factors enabled the influence of the book. Material factors should not be neglected, such as Leif Zetterling's cover art (he regularly illustrated the "Kontrakurs" series), satirically depicting a man in a suit, representing technocracy and capitalism, attempting to swat away a little angel (presumably the marginalised humanities) sitting on his shoulder.[32] The catchy title *Humaniora på undantag?* was effective, even if not an original coinage. As early as the 1950s, it was being noted that the humanities ran the risk of being "set aside" in the

expected expansion of universities.[33] The anthology was thus not as original as it may appear at first sight but achieved an unprecedented discursive impact in debates on the humanities.

The project set out to investigate whether any specific characteristics of Swedish research in the humanities had contributed to their "isolation" and whether the external, political neglect of the humanities, identified by HFR, corresponded to an internal crisis.[34] After a press conference, the HFR report received wider and more immediate attention in the media compared to *Humaniora på undantag?* While this contributed to establishing the marginalisation of the humanities as a fact, *Humaniora på undantag?* managed to circulate the interpretation of this marginalisation as a crisis by contextualising it within wide-ranging historical narratives regarding the development of Swedish humanities and society, gaining a far more lasting influence.

Together with Kurt Aspelin and musicologist Jan Ling, Liedman gathered a group of researchers and applied for money from HFR. Their proposal received an excellent review, but due to its comprehensiveness and interdisciplinary character, the Research Council required some additional information, and an extended process of assessment followed before a grant was approved in early 1974.[35] Literary historian Tomas Forser, eventually the editor of *Humaniora på undantag?*, was now given the position of secretary, and he organised a seminar series in Gothenburg attended by enthusiastic students (who were encouraged to write theses in connection with the project) as well as influential humanities scholars, such as historian Erik Lönnroth (1910–2002), professor at the University of Gothenburg until 1977.[36] Since some proceedings from the group's activities circulated before the final publication, the project gained traction at an early stage. For example, Liedman attempted to draw attention to the implicit theoretical perspectives of the dominant, empirically oriented 20th-century paradigm of Swedish history in the influential journal *Scandia*, where Lönnroth was a regular contributor.[37] The group soon realised that Lönnroth was not at ease with their project – despite having granted it money as chair of HFR.

The 276-page anthology included seven essays on Swedish history, philosophy, intellectual history, Nordic studies, literary history, and archaeology, some results of which had previously been published in the HFR journal *Humanistisk forskning*.[38] Liedman's introductory essay received the most attention. He noted that an increasing number of scholars in the field of humanities felt that they were caught in a deep crisis. Since they did not (allegedly) acknowledge the ideological function of the humanities, Liedman found previous attempts at demonstrating public usefulness to be unconvincing. By writing a synthesis of the history of the humanities, he sought to generate conditions for a new type of discussion, where their proper ideological function could be acknowledged as a viable alternative. While it has been noted that crisis narratives have resurfaced again and again in the modern era, and frequently without a historical perspective, the crisis narrative presented here was far from ahistorical.[39]

Liedman claimed that since the 19th century, the perceived function of the humanities in Sweden had too often been confined to the administrative sector,

particularly among civil servants. In recent decades, this administrative ambition had been thoroughly embraced by older, leading humanities scholars who, according to Liedman, exercised substantial power in small and homogeneous countries such as Sweden. This favoured the influence of individual professors, who had tended to focus narrowly on detailed empirical or even positivistic studies. Liedman claimed that these individuals then blocked novel forms of research from having an impact and left no room for theoretical considerations, only generating highly specialised research without any clear direction and of no real value for society.[40]

Other contributors agreed with Liedman's harsh analysis. Existing research in the humanities was too fragmented due to its exaggerated empirical focus and positivistic methods in its attempt to follow the path of the successful social sciences.[41] According to Forser, the previous generation of scholars had been so obsessed with their battle against 19th-century traditions of nationalism and idealism that they had lost all of their own theoretical ambitions.[42] Even if the direct influence of the Frankfurt School should not be exaggerated,[43] the import of Marxist and critical theory was of strategic importance to this volume, seen as providing the humanities with new ideas on how to serve a meaningful function in a society marked by conflicts. Liedman concluded his essay by presenting a remedy for the internal problems of the humanities: they must reach out in an interdisciplinary spirit and reopen their links to the social sciences (the faculties of the humanities and social sciences had been separated in 1964) and take on general and, above all, controversial problems: "Scholars in the humanities need to take a stand."[44]

Two cultures: critical mobilisation against tradition

Humaniora på undantag? played an important role in establishing the notion of a crisis of the humanities in Sweden. What may have remained a local dispute between different generations of scholars at the University of Gothenburg expanded not just onto the national but also on the Scandinavian stage – a subject to which I return in the next section. At the national level, at a conference organised by the student union at Lund University in 1980, it was, for example, claimed that: "Five years ago the humanities were *på undantag*. Today this research area is in crisis", indicating the prompt influence of the key ideas and formulations of the anthology.[45] However, the original book title included a question mark, which disappeared in many following discussions. Apparently, the crisis trope was now closely attached to the humanities and increasingly asserted as a fact. Interpretations of the crisis varied, but the term became – and remains – a standard point of departure for attempts to mobilise scholars in the humanities into engaging in societal problems.

Several reviews of the book were published. For example, it was pointed out that the authors were amply critical but did not provide enough constructive suggestions for how the humanities could be renewed. The authors were described as "the new Gothenburg philosophers", looking to conquer the

humanities from the inside and striving for a *coup d'état*.[46] It would, however, be an oversimplification to describe this situation as if a homogenous group of young researchers was trying to replace an older generation. In some cases, there was a clear affinity between young Marxists and older, well-established scholars. One example is archaeologist Carl-Axel Moberg (1915–1987), who contributed to *Humaniora på undantag?* Nevertheless, strong tensions emerged between the leftist, Gothenburg group and representatives of the "traditional" humanities they criticised, eventually leading up to a clash between these different cultures of knowledge. Soon, Liedman's essay was the target of a frontal attack by the "Godfather" of the humanities, Erik Lönnroth. There had been an early encounter already after the publication of the HFR report at a Gothenburg panel discussion in 1973, tape-recorded by Tomas Forser and published in the cultural magazine *Ord&Bild*. As the person responsible for the report, Lönnroth had the last word and defended the research council against accusations of too leniently yielding to technocratic pressure from the government. He claimed that the council's aim was to bring the battle to the enemy.[47] From Lönnroth's point of view, these problems were outside the domains of the humanities, in sharp contrast to the internal critique of *Humaniora på undantag?* At this early stage, Lönnroth seemed to raise a resonant tone, but his concluding remarks were far from the last words uttered on this topic.

When the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in Gothenburg held its annual meeting in 1979, Lönnroth lashed out against Liedman in public, accusing him of being dogmatic and attempting to start a Marxist revolution within the Swedish humanities.[48] This attack was reported by the local Gothenburg media, where it was even questioned whether Liedman, appointed professor that very year, would be able to continue teaching.[49] Lönnroth reformulated his criticism in the journal *Artes*, published by the Swedish Academy (he was a member). In his view, *Humaniora på undantag?* appeared like dishonest polemics by academic dissidents. He described the book as a heterogeneous "pamphlet" – in other words, not a proper publication for a research project. Insisting that Liedman's essay should not be taken seriously, Lönnroth nevertheless argued that the essay was a symptom of a wider phenomenon: the emergence of an orthodox form of Marxism that did not respect the distinction between truth and lie.[50]

Here, it should be remembered that Lönnroth's generation had experienced the rise of totalitarianism and the Second World War. To him, the primary social function of historians was to combat myths and propaganda and to ensure that conditions never again arose for a totalitarian state – which explains why the new ideological (or theoretical) ambitions of Liedman's group appeared so controversial. Lönnroth cited further examples of the Marxist trend by referring to the journal *Scandia*, where the HFR report received criticism. With reference to Thomas Kuhn, one author asked whether Lönnroth's paradigm of Swedish history was approaching its end.[51] Interestingly, Tomas Forser used a similar strategy in *Humaniora på undantag?* By assuming the rise and fall of paradigms, the interpretation of an internal crisis made the prospects of profound change seem realistic.[52] Historical syntheses opened up for change and

legitimised the mobilisation of a reformed kind of research in the humanities. In this struggle of narratives, Lönnroth criticised the talk of paradigms. To him, the problems of the humanities remained external. Just as in the 1973 report, he pointed to the problem of resource allocations and the general postwar political priorities of the welfare state. Swedish scholars in the humanities were not weak, but any ideological orientation in their research would not improve their situation. What they needed to continue to strive for was objectivity, even if it was never fully achieved.[53]

The 1960s had seen some self-critique among Swedish humanities scholars and attempts to make them useful for society. At a history conference in Denmark in 1969, for example, Lönnroth underlined the importance of striving for social utility when funding research in the humanities.[54] He deemed this previous mobilisation, together with actions by HFR, already successful in improving the standard of research, not least since many new projects had been funded. Now, one of them had turned against him, criticising him for being too lenient in relation to state authorities and technocracy. The fate of the Swedish humanities was clearly at stake in this confrontation, which, however, did not only have national implications.

Scandinavian debates intertwined

During the postwar period, an awareness of international conditions, stimulated by organisations such as the OECD, was essential for research and educational policy in Sweden. The Cold War created an atmosphere of competition that made reforms seem urgent. In this context, transnationally comparative reports, such as that by HFR, played a distinct role in Swedish debates on knowledge politics, which were far from provincial. Interestingly, *Humaniora på undantag?* appeared just in time for a Scandinavian conference on the humanities in Bergen, Norway, in May 1978 (where Liedman participated).[55] This may have contributed to the circulation of the book and the firmer conception of a crisis within the Scandinavian context, where it was soon pointed out that Sweden hardly constituted a unique exception.[56]

In line with the theme issue of *Nordisk forum* in 1977, several Scandinavian initiatives were taken in order to address the dire state of the humanities. In 1978, the Danish journal *Kritik* published a theme issue on the humanities that included an almost full translation of Liedman's essay.[57] Another interesting example is the anthology *Humanioras egenart* [The Particularity of the Humanities], published in Norway in 1983 and edited by Swedish historian of science Tore Frängsmyr following a 1980 conference in Finnish Jyväskylä organised by the Nordic Research Councils for the Humanities. Frängsmyr claimed that the conference should be seen as a starting point for gathering around a mutual problem – a "crisis" that "was perceived in similar ways in several countries in one cultural region".[58] His statement is interesting as it points towards a different view compared to the contributions to *Nordisk forum*, where the state of the humanities was described in more nationally diverse terms.[59] Now, the crisis

was rather discussed as a general Scandinavian phenomenon. It was also questioned whether these countries together represented an international exception, caused by their relatively small and specialised research environments tied to individual professorships.[60]

Another work that contributed to the formation of a crisis narrative was the Danish *Til glæden. Om humanisme og humaniora* [To joy. On Humanism and the Humanities], published by literary historian Thomas Bredsdorff, intellectual historian Mihail Larsen, and philosopher Ole Thyssen in 1979. The book got a positive reception and was quickly translated into Swedish – a welcome weapon in the ongoing national rebellion. On the cover, it said that the humanities were "set aside" and a preface by Liedman was also included. Although he found the situation of the Swedish humanities specific in relation to its national context, he noted that a similar debate was indeed taking place in Denmark.[61] Though there were occasional notes of optimism, the Danish authors confirmed the negative picture:

> One must be blind on more than one eye if one cannot see that the humanities are marginalised today. The humanists are not useful for business, they are dealing with indifferences – and, on top of it all, they are demanding to be funded by the government. What shall society do with these scroungers?[62]

Countering these caricatures, the Danish authors too advocated an ideological deployment of the humanities, explicitly referring to Liedman. They claimed that the humanities had to retain their ideological roots in Renaissance humanism and remarked that Marxism too contained a humanistic core, thus being the most viable foundation for the construction of a new kind of modern and useful humanities.[63]

The political radicalisation of the 1960s, together with the propaganda and psychological warfare of the Vietnam War, had fuelled a new awareness of the ideological function of science. Bredsdorff, Larsen, and Thyssen claimed that these experiences, together with the 1970s crises of the welfare states, caused a general crisis for science that opened up a potential space for the humanities. If they were active in the ongoing negotiations of knowledge politics and switching allies from positivism and empirical historicism to critical theory, scholars in the humanities could take part in the creation of a progressive future – a re-renaissance of the humanities. If passive, however, their endeavours ran the risk of getting hijacked by technocracy. Just as in *Humaniora på undantag?*, a historical narrative played a key part in *Til glæden* (looking back 2,000 years): the humanities had lost their emancipatory function, once held through humanistic ideology, and turned reactionary, hiding like mandarins in their "ivory towers". This narrative of decay after a distant golden age motivated a shift in the present.[64]

Mobilisation of the past through grand syntheses was a characteristic strategy for achieving legitimacy in the 1970s debates. The Danish authors explicitly advocated efforts in the "history of the humanities" beyond traditional history of science or history of universities.[65] Historical narratives also played an

important part in Frängsmyr's aforementioned anthology, although his interpretation was different: Marxism perplexed scholars in the humanities and made them subject to external suspicion. Hence, it was no solution to their marginalisation.[66] Consequently, *Humanioras egenart* lacked the critical tone of *Humaniora på undantag?* and *Til glæden*, which reminds us of the complexity of these debates: several different Scandinavian projects were underway in order to save the humanities, and Frängsmyr's project can be regarded as a counter-project to the one in Gothenburg. But even if the critical role was downplayed, Frängsmyr confirmed the discourse of crisis. He also claimed that humanities scholars had to become more engaged and participate in the public debate, although displaying some caution: "Let us be a little pathetic and say that we need a fighting humanism and fighting humanities!"[67] Frängsmyr had used this phrase already in a previous article, where he commented on the Jyväskylä conference, stating that it reflected a new atmosphere among the scholars present: they were prepared for battle, ready to defend the humanities on their own ground.[68] In this way, a new kind of mobilisation of the Scandinavian humanities was indeed accomplished during the 1970s.

The formation of mobilising narratives of crisis

Ever since the 1970s, *Humaniora på undantag?* has inspired an engaged mode in the seemingly never-ending debates on the value of humanistic knowledge. Intertextual references and allusions have been common. Through such practices, Forser and Liedman themselves actively participated in securing the legacy of the book.[69] Such personal, almost entrepreneurial, efforts by the historical actors involved should not be underestimated. They not only presented new ideas but also made an effort to ensure their survival. Already in 1979, Forser claimed that no single text in the humanities in recent years had received as much attention in the national debate on research as Liedman's essay, which he pointed out was used as course literature, "circulated" as offprint, and discussed in seminars all over Scandinavia.[70] This individual chapter from this particular book, however, should not lead us to forget how much other publications, conferences, and panel discussions contributed to the formation of a Swedish and Scandinavian discourse of crisis throughout a range of years and how these served as arenas for negotiation and/or battle over the legitimacy and social value of the humanities. The exceptional generational influence of the anthology, successfully launched in the original paperback format within the important book series "Kontrakurs", may even have limited the perspective of later inquiries into the history of the Swedish humanities, as several of the mechanisms that contributed to the postwar undermining of their legitimacy have been difficult to detect in the shadow of the story told already in 1978.

Possibly, the greatest impact of *Humaniora på undantag?* stemmed from its narrative structure. Accounts – although pluralistic and contested – of the history of the humanities were decisive for establishing the notion of a crisis. They opened up a space for future change in the struggle between different strands

or generations of scholars, potentially enabling a revolution or paradigm shift. While not denying that the Swedish humanities had become marginalised due to external factors, the Gothenburg group embraced the already peripheral position of the humanities and turned their attack inwards, rejecting prevalent strategies of legitimation in an attempt to mobilise a new kind of defence, for which recently imported perspectives, such as Marxism and critical theory, represented the perfect allies. The Swedish narrative of national exceptionalism, constructed through recurring transnational outlooks, is particularly interesting here, as the postwar social democratic welfare state was typically described as an international exception in positive terms. When a wave of critique hit societal institutions and consensus-seeking political practices in the 1970s, the affirmation of a critical outsider position seemed more attractive. The exceptionalism narrative raised an awareness of the marginalisation of the humanities. Eventually, however, the discourse of crisis expanded beyond national limitations as different discourses intermingled.

The critical mobilisation of the humanities concerned a new interpretation of their purpose and identity. This was part of a contest over what should be counted as legitimate knowledge in the humanities, whether this could include theoretical dimensions and social engagement in addition to the exploration of original empirical findings. In the context of progressive welfare state politics in previous decades, the established humanities were criticised for not being able to demonstrate how they could contribute to social change. Now, young scholars in the humanities developed distinct strategies for how to serve a progressive or even subversive function. As illustrated earlier, a wide range of Scandinavian arenas and personal contacts was essential for this mobilisation. By enabling a broad circulation of the notion of crisis and a national and international historical narrative (in itself a product of new inquiry in the humanities and an example of new knowledge claims), these arenas and networks paved the way for intellectual change.

Whether all of this actually secured greater legitimacy for the humanities, even temporarily, and whether the humanities really have contributed to social change is open to investigation through future research. The new mobilisation could easily be accused of being too abstract and limited to a theoretical level and an elite (its Marxist influences notwithstanding). At one point, Erik Lönnroth claimed that the only achievement of his antagonists was a rearmament of the ivory tower, "which is not easily camouflaged in red".[71] While the humanities have often remained an institutional outsider in Scandinavian societies and treated as "an exception" in educational and research policy, the question remains open whether or not this marginalisation may truly be turned into an advantage.

Notes

1 Sven-Eric Liedman, "Humanistiska forskningstraditioner i Sverige: Kritiska och historiska perspektiv", in *Humaniora på undantag? Humanistiska forskningstraditioner i Sverige*, ed. Tomas Forser (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1978), 9.

2 Anders Burman, *Kultiverandet av det mänskliga: Essäer om liberal education, bildning och tänkande* (Gothenburg: Daidalos, 2018), 13.
3 For critical comments on this text, I would like to thank Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, Niklas Olsen, and all the other participants in the workshop series "Knowledge and Society in 1960s and 1970s Scandinavia" in Lund and Copenhagen, but also Anders Ekström, Thomas Karlsohn, and Helen Small. Special thanks to Tomas Forser and Sven-Eric Liedman, who also read and commented on the manuscript.
4 Carl Fehrman, "Humanismens kris – och marxismens", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 25 June 1978, 8. The Swedish term for science, *vetenskap*, is derived from the German *Wissenschaft* and refers to a wider spectrum of academic disciplines.
5 See Rens Bod et al., "A New Field: *History of Humanities*", *History of Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1–8, https://doi.org/10.1086/685056.
6 I have previously analysed this report in Hampus Östh Gustafsson, "Planlös forskning? Svensk humaniora som undantag mot 1960-talets internationaliserings- och planeringskrav", *Lychnos* (2018): 255–275. For examples of studies demonstrating the importance of transnational comparisons, see Jesper Eckhardt Larsen, *"ikke af brød alene . . .": Argumenter for humaniora og universitet i Norge, Danmark, Tyskland og USA 1945–2005* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitetsforlag, 2007); Paul Holm, Arne Jarrick, and Dominic Scott, *Humanities World Report 2015* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Paul Benneworth, Magnus Gulbrandsen, and Ellen Hazelkorn, *The Impact and Future of Arts and Humanities Research* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
7 Sven-Eric Liedman, *Surdeg: En personlig bok om idéer och ideologier* (Stockholm: Författarförlaget, 1980), 44, 50. See also Kurt Aspelin, "Väckarklocka från forskningsråd", *Dagens Nyheter*, 5 May 1973, 5.
8 *Humanistisk och teologisk forskning i Sverige: Nuläge och framtidsperspektiv* (Statens Humanistiska Forskningsråd, 1973), 15–18.
9 Allan Fagerström, "Ibland är Sverige allra sämst", *Aftonbladet*, 11 April 1973, 15.
10 These welfare states have often been described as more universalist in nature than the liberal or conservative versions found in other parts of the world. See Mary Hilson, *The Nordic Model: Scandinavia Since 1945* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 26, 89–91; Carly Elizabeth Schall, *The Rise and Fall of the Miraculous Welfare Machine: Immigration and Social Democracy in Twentieth-Century Sweden* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), but also Neil Elder, Alastair H. Thomas, and David Arter, *The Consensual Democracies? The Government and Politics of the Scandinavian States* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1982); Francis Sejersted, *The Age of Social Democracy: Norway and Sweden in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Richard Daly (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 1–12.
11 Carl-Henning Wijkmark, *Den moderna döden* (Lund: Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, 1978).
12 Marie Cronqvist and Lina Sturfelt, "En träff med tidsandan", in *1973: En träff med tidsandan*, eds. Marie Cronqvist, Lina Sturfelt, and Martin Wiklund (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2008), 11.
13 A similar problem has been identified in the international literature. See Paul Jay, *The Humanities "Crisis" and the Future of Literary Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1.
14 See, for instance, Svante Nordin, *Humaniora i Sverige: Framväxt–Guldålder–Kris* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008), 272–282; cf. Paul Jay, "Critique and Theory in the History of the Modern Humanities", in *The Making of the Humanities: The Modern Humanities*, Vol. III, eds. Rens Bod, Jaap Maat, and Thijs Weststeijn (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014), 655–665.
15 See Hampus Östh Gustafsson, "The Discursive Marginalisation of the Humanities: Debates on the Humanist Problem in the Early 1960s Swedish Welfare State", *History of Humanities* 3, no. 2 (2018): 351–376, https://doi.org/10.1086/699299, but also Anders Ekström, "A Failed Response? The Humanities in Transition", *Akademisk kvarter* 13 (2016): 20; Sverker Sörlin, "Humanities of Transformation: From Crisis and Critique Toward the Emerging Integrative Humanities", *Research Evaluation* 27, no. 4 (2018): 287–297, https://doi.org/10.1093/reseval/rvx030.

16 See Janet Roitman, *Anti-Crisis* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 4, 15, 39, 70, who, following Koselleck, identifies crisis and critique as cognates and describes crisis as "a blind spot that enables the production of knowledge" rather than being an object of first-order knowledge available for observation in itself. As Koselleck further points out, the metaphorically flexible, ambivalent, and inflationary concept of "crisis" has served as a diagnostic criterion for (political) action, demanding decision or settlement. See Reinhart Koselleck, "Crisis", trans. Michaela W. Richter, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 2 (2006): 358, 369, 399; cf. Helge Jordheim, "Krisetid: Introduksjon til en begrepshistorisk forståelse av krisebegrepet", *Arr – idéhistorisk tidsskrift* 2 (2017).

17 See, for instance, Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, "Scandinavia", in *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, eds. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 239; Thomas Ekman Jørgensen and Steven C.B. Jensen, *1968 – og det der fulgte: Studenteroprørets forudsætninger of konsekvenser* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2008), 9; Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, *Transformation and Crises: The Left and the Nation in Denmark and Sweden, 1956–1980* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 112–113; Andrus Ers, "Kris, terror, besvikelse: 1970-talet efter utopierna", in *Tillsammans: Politik, filosofi och estetik på 1960- och 1970-talen*, eds. Anders Burman and Lena Lennerhed (Stockholm: Atlas, 2014), 563–590; Sven-Olof Josefsson, *Året var 1968: Universitetskris och studentrevolt i Stockholm och Lund* (Gothenburg: Historiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, 1996), 12; Göran Rosenberg, "The Crisis of Consensus in Postwar Sweden", in *Culture and Crisis: The Case of Germany and Sweden*, eds. Nina Witoszek and Lars Trägårdh (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002), 180; Elke Seefried, "Reconfiguring the Future? Politics and Time From the 1960s to the 1980s: Introduction", *Journal of Modern European History* 13, no. 2 (2015): 315.

18 Sven-Eric Liedman, "Humanistiska forskningstraditioner i Sverige", *Häften för kritiska studier* 10, no. 6 (1977): 36–56; Tomas Forser, "Svensk humaniora", *Häften för kritiska studier* 10, no. 6 (1977): 57. Liedman published another text in *Nordisk forum*, which can also be seen as a draft for his extended essay one year later. See Sven-Eric Liedman, "Humanister och ideologier", *Nordisk Forum* 12, no. 1 (1977): 21–25.

19 Cf. Carl-Göran Heidegren, *Positivismstrider* (Gothenburg: Daidalos, 2016).

20 Sven-Eric Liedman, "Marxism och vetenskapsteori", in *Positivism, marxism, kritisk teori: Riktningar inom modern vetenskapsfilosofi*, eds. Kurt Aspelin and Tomas Gerholm (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1972), 93.

21 Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interest* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007 [1972]).

22 Sven-Eric Liedman, *Motsatsernas spel: Friedrich Engels filosofi och 1800-talets vetenskaper*, vol. 1 (Lund: Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, 1977), 6; Sven-Eric Liedman, *Motsatsernas spel: Friedrich Engels filosofi och 1800-talets vetenskaper*, vol. 2 (Lund: Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, 1977), 195; Sven-Eric Liedman, *Den vetenskapliga specialiseringen: Begrepp, aktuella problem och tillämpningar* (Gothenburg: Avdelningen för vetenskapsteori, Göteborgs universitet, 1977), 7, 25, 34–36.

23 Kjerstin Norén, ed., *Människans samhälleliga vara: Marxistisk forskningsteori i humanistisk forskning* (Staffanstorp: Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, 1973). See also Ragnvald Kalleberg, "En introduktion till Frankfurtskolans vetenskapsteori", in *Riktningar inom modern vetenskapsfilosofi*, eds. Kurt Aspelin and Tomas Gerholm, trans. Ann Lilljeqvist (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1972), 113–139; Kurt Aspelin and Tomas Gerholm, eds., *Vetenskap som kritik. En introduktion till Frankfurtskolans aktuella positioner* (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1974), 8.

24 Bengt Brodow et al., "Förord", in *Svenskämnets kris*, eds. Bengt Brodow et al. (Lund: LiberLäromedel, 1976), 8; Sven Nilsson and Jan Thavenius, "Svenskämnets kris – från borgerlig bildning till abstrakt färdighetsträning", in *Svenskämnets kris*, eds. Bengt Brodow et al. (Lund: LiberLäromedel, 1976), 11–12, 17, 22–28; Jan Thavenius, "Anteckningar om ett krisarbete", *Nordisk Forum* 12, no. 1 (1977): 10–20. See also Peter Madsen, "Krise i humaniora", in *Humaniora – pensioneret af kapitalen?* ed. Henning Salling Olesen (Copenhagen: Danske Studerendes Fællesråd, 1972), 16–20; *Danskstudiet i samfundet: En debatbog om humanioras krise* (Copenhagen: Dansk fagråd, 1973).

25 Jan Thavenius, *Modersmål och fadersarv: Svenskämnets traditioner i historien och nuet* (Stockholm: Symposion Bokförlag, 1981), 245.
26 Brodow et al., "Förord", 9; "Bör fortsättas!" in *Svenskämnets kris*, eds. Bengt Brodow et al. (Lund: LiberLäromedel, 1976), 164; cf. Tomas Forser, "Att återerövra den stora visionen: Marxister, institutioner, humanism", *Ord&Bild* 89, no. 5 (1980): 40, 42.
27 The book was also published in PAN, a paperback series launched in 1967 by Norstedts (today the oldest publishing house in Sweden). See Gunnel Furuland, "Billigbokens förändringar 1940–2017 från folkböcker till pocketserier: Definitioner, förlagskulturer och spridningsvägar", in *Böckernas tid: Svenska förläggareföreningen och svensk bokmarknad sedan 1943*, ed. Johan Svedjedal (Stockholm: Svenska förläggareföreningen, 2018), 308–309.
28 Ben Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution: Mass-Circulation Books and the Cultural Origins of 1968 in Western Europe", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72, no. 4 (2011): 613–636, doi:10.1353/jhi.2011.0032; Ragni Svensson, "Bo Cavefors BOC-serie, den nya vänstern och pocketrevolutionen", *Biblis* 68 (2014): 36–49; Ragni Svensson, *Cavefors: Förlagsprofil och mediala mytbilder i det svenska litteratursamhället 1959–1982* (Lund: Ellerströms, 2018), 104; Kjell Östberg, *1968 när allting var i rörelse: Sextiotalsradikaliseringen och de sociala rörelserna* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002), 80–85. See also Peter Mandler, "Good Reading for the Million: The 'Paperback Revolution' and the Co-Production of Academic Knowledge in Mid Twentieth-Century Britain and America", *Past & Present* 244, no. 1 (2019): 235–269, https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz005.
29 Ann Steiner, *I litteraturens mittfåra: Månadens bok och svensk bokmarknad under 1970-talet* (Gothenburg: Makadam, 2006), 44–45.
30 The influence of the book might have been regionally divided between Gothenburg and Stockholm/Uppsala.
31 Lars Lönnroth, "Men vi har fortfarande långt kvar till målet", *Expressen*, 31 May 1985, 5.
32 The importance of cover art for the paperback revolution has been highlighted by Mercer, "The Paperback Revolution", 615.
33 "Akademisk upprustningsoffensiv", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 10 July 1955, 4.
34 Liedman, "Humanister och ideologier", 21; Sven-Eric Liedman, *Blickar tillbaka* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers, 2008), 195–196.
35 Project proposal by Kurt Aspelin, Sven-Eric Liedman, and Jan Ling, 1973, Statens humanistiska forskningsråds arkiv, E I A:53, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.
36 Alexander Ekelund, *Kampen om vetenskapen: Politisk och vetenskaplig formering under den svenska vänsterradikaliseringens era* (Gothenburg: Daidalos, 2017), 364; Liedman, *Surdeg*, 46–48; Liedman, *Blickar tillbaka*, 198–215.
37 Sven-Eric Liedman, "Den historisk-kritiska skolan i idéhistorisk belysning", *Scandia* 41, no. 2 (1975): 251.
38 Jan Ling was also preparing a study on musicology but was not able to finish in time.
39 See Poul F. Kjaer and Niklas Olsen, "Introduction: European Crises of Public Power from Weimar until Today", in *Critical Theories of Crisis in Europe: From Weimar to the Euro*, eds. Poul F. Kjaer and Niklas Olsen (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016), xi.
40 Liedman, "Humanistiska forskningstraditioner" (1978): 9, 11, 34–42, 54, 60–62, 73–78.
41 See, for instance, Ingela Josefson, "Traditionen svensk nordistik", in *Humaniora på undantag? Humanistiska forskningstraditioner i Sverige*, ed. Tomas Forser (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1978), 124; Tomas Forser, "*En* helig och allmännelig kyrka", in *Humaniora på undantag? Humanistiska forskningstraditioner i Sverige*, ed. Tomas Forser (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1978), 154–156.
42 Forser, "Svensk humaniora", 57.
43 Cf. Sten Dahlstedt, "Kulturell kritik och komplexitet: Adornoreceptionen i Sverige", *Lychnos* (2008): 114.
44 Liedman, "Humanistiska forskningstraditioner" (1978): 78.
45 JFM [John F. Monhardt], "Behövs humaniora?" *Lundagård* 16 (1980): 3.
46 Fehrman, "Humanismens kris"; Arne Melberg, "De ämnen som vårdar 'icke säljbara' värden", *Dagens Nyheter*, 31 July 1978, 4.

47 Erik Lönnroth, "Att slåss på motståndarens mark", *Ord&Bild* 82, no. 5 (1973): 300–301. However, Lönnroth criticised the printed text in this magazine for not reflecting the complexity of the real discussion. See Erik Lönnroth, "Utredningens mottagande", *Humanistisk forskning* 2 (1973): 2.

48 See Erik Lönnroth, "Humaniora i framtiden – vetenskap eller dogmatik?" *Årsbok. Kungl. Vetenskaps- och vitterhets-samhället i Göteborg* (1979): 83–94. According to one article, Lönnroth was "close to burst his sky-blue order ribbon in pure anger". See Lennart Bromander, "Den uppkäftige professorn", *Aftonbladet*, 5 May 1980, 4. Erik Lönnroth's son, literary historian Lars Lönnroth, then holding a position at Aalborg University, Denmark, described his father's reaction as "furious". Lars Lönnroth agreed with Liedman that the Scandinavian humanities needed a theoretical renaissance but did not consider Marxism the only viable alternative. See Lars Lönnroth, *Dörrar till främmande rum: Minnesfragment* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009), 299–302.

49 Rolf Anderberg, "Nedgjord professor", *Göteborgs-Posten*, 8 June 1979, 2.

50 Erik Lönnroth, "Marxism och historieforskning", *Artes* 5, no. 3 (1979): 115–119, 124. Lönnroth received a reply in *Artes* from Liedman's fellow project leader, Jan Ling, who indicated that it was time for Lönnroth to step down from his research political commitments. See Jan Ling, "Kommentar till Erik Lönnroth", *Artes* 5, no. 5 (1979): 116–118.

51 Ingemar Norrlid, "Utveckling eller utarmning: Den historiska forskningen i Sverige vid skiljevägen", *Scandia* 44 (1978): 5–12, 18.

52 Forser, "*En* helig och allmännelig kyrka", 155, 157. See also Tomas Forser, "Till frågan om den goda metodiska trätan", *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 5, no. 1 (1976): 5, 27, 29. Kuhn served as inspiration to other similar book projects in this era of political radicalisation, such as Ronny Ambjörnsson, Aant Elzinga, and Anna Törngren's seminal paperback *Tradition och revolution: Huvuddrag i det europeiska tänkandet* (Staffanstorp: Cavefors, 1968).

53 Lönnroth, "Marxism och historieforskning", 119–120, 125.

54 Erik Lönnroth, "Prioriteringsfrågor: Synpunkter från arbetet inom ett forskningsråd", *Historisk tidskrift* 89, no. 4 (1969): 413–423.

55 Fehrman, "Humanismens kris".

56 Sven Willner, "Humaniora på undantag", *Nya Argus* 72, no. 7 (1979): 105. Liedman's essay was indeed important for this wider debate, also in Finland and Iceland. See Liedman, *Surdeg*, 58; Larsen, *"ikke af brød alene . . ."*, 136.

57 Sven-Eric Liedman, "Humanistiske forskningstraditioner: Kritiske og historiske perspektiver", trans. Anne Marie Bjerg, *Kritik* 46, no. 2 (1978): 25–71. See also Aage Henriksen, "Humaniora i støbeskeen: Om de humane fags fortid, nutid of mulige fremtid", *Kritik* 46, no. 2 (1978): 7–24, as it represented another attempt to write a history of the humanities and claimed that Liedman's essay was relevant for the humanities in the entire West.

58 Tore Frängsmyr, "Inledning", in *Humanioras egenart: En rapport*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983), 9.

59 The editorial stated that the crisis of the humanities was "extremely" deep in Sweden. See "Ledare", *Nordisk Forum* 12, no. 1 (1977): 5.

60 Veikko Anttila, "De humanisiska vetenskaperna och samhället", in *Humanioras egenart: En rapport*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983), 95. On the book cover, however, it was simultaneously stated that the humanities faced a crisis all across the West, indicating how readily the idea of a crisis expanded from the national context. This can be compared to present discussions. See, for instance, Robert A. Schneider, "The Humanities in Historical and Global Perspectives: Introduction", *American Historical Review* 120, no. 4 (2015): 1247–1252, https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/120.4.1247; Dennis A. Ahlburg, ed., *The Changing Face of Higher Education: Is There an International Crisis in the Humanities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

61 Sven-Eric Liedman, "Förord till den svenska upplagan", in *Till glädjen: En stridsskrift om humanism och humaniora*, eds. Thomas Bredsdorff, Mihail Larsen, and Ole Thyssen, trans. Maj Frisch and Sven Vahlne (Stockholm: Gidlunds, 1981), 5–6.

62 Thomas Bredsdorff, Mihail Larsen, and Ole Thyssen, *Til glæden: Om humanisme og humaniora* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1980 [1979]), 26.
63 For another example of a Nordic reflection on "Marxist humanism", see Georg Henrik von Wright, *Humanismen som livshållning och andra essayer* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1978), 157–184.
64 Bredsdorff, Larsen, and Thyssen, *Til glæden*, 9–14, 21–25, 52–53, 58, 88, 128–130, 155.
65 Ibid., 27–29.
66 Frängsmyr, "Inledning", 7–8.
67 Tore Frängsmyr, "Humaniora, bildning och allmänbildning", in *Humanioras egenart: En rapport*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983), 67.
68 Tore Frängsmyr, "Nyttig forskning eller ren hobby?" *Tvärsnitt* 1 (1980): 1.
69 See, for instance, Sven-Eric Liedman, "Humaniora – det ständiga undantaget: Några minnesanteckningar", in *Kritikens dimensioner: Festskrift till Tomas Forser*, eds. Åsa Arping and Mats Jansson (Stehag, Stockholm: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2008), 372–387, but also the intertextual volume Tomas Forser and Thomas Karlsohn, eds., *Till vilken nytta? En bok om humanioras möjligheter* (Gothenburg: Daidalos, 2013).
70 Tomas Forser, "Forskningen behöver Liedman", *Göteborgs-Posten*, 14 June 1979, 2.
71 Lönnroth, "Utredningens mottagande", 3.

12 Revolting against the established book market

Book cafes as key actors within the counterpublic of the Scandinavian New Left

Ragni Svensson

The complex relationship between the New Left student movement and the media has been highlighted and thoroughly analysed by several researchers of contemporary history. As shown in studies of the movement in Western Europe and the United States, its activists found themselves in a particularly intricate and symbiotic relationship with contemporary mass media, which were both appealed and appalled by its theatrical and photogenic elements.[1] Media historian Kathrin Fahlenbrach argues that the political activism of the New Left brought along a new conception of the public. She suggests that the "counterpublic" constituted by this movement was characterised by a novel kind of interactivity, where co-determination represented an important building stone. Through the organisation of mass demonstrations, "sit-ins", or other visual performances attracting television and newspaper photographers, the movement was sometimes even capable of using traditional media as its messenger.[2]

In the Swedish television broadcast *Direkt* from November 1972, a reporter paid a visit to the Book Cafe in Lund, a bookshop in a university town in the south of Sweden. As the television camera zoomed in on long-haired youths in leather coats, intensely studying the political theory section of numerous bookshelves and surrounded by dim cigarette smoke and quiet protest songs, a narrator told the story of the venue. It was described as a successful example of the new, specialised bookshop that arose as a consequence of the deregulations of the Swedish book market in 1970, as well as an important meeting place for the political orientation, media consumption, and knowledge acquisition of Lund's younger inhabitants.[3]

The Book Cafe in Lund was part of a larger phenomenon of left-wing bookshops and book cafes emerging in Western Europe during the late 1960s and early 1970s.[4] As a result of conditions that were both political and cultural, and dependent on processes in the national book markets, these venues were soon to achieve a foothold as information centres within the Scandinavian New Left movement.

In 1968, Scandinavia's first book cafe, Gamma in Stockholm, was launched by people on the editorial board of the New Left journal *Zenit*, in collaboration with members of the organisation Young Philosophers. The venues combined

the manufacture and sale of different kinds of leftist media with a wide range of social activities. Books in multiple languages from publishers such as Modtryk in Copenhagen, Cavefors in Lund, Éditions Maspero in Paris, and Suhrkamp in Frankfurt coexisted with journals such as *New Left Review* and records from new "progressive" labels producing protest music. In the adjoining cafeterias, people were meant to come together, converse, contemplate, or read when the space was not used for poetry readings or study circles on different topics.

There were different kinds of book cafes. Some of them, often tiny cellar bookshops with limited opening hours, were directly associated with one of the party factions of the shattered left-wing movement, while others were independent of both political organisations and public or private funding.[5] This chapter focuses on the latter group of independent Scandinavian socialist book cafes through an analysis of three different venues: two Swedish and one Danish. The book cafes in Lund, Stockholm, and Aarhus were all important actors within a Scandinavian network of socialist book cafes, each in its own way. Even though they differed in size, ambition, and outreach, the three cafes had much in common, not least in their view of knowledge dissemination.

The Book Cafe in Lund, the largest and best-known of the three, was established in 1970, with the aforementioned Gamma in Stockholm serving as a model. Gamma was only active for a few years but was replaced by the much larger book cafe Morianen ("Blackamoor") in 1973. Morianen, which had an orientation similar to that of its predecessors, was located on Drottninggatan, a street in central Stockholm. My Danish example, Aarhus Book Café, was launched in 1972 and was inspired by the Book Cafe in Lund and similar cafes in Copenhagen.

In this chapter, I analyse the book cafes as constituting parts of a counterpublic, in which a circulation of public knowledge, formulated and mediated within the New Left, was adapted within a Scandinavian context. How, and by which means, was this circulation constituted? Which kind of knowledge was favoured here, and how was it formulated and advocated?

I look upon the book cafes as key actors within this circulation and argue that they formed important links in several networks made up of similar actors, producers, as well as distributors of print and other media. Serving as mediators, marketers, and manufacturers of different kinds of media material, while simultaneously presenting a scene for meetings and other outward-facing activities, I consider them pivotal to the knowledge cycle of the historical context known as the New Left. The New Left can be defined as a loosely connected, extra-parliamentary mass movement descended from academic social sciences and humanities and gradually attaining an ever-greater public impact.[6] It is my belief that an in-depth study of these enterprises can help us reach a better understanding of the ways in which a certain kind of *public knowledge* has been transferred, communicated, and applied historically within alternative political movements, as well as with regard to society.

The study constituting this chapter is based on empirical materials of varying character, which have been collected from a number of locations. Archival

material, such as bulletins, mimeographed leaflets, and protocols from the three book cafes, has been collected from archives and university libraries in Sweden and Denmark, as well as from former activists at the book cafes. In addition, I have carried out interviews with some of these activists. In order to trace their impact on a larger, societal level, I have also analysed material from traditional media, such as television broadcasts and newspaper articles and reports concerning the book cafes, such as the one mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

Public knowledge, counterpublics, and knowledge actors

Knowledge historian Philipp Sarasin has defined his subject matter as "the order of the more or less *rational knowledge*".[7] This clearly captures the form of knowledge that is at the heart of this study. My main interest is in what Simone Lässig refers to as "the transfer and application of knowledge produced in academia".[8] Such studies have mainly been carried out by historians of science and technology, but, just like Lässig, I argue for a similar approach in studies on the production and transfer of knowledge originating from social sciences and humanities, as was the case with regard to the Scandinavian book cafes presented here.[9] The core ideas of the New Left originated in Western academia and were treated as actual facts by some of their advocates; however, they represented a kind of knowledge that was both normative and dependent on context.

The concept of "societal knowledge circulation" has been singled out as a means for focusing on the ways in which knowledge is created, transformed, and reshaped in an ongoing exchange between agents and institutions at different levels of society.[10] In this process, knowledge becomes a kind of "public property" instead of the exclusive possession of a certain individual or group.[11]

Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad identify the book market as a system that, due to its intrinsic structure and general reach, has a certain relevance to the study of societal knowledge circulation.[12] They also emphasise how the notion of circulation as an essential part of knowledge production indicates a new interest in the invisible actors who together serve as a kind of engine in these processes.[13]

In an influential article from 1990, Nancy Fraser re-considers Jürgen Habermas's famous conception of the public sphere and shows how a plethora of counterpublics has always existed in conflict with the hegemonic public sphere. These counterpublics have worked as discursive arenas that "contested the exclusionary norms of the bourgeois public, elaborating alternative styles of political behaviour and alternative norms of public speech".[14] There is an obvious link to the circulation of public knowledge monitored by the book cafes, as well as within the New Left movement on the whole. A key aspect of this circulation was the conviction that one stood for, and *realised*, a set of alternative ways of thinking and doing politics, which was directed both inwards and outwards. It was partly intended for a smaller group of already committed people and partly aiming to influence society at large.

One of the most palpable ways of implementing the ideas of the New Left counterpublic was through the production and dissemination of different kinds of printed matter. In his study on American underground newspapers in the late 1960s, John McMillian emphasises how such newspapers played a vital role in the cultivation of a novel "movement culture" and a sense of commitment amongst the New Left in the United States. Instead of focusing on the influential and thoroughly studied American student organisations, such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), McMillian shows that grassroots media producers and distributers, even those working on a very small scale, had a great impact on the direction of the development of this movement.[15] I adopt a perspective similar to that of McMillian, as I look upon the activists behind the book cafes as important knowledge actors in the context of public knowledge circulation within the counterpublic of the Scandinavian New Left.

The emergence of an alternative book and media market

> It was really a political necessity to start the book cafe. A collective force was needed for the various political movements that Aarhus, Denmark – and Sweden! – was full of. This is hard to grasp today, but back then there were political movements almost everywhere.
>
> They needed a place to reach out with their information material and others had a need to find it. And then the new alternative publishers emerged, and they also needed a channel for [their printed matter]. This is where the necessity arose, in the overall context we used to call *counterculture*.[16]

In an interview with two former activists at Aarhus Book Cafe, one of them expressed that the venue, as was also the case with corresponding activities in both Denmark and Sweden, was initiated as a reaction to an emerging need within the New Left movement in his hometown. As he described it, the various activist groups that made up the Danish New Left, as well as leftist publishers and presses, that saw the light of day at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s needed platforms that enabled them to reach out with information about their activities. Additionally, they needed meeting places and a distributor that could provide them with the corresponding kind of knowledge. Aarhus Book Cafe would be that knowledge base, or communications centre, for the phenomenon he described as the counterculture of the time.

One of the founders of the Book Cafe in Lund explained that the idea behind the project came from a deeply felt need to be able to read current political, philosophical, and literary theory with a Marxist touch, as well as a reaction against the unwillingness of the traditional bookshops to market these texts.[17]

Literature researcher Henning Olsen paints the breeding ground of the Danish book cafe movement in a similar vein in his 1980 study on the book market of the Danish New Left. Here, Olsen describes the emergence of small leftist presses and publishers as a result of this development, such as Demos or

Modtryk, in which young activists looked upon established publishers as part of a hegemonic public or "establishment" against which they wanted to revolt.[18]

One attribute that united a large part of the New Left was a suspiciousness of the view of reality prevalent in the mass media, in the big large newspapers, TV, and radio. With inspiration from thinkers such as Herbert Marcuse and Antonio Gramsci, they talked about being estranged from and passivised by the political system. The activists sought to form new, alternative ways of communication to channel the kind of political knowledge upon which the movement was based. Central to this knowledge were the concepts of "antiauthoritarianism" and "participatory democracy".[19] In line with contemporary slogans such as "the personal is political" followed a belief that one's political conviction should permeate every area of life and was not to be surrendered to established political authorities.[20] The solution was formulated as a kind of participatory democracy, the conviction that one's everyday actions would eventually lead to liberation. Instead of waiting for the slow political mills to grind, a "can-do" attitude took root. This novel political culture included patterns of action and organisation.[21] However, a crucial aspect for the book cafe activists was their ambition to break through the boundaries of their own subculture and to introduce their ideas and knowledge to the surrounding society. As such, they acted as true representatives of a counterpublic, as Fraser imagines them: "In my view, the concept of a counterpublic militates in the long run against separatism because it assumes an orientation that is publicist." The whole point of the book cafes was to "disseminate one's discourse into ever widening arenas", as Fraser puts it.[22]

Revolting against the established book market

In the television broadcast referred to at the beginning of this chapter, the Book Cafe in Lund was presented as an example of how the conditions for bookselling had changed due to the deregulation of the Swedish book market in 1970. In short, this deregulation implied that the so-called commission system prevailing for more than 130 years would be replaced by a system of free competition. This was a remarkable change for a national book market up until that point characterised by tradition and conservatism.[23]

Before 1970, the Swedish publishers' association had the privilege to control which bookshops should be established, as well as guaranteeing these establishments the exclusive right to sell books above a certain price limit. Due to the deregulation, the fixed book prices constituting the basis of the old system were revoked. From now on, anyone had the right to sell books and the retailers, not the producers, set the prices. Thus, it became possible to start bookshops specialising in individual genres, as well as for retailers to choose freely from the book lists of all Swedish publishers.[24]

In Denmark, the situation was different. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Danish book market was still strictly regulated. Bookshops privileged by the publishers' association gained a special position with respect to selling books

from publishers that were under the rules set by the association, the so-called "bookshop monopoly".[25] Consequently, the Danish regulatory framework had the effect that bookshops could not sell books at discounted prices unless this had been sanctioned from above. When the first Danish book cafes were established in the early 1970s, this meant that the rules for book sales in Denmark were challenged in an obvious way.[26]

The first Danish book cafe of significance started in 1970 as part of a government-funded project, The House, in central Copenhagen. The House was an all-activity house in which the bookshop was a part. The book cafe of The House would be an important source of inspiration for the founders of Aarhus Book Cafe, which was established in 1971 by activists united in the fight against Danish housing policy.[27] Another important role model was the Book Cafe in Lund but also German and French predecessors.[28] The enterprise was initially not categorised as bookseller but as a "kiosk". This meant that it was limited to selling imported books, media material from alternative publishers, and books from established publishers that cost less than a set limit of 17.25 kroner (which in practice meant paperback books). There were some benefits associated with being a shop that was not affiliated with the established system. For example, Aarhus Book Cafe could sell imported books at a lower price than a traditional bookshop, as it had not signed the publisher's agreement.[29]

Almost none of the Danish Book cafes were categorised as bookshops by the publishers' association.[30] These circumstances had an effect not only on the prices of books but also on the genres available for sale. Due to a rule that allowed stores other than bookshops to sell books on closely related themes (e.g., books about dogs could be sold in pet shops), book cafes could subsequently negotiate better terms for books on economical and political topics. However, there was no exemption for the sale of fiction.[31]

Political knowledge within the New Left in Sweden and Denmark

> The Book Cafe in Stockholm was established in 1973.
>
> We sell books, magazines, posters, postcards and gramophone records.
>
> We also work with study groups, debate evenings and lectures.
>
> The main purpose is to promote the *knowledge* [emphasis added] of the crisis of capitalism and the situation of the working class.[32]

Thus, the point of departure and direction for Book Cafe Morianen in Stockholm was formulated in a policy statement from May 1975. This statement is particularly interesting in this context, as it provides an illustrative example of the perception of knowledge within the enterprise in question. Knowledge dissemination is mentioned as the main purpose and focus of the book cafe, while no concrete description is given, except for a few standard phrases, as to what this knowledge is supposed to consist of.

On the other hand, *how* the knowledge dissemination was to be initiated was described in more detail, namely by media distribution, activism, and education. By means of activities such as study groups, debate evenings, and lectures, the theoretical knowledge expressed in books and bulletins should be put into practice and thus become part of the participatory democracy at the basis of the entire knowledge concept of the New Left. In the continued description of the enterprise, the political objective of the book cafe is formulated by listing different activities that had been initiated in order to facilitate the promotion of such knowledge. Here, for instance, it was described how the books for sale in the book cafe were selected and how the selection was reviewed at recurring book meetings, open for all "active within the book cafe and interested partners".[33] Genres for sale were "political theory and economy, countries and peoples, science and environment, progressive literature – modern and classic – within psychology, psychiatry, philosophy, pedagogy, prose and poetry".[34]

The knowledge view permeating this and other policy statements from Morianen all have the same focus on openness. The ambition was to enable the circulation of a kind of knowledge that had previously been hard to find.[35] As mentioned earlier, the three book cafes were all independent from political parties. In the archival material, this is repeatedly emphasised, as is their wish to be open to the surrounding environment rather than being closed and introverted. Knowledge was viewed as something created jointly, rather than theories to be studied in the same programmatic way by everyone. A playful example of this view of knowledge was expressed in the following reading instruction to the texts of Marx and Engels, published in one of the store catalogues of the Book Cafe in Lund:

> There can be no talk of any detailed instructions, as long as you don't know the reader. Is he/she a communist seeking guidance in the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat? [. . .] Is he/she a student sitting up at night, drinking French-roasted coffee, smoking Commerce and chasing a fitting view on life? Or perhaps an economics professor with a scholarship from SAF [the Swedish employers' association] and paid leave to disprove the lesson of class struggle? Of course, this is a question of widely different readings.[36]

How the book cafes were organised

Aarhus Book Cafe would become Denmark's oldest book cafe, substantially more long-lived than the other two cafes discussed here. During its first years, it was housed in a basement on Sjællandsgade, a side street between the university area and the city centre.

In a newspaper article from 1972, Aarhus Book Cafe was described as "neither a real bookshop nor a real cafe".[37] Here, books, pamphlets, records, and posters were on sale, the author explained, but the customers could also have a

cup of coffee or just sit down for a while and read a book or two in case they could not afford to buy them.

The political objectives were noticed not least in the basic rules of conduct formulated by Aarhus Book Cafe in various letters of intent written during its early years. It was here explained that the book cafe was not intended to be profitable and that all work should be performed on a voluntary basis. The power structure was flat and based on the premise that all decisions were taken jointly at weekly meetings, the so-called "general assemblies". In these meetings, everything from issues of order, the selection of literature, and how to deal with publishers to issues of a more ideological nature was discussed. A few guidelines formulated in the early 1970s read as follows:

> The purpose of the enterprise is to run a book cafe that will function as *the* left-wing bookshop in Aarhus, independent of political organisations, where you will always be able to get hold of the books you need in your political work, studies, etc.[38]

It was further announced that it was a self-taught task of the book cafe to offer "theoretical conditions for the struggle for socialism by the working class".[39]

The people behind the book cafe were all linked to Aarhus University in one way or another, as teachers or as current or former students (among the latter, for example, journalists and social workers). The economic investment was made possible through a cooperative where you could buy shares for 10 kroner each.[40]

The book cafes in Lund and Stockholm had a similar organisational structure. They were both organised as limited companies in which people who sympathised with the basic values of the enterprise could buy shares. These "guaranteed dividend-free" shares offered voting rights at annual general meetings.[41] While the majority of the people behind the two Swedish enterprises were politically active students and graduates, this did not apply to the whole staff. Something they all had in common, in addition to some kind of left-wing view, was a willingness to work for a low wage for a goal they believed in.[42]

In terms of the view on paid work, there were differences between the enterprises. While Aarhus Book Cafe was totally dependent on unsalaried workers, Morianen in Stockholm had the ambition to pay a low salary to its employees, regardless of position.[43] The Book Cafe in Lund only had a small core of paid employees. The enterprise partly depended on a large network of volunteers who could be called in when needed. All three book cafes made an effort to maintain a flat organisational structure. A large part of the activities was performed in various working groups responsible for things such as ordering books, the cafeteria, or new recruitments. The striving for a kind of solidarity in practice is clearly noticeable in the printed material forming the main empirical foundation of this chapter.

Alternative media production

> Magazines and bulletins are the necessary complements to established mass media, which often lack information and depth in the political, economic and social fields. We also offer a large number of Swedish and foreign journals.[44]

In an unprinted newsletter from Book Cafe Morianen, arguments were made for magazines and bulletins as a necessary complement to the "established mass media", which were considered insufficient in terms of providing current knowledge on relevant social issues.

At a time when traditional media as a knowledge channel are increasingly questioned by people at the very core of the international political establishment, and when this establishment is increasingly found on the political right, it is interesting to note how their line of argument is formulated almost verbatim as the New Left activists did in the 1970s.[45]

In Philipp Felsch's *Der lange Sommer der Theorie. Geschichte einer Revolte 1960–1990*, a study that can be described as a book history of political theory as a genre, the author shows how this genre could gain a key position in the political revolt and youth culture of the 1960s. Felsch argues that the popular paperback format in itself was an important factor in the distribution and circulation of texts that formed the canon of this movement, such as the works by Herbert Marcuse and the Frankfurt School.[46]

Henning Olsen, who carried out a comprehensive survey of Denmark's left-wing publishers and book cafes during the 1970s, states that these actors saw the production of non-fiction as an end in itself, as well as a kind of practical political work. This is a perception of knowledge that also fits in well with the idea behind the book cafes.[47] Olsen points out how not only the media producers and distributors were new but also that the media formats gained a new shape or even exchanged expressions in better harmony with contemporary ideals of self-determination and non-professionalism. Typewritten and mimeographed bulletins and pamphlets were only two of the new media formats that became essential in the knowledge circulation of the New Left movement. These techniques could also be used for book production by some small alternative publishers, although the use of professional printers was the most common.[48] As Olsen writes, the price question was a decisive factor for the choice of this form of production, although necessity was commonly seen as a virtue and cheap production was promoted as a political standpoint.[49] Old but easy-to-use techniques such as silkscreen printing became popular for illustrations and cover art of pamphlets and records. Even the aesthetics were influenced by this approach, inspired by, for example, underground comics and poster art from the Russian Revolution.[50]

Of the three examples studied here, the Book Cafe in Lund was the most ambitious enterprise from this point of view. Far from being just a distributor, it had its own production of printed matter of both simple and more

expensive kinds. The book cafe's warehouse catalogues listed all the books and printed matter marketed. These catalogues were published on three occasions: 1973/1974, 1977/78, and 1982/1983. In addition to lists of books, they also included subject-based reviews written by people in the circle around the cafe. The purpose of these catalogues was to serve as bibliographic manuals but also to "be used for literature selection for courses for schools and universities, for study circles and providing impulses and ideas for your own reading".[51]

A large part of the Book Cafe in Lund's sales consisted of mail order. On the basis of this activity, a monthly magazine, called *Bokcaféts Månadsbulletin* [The Book Cafe's Monthly Bulletin], was produced between 1974 and 1982. Here, new books were listed according to categories such as "Marx/Engels", "Sociology", "Women's Liberation", and "Africa". In addition, new literature was reviewed and discussed on topics such as "The United States of America", "The Danish Student Movement", and "Children's Books".[52] The writers included well-known profiles from Lund's academic left, such as Svante Nordin and Göran Therborn, as well as unskilled activists for whom *The Monthly Bulletin* served as a nursery.[53] To a contemporary reader, the articles in the *The Monthly Bulletin* come across as noticeably undogmatic. The tone is considerably different from that of the categorical and literary internal debate that was conducted in, for example, the newspapers of Swedish Maoist groups in the 1970s. The editorial material of these magazines offers the reader a rather profound insight into the political and literary debate within a circle of leftist Swedish students, academics, and other interested parties during a politically dynamic decade. It also provides an insight into which political theories, societal, literary, and philosophical questions – which kind of knowledge – were considered relevant in a wider intellectual arena during the same time period.[54]

The bookshop as social space and knowledge arena

In a brochure printed in connection with the opening of Book Cafe Morianen in 1973, the cafe was presented as "more than a bookshop and a coffee shop".[55] Those who could not afford to buy a book could borrow a reading copy, and the staff planned for both a children's playroom and study circles for knowledge-impaired adults. The objective was to support people's knowledge acquisition, based on a pronounced socialist approach.

For the book cafes in Stockholm and Lund, the cafe part of the enterprise was indispensable. It was considered the basis for activities that would "provide an opportunity for overview and analysis,"[56] as formulated in a statement from Morianen. According to the original plan, the cafeteria would provide a "meeting place and discussion site".[57]

The Book Cafe in Lund described its cafe activities as part of the effort to "try to create and form a spiritual/physical communication centre for the progressive and socialist movement in Lund with surroundings" by providing "a place for intense discussions and [. . .] magazine reading".[58] The objective of both activities is obvious; they aimed to present an arena for articulating,

circulating, and exercising knowledge and thus direct it "toward wider audiences" (i.e., to make it a public commodity).[59]

In this eagerness to form a space for knowledge exchange, the socialist book cafes were linked to a long historical tradition. As shown in an article by media historian Johan Jarlbrink on the 19th-century cafe Blanche in Stockholm, a meeting place for unmarried men from the bourgeoisie, the cafe environment as such organised the guests' media consumption through its architecture, furnishing, and lighting.[60] Here, they could enjoy a good meal, hang out, and read newspapers, while having the opportunity to take part in the more or less public conversation. By simultaneously serving as social venues and media distribution centres, cafes such as Blanche served as breeding grounds for new political, social, and cultural ideas – in other words, as a kind of knowledge arenas. It is interesting to note that the book cafes in Lund and Stockholm played a similar role in their respective contexts.

The case of Aarhus Book Cafe, however, looked somewhat different. In the preserved archival material, there was a recurring discussion on how to understand the "cafe" part of the concept of book cafe. In an internal letter, the signature "Asger" feared the bad quality of the coffee-related activities:

> No, the current status of the cafe in BC [Book Cafe] has to be expanded, today it is only represented by breadsticks (something that only reminds me of the bizarre bachelor furniture or typical kitchen situations from collectives) and a coffee machine in a corner, which, moreover, needs to be descaled, as well as plastic cups, some of the worst capitalist synthetic piss there is.[61]

More than forty years later, two of the activists behind Aarhus Book Cafe argue that the enterprise was, in essence, a bookshop, with the addition that there was a coffee machine in one corner:

> *Book cafe*, the term, you can't really understand it today. It was the same as in Germany and Sweden. There was Lund's book cafe and so on. The name indicated a left-wing book brokerage policy. So, there is not much in the "cafe" part of the name.[62]

The quote states that "cafe" as part of the name of this enterprise, first and foremost, signalled a certain political orientation, as well as participating in the long tradition of cafes as places of knowledge circulation, which is also discussed in Jarlbrink's article.

There is remarkably little research published on the historical role of bookshops as such spaces at the intersection of culture and commerce. One exception is the anthology *The Rise of the Modernist Bookshop*, published in 2015 and edited by Huw Osborne.[63] Here, several authors discuss the bookshop as a social space and co-creator of literary culture. Osborne describes small and independent bookshops as focal points where aesthetic and cultural ideals merged with social and political aspirations, while at the same time dependent

on an economic reality. Many bookshops of this kind – The Sunwise Turn in Manhattan and The Progressive Bookshop in London are two examples discussed in the book – seem to have existed in a constant state of denial regarding economic constraints.[64] Osborne's anthology shows how the view of literature and the human encounter that counteracts society's commercialisation has been a common driving force of independent bookshops throughout history. What may seem like a paradoxical meeting between business and anti-commercialism could, in fact, become a momentum for these bookshops. The book cafes discussed in this chapter represent three more recent examples of the same phenomenon.

Political knowledge circulation

The mail order service Bokbäraren (the Book Carrier) was an alternative book distribution agency launched in 1976 by people behind the Book Cafe in Lund. It was a cheeky initiative based on a deep frustration with the giant Swedish distribution company Seelig & Co, which enjoyed a national monopoly seen by the Book Cafe activists as "a threat against the freedom of the press".[65] Seelig's distribution network was not used by all Swedish booksellers (for instance, many left-wing booksellers did not belong), making it hard for publishers that wanted to sell their books there. Bokbäraren was intended to be particularly useful for those publishers, freeing them from the need to sign up for unprofitable distribution.

Bokbäraren may be viewed as a hub within an alternative network of political knowledge, operated not only by and between the three book cafes in question but by a large number of actors and institutions, both producers and retailers. The distribution network soon comprised 500 booksellers across Scandinavia, including almost all left-wing booksellers.[66] This was especially true of Morianen in Stockholm, which frequently used its sister service in order to order books in other languages, not least German.[67]

Archival material from Aarhus Book Cafe shows that they had considerable use for Bokbäraren's mail order, especially in the early years, with regard to literature from countries outside of Scandinavia. Swedish political literature was also bought from Lund to the Danish book cafe. It is also evident that Swedish music records were sought after in both Swedish and Danish book cafes. For example, the record company Music Network Corps, located in Vaxholm outside Stockholm and known for introducing "progressive" rock bands such as Gunder Hägg and Nationalteatern, collaborated with all three book cafes.

In a statement from the Aarhus Book Cafe, the purpose of its activities was formulated as follows:

> Finally, the book cafe is to be seen as part of the construction of an alternative Danish distribution system for political literature. This is achieved through an affordable dissemination of material from alternative Danish and foreign publishers.[68]

They thus intended to be part of an alternative distribution system within the Danish book trade, focusing on political texts. As the quote shows, there was an interest in information from other countries and foreign publishers, while the focus of their own activities was primarily directed inwards, towards Denmark.

Something that clearly distinguishes Danish conditions from those in Sweden was that in 1978, internal relations in Denmark were raised to a higher organised level through the formation of Book Cafes in Denmark (BID). This organisation gathered all types of left-wing booksellers in Denmark, from the very small shops linked to, for instance, the Trotskyist movement to large party-independent enterprises such as the Aarhus Book Cafe. By the end of the 1970s, about sixty Danish book cafes were affiliated with the organisation, which aimed to safeguard its members' interests vis-à-vis the publishers. They published joint product catalogues and also negotiated with the Danish alternative small presses to gain favourable terms for the book cafes in a kind of alternative book trade agreement.[69]

At the same time as the book cafes presented their own enterprise as a response to a demand from a specific customer group, the focus was always on both widening this customer group and reaching out to larger segments of society. Both Morianen in Stockholm and the Book Cafe in Lund were located in the most central parts of the city. In addition to their own outward-facing activities, such as bookselling, study circles, and the production of bulletins and flyers, the book cafes were often discussed in the established Swedish mass media. Reporting on the book cafes was done not only in public service television but also in radio broadcasts and newspapers. When, in the mid-1970s, Morianen was threatened with closure due to the decision by the authorities to demolish the entire city block, this was noted by all the major newspapers.[70]

It is noteworthy that as it progressed in both Sweden and Denmark, the book cafe movement appears to have been simultaneously provincial and international. Their outlook on the outside world was primarily concerned with an interest in contemporary political literature, whether written in any of the Nordic languages, English, German, or French. As far as cross-border cooperation was concerned, both Swedish and Danish activists express that this became less common over time. Activists from the book cafes in Stockholm and Aarhus alike mention the Book Cafe in Lund as a model and inspiration in terms of organisational forms and methods for ordering and purchasing literature.[71]

Within the scope of the book cafes' activities, several practices were undertaken that could be gathered under the term "popular education". This concept calls for various types of volunteer education that are out of state control and traditional academic contexts. Swedish researcher Staffan Larsson has pointed out that venues for popular education, such as study associations, have historically served as "experimental workshops" that introduced new types of knowledge to groups that often lacked a traditional educational background. Thus, these activities played the role of disseminators of knowledge to wider groups of society.[72] It is obvious that the book cafes had a similar function within their specific historical context.

Conclusion: an alternative system of knowledge circulation

The concept of "public knowledge" is crucial for understanding the dissemination of information carried out by the book cafes. The very breeding ground for their activities was a thirst for knowledge and the experience of being excluded from the same by the traditional channels.

"Knowledge is always evolving, changing and 'realizing' through circulation between different societal spheres", Sarasin argues.[73] The three book cafes analysed in this chapter constitute a clear example of how such societal knowledge circulation has historically worked in practice. The book cafes, sometimes in a processed form, distributed a kind of knowledge that previously belonged to the universities in order to make it part of the public domain. At the same time, their activists traded their knowledge in practice through a series of positions regarding distribution methods, division of work, and other knowledge-sharing activities.

With their large network of contacts, the Scandinavian book cafes took on key roles in the distribution of left-wing literature, magazines, flyers, and other printed matter of both an ideological and an academic nature. They served as display windows for a new, alternative market for political literature and other media material, which existed partly outside the established institutions. I argue that the book cafes in Lund, Stockholm, and Aarhus had an important, albeit not previously examined, role in the process of transforming these and other related texts into what James Secord refers to as "a part of the taken for granted understanding of much wider groups of people".[74]

In this, they may be seen as links in a Scandinavian tradition of popular education that looked upon knowledge as a means for the individual to gain access to co-determination and power over one's own role as a citizen.[75] Another way of putting it is that the three book cafes served as nodes in an alternative circulation system of public knowledge. This circulation was crucial for the emerging political mass movement known as the New Left in Denmark and Sweden. As they operated independent of political groups, parties, or institutions, they sought to represent the whole spectrum of knowledge within the New Left, as well as to take an active part in making it part of the public domain.

The critique of an established "system", politically as well as in terms of the media and book market, combined with a confident "can-do attitude" were pivotal for the knowledge constituting the circulation where the book cafes served as arenas for production, dissemination, and consumption.

Through their dialectic role as bases for both inward and outward knowledge activities, the book cafes served as constitutive parts of a wider counterpublic in the sense of how Fraser defines the concept. Scholars researching the print and media cultures of the New Left have emphasised how the activities within the movement constituted a counterpublic characterised by interactivity and co-determination, as well as by the critique of traditional mass media.[76] This attitude enabled things such as mass demonstrations, street theatre, and the

production of protest music and print, but also the emergence of socialist book cafes as nodes of an alternative system of societal knowledge circulation.[77]

Notes

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1 See Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Erling Sivertsen, and Rolf Werenskjold, "Introduction: Media and Protest Movements", in *Media and Revolt: Strategies and Performances From the 1960s to the Present*, eds. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Erling Sivertsen, and Rolf Werenskjold (New York: Berghahn, 2016), 1–2; cf. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, *Protest-Inszenierungen: Visuelle Kommunikation und kollektive Identitäten in Protestbewegungen* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2000); Ingo Cornils, *Writing the Revolution: The Construction of '1968' in Germany* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2016), 151–152.
2 Kathrin Fahlenbrach, "Protestinszenierungen: Die Studentenbewegung im Spannungsfeld von Kultur-Revolution und Medien-Evolution", in *Handbuch 1968 zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Studentbewegung*, eds. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 2007), 14.
3 Cf. Ragni Svensson, "Bokcafét: Politisk och social mötesplats i 1970-talets 'röda Lund'", *Biblis* 72 (2015): 62–69.
4 Uwe Sonnenberg, *Von Marx zum Maulwurf: Linker Buchhandel in Westdeutschland in den 1970er Jahren* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016), 126–130; Lisa Borgemeister, "Politische Buchhandlungen im Kontext mit der 68er Bewegung ind der BRD – Am Beispiel der Marburger Buchhandlung 'Roter Stern'", in *Die Politisierung des Buchmarkts: 1968 als Branchenereignis*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Mainz: Harrassowitz, 2007); Kristin Ross, *May,'68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 83.
5 Lennart Nylund, "Men vad hände med alla vänsterpolitiska boklådor?" *Svensk Bokhandel* 4 (2001): 23–25.
6 Sven-Olof Josefsson, "Året var 1968: Universitetskris och studentrevolt i Stockholm och Lund" (PhD diss., University of Gothenburg, 1996), 11–12.
7 Philipp Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?" *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 36, no. 1 (2011): 166 [author's translation].
8 Simone Lässig, "The History of Knowledge and the Expansion of the Historical Research Agenda", *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 59 (2016): 35.
9 Josefsson, "Året var 1968", 28.
10 Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation – ett kunskapshistoriskt nyckelbegrepp", *Historisk Tidskrift* 137, no. 2 (2017): 279.
11 Andreas W. Daum, "Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections", *Isis* 100 (2009): 321; James Secord, "Knowledge in Transit", *Isis* 95 (2004): 655.
12 Östling and Larsson Heidenblad, "Cirkulation", 284.
13 Ibid., 279.
14 Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text* 25/26 (1990): 61.
15 John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.
16 Arne Hald, Interview by Ragni Svensson, Aarhus, 7 November 2018.
17 Gunnar Olofsson, Interview by Ragni Svensson, Lund, 7 November 2015.
18 Henning Olsen, "Venstrefløjens bogmarked: Forlag og bogcafeer 1968–79" (PhD diss., Aarhus University, 1980), 16–18; cf. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 5.
19 Josefsson, "Året var 1968", 31; Olsen, "Venstrefløjens bogmarked", 18; Fahlenbrach, Sivertsen, and Werenskjold, "Introduction", 1.

20 Cornils, *Writing the Revolution*, 57.
21 Josefsson, "Året var 1968", 15; Olsen, "Venstrefløjens bogmarked", 16; McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 5.
22 Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere", 68.
23 Johan Svedjedal, "Kommissionssystemets epok – svensk bokbransch 1843–1970", in *Bokbranschen i Sverige: Utvecklingen mellan 1973 och 2003: Rapport från Svenska bokhandlareföreningen och Svenska förläggareföreningen* (Stockholm: Svenska bokhandlareföreningen, 2003), 8–9.
24 Ibid., 8–9.
25 Jarl Borgen, *Den faste bogladepris og dens kulturelle betydning* (Copenhagen: Borgens forlag, 1973), 10; *Bøger i Danmark: Bogudvalgets betænkning*, Betænkning nr. 969 (Copenhagen: Ministeriet for kulturelle anliggender, 1983), 91.
26 Olsen, "Venstrefløjens bogmarked", 85.
27 Interview Arne Hald 2018.
28 Søren Kristian Barsøe, Interview by Ragni Svensson, Aarhus, 7 November 2018.
29 Olsen, "Venstrefløjens bogmarked", 88.
30 According to the 1983 Danish governmental book market report, there were 17 left-wing book cafes and bookshops in Denmark in 1972. In 1973, the total figure had increased to about 60 and to 139 in 1978. *Bøger i Danmark*, 132.
31 *Bøger i Danmark*, 132.
32 "Unprinted Statement from Bokcafé Morianen", May 1975, Per Amnestål's Private Archive, Stockholm.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Another example is the following wording in a booklet from Bokcafé Morianen: "Our goal is to create an active bookshop with political literature and fiction that provides knowledge about the ways in which different societies work. We also want to cover the current social and leftist debate and report parts of it through, for example, theme displays and reviews". "Morianen har öppnat", Leaflet, 24 July 1973, Per Amnestål's Private Archive, Stockholm.
36 Elsa Svensson, "Läs Marx och Engels texter!" in *Bokcaféts lagerkatalog 1973/74* (Lund: Lunds Bok & Tidskrifts AB, 1972), 5.
37 "Sælger bøger over en kop kaffe", *Hovedbladet*, 1972.
38 "8 år med Århus Bogcafe", Leaflet, Aarhus Bogcafe's Archive, Aarhus University, Aarhus, 4.
39 Ibid., 4.
40 "De første år 1971–1973", Aarhus Bogcafe's Archive, Aarhus University, Aarhus.
41 *Bokcaféts lagerkatalog 1977/1978* (Lund: Lunds Bok & Tidskrifts AB, 1976), 13.
42 Henrik Sampe, Interview by Ragni Svensson, Stockholm, 28 August 2018; Karin Lentz, Interview by Ragni Svensson, Åkarp, 12 May 2016.
43 Interview Henrik Sampe 2018; Interview Arne Hald 2018.
44 "Unprinted Statement from Bokcafé Morianen".
45 Cf. Johan Östling et al., "The History of Knowledge and the Circulation of Knowledge: An Introduction", in *Circulation of Knowledge: Explorations in the History of Knowledge*, eds. Johan Östling et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018), 10.
46 Philipp Felsch, *Der lange Sommer der Theorie; Geschichte einer Revolte 1960–1990* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2015).
47 Olsen, "Venstrefløjens bogmarked", 52.
48 Ibid., 56–58.
49 Ibid., 61.
50 Leif Nylén, "Inledning", in *Affischerna från den svenska alternativrörelsen 1967–1979*, ed. Håkan Agnesäter (Stockholm: Ordalaget, 2013), 9.
51 *Bokcaféts lagerkatalog 1973/74*, 1.
52 Ibid.
53 Cf. McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters*, 5.

54 Cf. Lässig, "The History of Knowledge", 33.
55 "Bokcafét Information", 1973, Per Amnestål's Private Archive, Stockholm.
56 "Unprinted Statement from Bokcafé Morianen".
57 Ibid.
58 Anonymous preface, *Bokcaféts lagerkatalog 1977/1978*, 11.
59 Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere", 68; cf. Daum, "Varieties of Popular Science", 329.
60 Johan Jarlbrink, "Lässcener: Publik och medier på café och sockenbibliotek", in *1800-talets mediesystem*, eds. Jonas Harvard and Patrik Lundell (Stockholm: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2010), 44.
61 "Asger", 1976–1977, Aarhus Bogcafe's Archive, Aarhus University, Aarhus.
62 Interview Arne Hald 2018; cf. Olsen, "Venstrefløjens bogmarked", 85.
63 Huw Osborne, ed., *The Rise of the Modernist Bookshop: Books and the Commerce of Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).
64 Ibid., 132.
65 Joachim Retzlaff, "Bokcaféts distributionsverksamhet", *Bokcaféts Månadsbulletin* 10 (1976).
66 Ibid.
67 Interview Henrik Sampe 2018.
68 "8 år med Århus Bogcafe".
69 *Bøger i Danmark*, 133.
70 Lars Åberg, "Lokalbristen i Stockholm hot mot den fria kulturen", *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 August 1977.
71 Interview Henrik Sampe 2018; Interview Arne Hald 2018.
72 Staffan Larsson, "Förnyelse som tradition", in *Folkbildning – samtidig eller tidlös? Om innebörder över tid*, eds. Anne-Marie Laginder and Inger Landström (Linköping: Mimer, 2005), 170.
73 Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?" [translation by Johan Östling in Johan Östling, "Vad är kunskapshistoria?" *Historisk tidskrift* 135, no. 1 (2015): 166].
74 Secord, "Knowledge in Transit", 655.
75 Lars Arvidsson, "Bildningsrevolutionen – hur gick den till?" in *Folkbildning – samtidig eller tidlös? Om innebörder över tid*, eds. Anne-Marie Laginder and Inger Landström (Linköping: Mimer, 2005), 15.
76 Fahlenbrach, "Protestinszenierungen", 14.
77 Cf. Östling and Heidenblad, "Cirkulation", 277.


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Epilogue


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Scandinavia

A corporatist model of knowledge?

Johan Strang

This book gathers twelve fascinating stories about the history of knowledge in postwar Scandinavia. It presents us with a broad range of source materials, questions, and focal points, from government information on nuclear fallout to left-wing oppositional book cafés. In this epilogue, I reflect upon the findings of the book from the perspective of an intellectual historian of 20th-century *Norden*.[1] I start by making some general outsider reflections on the emerging field of the history of knowledge, before discussing what the book contributes with regarding the role of Scandinavia in the global circulation of knowledge, the relations between the Scandinavian countries, and knowledge in the welfare state and the particular period in focus in this book, the 1960s and 1970s.

As an intellectual historian, there is undoubtedly much I can symphatize with in the history of knowledge. Crucial is the focus on the historiocity and changing nature of knowledge, on the transformations and interpretations of knowledge when it travels from one context to another, and on questions regarding social and cultural authority. Trained as a philosopher, however, I cannot help that my initial reflex when confronted with the term "history of knowledge" is that of a slight concern with the unnecessary epistemological commitment that seems to follow from professing to study "knowledge" rather than "ideas". The theoretical literature on the history of knowledge has pursued this issue in a variety of ways, ranging from Philipp Sarasin's and Simone Lässig's emphasis on rationality, reason, and evidence to Peter Burke's more pragmatic approach, according to which historians of knowledge study whatever the historical actors themselves considered knowledge.[2] Only a few chapters in the book at hand dwell on these kinds of theoretical reflections. Bo Fritzbøger is one of the exceptions and seems to adopt a position close to Burke when stating that the history of knowledge studies "claims to knowledge". To me, this sounds reasonable when it comes to issues such as environmentalism, sex education, or secularisation – to mention a few of the issues covered in the book – but it remains awkwardly applicable on plainly, ostensibly, and thoroughly political ideas such as neoliberalism or Eurocommunism. What new does history of knowledge bring to our understanding of these phenomena as compared to traditional histories of ideas or intellectual/political history?

One of the main differences between intellectual history and the history of knowledge, in my view, lies in the ambition of the latter to target actors and source materials beyond the political and intellectual elites. From the perspective of intellectual history, the question of *influence* remains one of a number of notoriously tricky questions. Without concrete evidence in the form of explicit references, it is nearly impossible to claim with any professed certainty that one intellectual inspired or influenced another, let alone claim that a particular philosophy or ism has shaped the direction of society at large. Intellectual historians have developed a repertoire of theoretical smokescreens to dodge this question.[3] History of knowledge, by contrast, seems to put the question of influence at the centre of attention. In this book, most of the chapters set out to explore the circulation of some particular "knowledge", whether in the form of a book, an author, or a set of ideas. While this strikes to me as a rather perilous venture, there are some inspiring and interesting developments to learn from.

Particularly promising in relation to this is the rediscovered focus on materiality, highlighted in the theoretical literature on the history of knowledge, and demonstrated by several of the individual chapters in this volume. If traditional intellectual history sometimes risks relying a bit too heavily on the driving force of the ideas themselves, the history of knowledge insists that material, physical, and social conditions are crucial if we want to understand the circulation of ideas. This means that the history of knowledge, to a higher degree than intellectual history, must include a cross-disciplinary element, linking together different fields such as intellectual history, book history, media history, economic history, social history, or the history of social movements. While this might risk the history of knowledge turning into a rather unfocused venture, it can also be seen as a strength. Indeed, as pointed out by my fellow intellectual historian Suzanne Marchand, perhaps the point of pursuing research under a new heading such as "history of knowledge" is to bring scholars with different backgrounds together in new joint ventures.[4] This is clearly also one of the main benefits of this particular book, where scholars with various backgrounds use "the history of knowledge" as a common denominator for discussing 1960s and 1970s Scandinavia.

The focus on materiality also links the history of knowledge to the bourgeoning field of digital humanities, as exemplified by the extensive use of digitalised newspapers in several chapters in this book. In his reflective chapter, David Heidenblad Larsson discusses the challenges for historians faced with an abundance of source material in which it is easy to identify solitary examples but where both the larger context and the immediate situation in which the text was published tend to become more difficult to comprehend: it is easy to find needles but difficult to see the haystack. This is something I can recognise from the field of conceptual history, where the rise of digital tools has coincided with a turn away from the Skinnerian focus on actors making linguistic moves (speech acts) in particular contexts and a return of a more traditional Koselleckian interest in the long-term trajectories (and frequencies) of the concepts themselves.[5] Old-school intellectual historians such as Marchand and

myself, who are more interested in the "who" and the "why" than the "how" and the "what", cannot help but look at this development with slight umbrage.[6]

At the same time, however, Larsson Heidenblad aptly argues that digital humanities can serve the positive purpose of broadening the scope of studied actors from leading politicians, intellectuals, and authors to previously largely ignored groups of people such as journalists, who, after all, produced the lion's share of the written text consumed by Scandinavians in the 1960s and 1970s. What this turn requires, however, is a closer cooperation with press historians and media scholars. As noted by Sunniva Engh in her chapter on Norwegian newspaper discussions on the Swedish neo-Malthusian Georg Borgström, this was a period of transition for the Nordic newspaper industry. The traditional politicised party press system was gradually abandoned for more neutral and professionalised forms of journalism.[7] This is certainly a valid point. However, when studying the latter half of the 20th century, it would also be crucial to pursue cooperation with scholars with expertise in radio and TV, as especially the latter grew enormously in importance during the 1960s and 1970s.[8] Non-textual sources (such as images, public speeches, official meetings, private discussions, etc.) have always represented something of a blind spot for intellectual historians and historians of knowledge alike.[9] However, if the aim is to give a fair image of broader forms of societal knowledge, the fact that mass communication during the 20th century to a significant degree occurred without leaving records in the form of letters printed on paper constitutes an even more serious methodological challenge. Until we find a way of treating broadcasting on an equal level as traditional text-based sources, the digital turn runs the risk of only increasing the already distorted account we historians present of the circulation of knowledge during the postwar period.

Scandinavia in the global circulation of knowledge

History of knowledge, we learn from the introduction, focuses on the *circulation* rather than the origin of knowledge. In this sense, it contributes to the extensive discussion on transnationalism that has reconditioned the historical disciplines during the past decades.[10] In intellectual history, for example, much attention has been placed on the processes of selective interpretation and appropriation that inevitably take place when an idea is moved from one place to another.[11] Knowledge does not travel in sealed containers; it is constantly moulded in order to serve particular purposes in the new contexts in which it is introduced.

What do we learn from this book about Scandinavia's position in the global circulation of knowledge? A first observation in this respect is that Scandinavia appears to be more on the receiving than the sending end. Most of the chapters address the Scandinavian reception of a book or some other body of knowledge and discuss the special interpretations and functions assigned to this knowledge in its new context. To be sure, it is possible that the dominance of reception stories is a consequence of the methodological preferences of the history of knowledge. If the ambition is to study the circulation of knowledge in society

beyond political and scholarly elites, it is perhaps only natural to concentrate on how imported knowledge has been disseminated in Scandinavia, rather than on how knowledge originating in Scandinavia has travelled elsewhere.

That said, I sincerely think that it could be an interesting task for future research to target failed and more successful attempts to export "Scandinavian knowledge" to different parts of the world. This would probably increase the span of collaboration of historians of knowledge even further, as such a task would preferably have to be initiated in cooperation with foreign scholars. Pursuing Scandinavian knowledge export, the history of knowledge could yield an important contribution to, for example, research on the global reach of the Nordic welfare model, the discussion on policy transfers, as well as the bourgeoning field of Nordic branding and national reputation management.[12] The 1960s and 1970s were also decades of growing Scandinavian engagement in the global south, which, in all its Cold War and colonial complexity, could be an interesting field to approach from a history of knowledge perspective.[13]

A second observation regarding Scandinavia's position in the global circulation of knowledge in the 1960s and 1970s pertains to the overwhelming predominance of knowledge imported from the United States. The Scandinavian countries, neutral or not, were obviously heavily Americanised during the decades following the Second World War, and the importance of American ideas, expertise, and funding for the development of both the welfare state and scholarly communities has been studied extensively.[14] This book can be seen as a contribution to this literature, expanding the focus beyond the political or scientific elites to a discussion of the broader societal impact of American knowledge, ranging from Caspar Sylvest's chapter on how American debates on the dangers of nuclear fallout resonated in a Danish context to Anton Jansson's chapter on the Swedish reception of the book *The Secular City* (1965), by American theologian Harvey Cox.

This palpable Scandinavian dependence on American knowledge could form the point of departure for interesting theoretical reflections regarding geo-cultural asymmetries and power relations within the field of history of knowledge.[15] To be sure, I am not advocating a return to the antiquated diffusionist idea of simple one-way traffic from a producer of knowledge to passive recipients. As shown by Jansson, Cox's book was interpreted quite differently in Sweden, where, for example, the chapter on sex did not raise anyone's eyebrows. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that some regions are more frequently at the receiving end than others and that this is a fact that deserves to be taken more seriously from a theoretical and methodological perspective. Indeed, even if focusing on "circulation" is supposed to underscore that knowledge does not travel without restrictions, I cannot help being slightly concerned that the circulation concept itself – in its allusion to reciprocity and restriction-free travel – might serve the opposite purpose of obscuring hierarchies between actors of different stature and reputation or between societies and cultures asymmetrically related to each other.[16]

Questions of power and hierarchy have been pertinently addressed in the literature on the circulation of ideas, science, and knowledge in the global

south, and as such it has been deeply informed by postcolonial perspectives.[17] There is undoubtedly much that has been produced in this tradition that could be used to shed light on small European countries such as those in Scandinavia as well. I am thinking, for example, of the relationship between military and economic power, on the one hand, and cultural prestige, on the other. But I am also referring to the intricate logic of asymmetrical knowledge transfers, where ideas produced in the United States or Western Europe were more easily recognised as knowledge in Scandinavia than the other way around. Indeed, when Cox's book on secularisation was introduced in Sweden, its American origin served as an important selling point. Scandinavian discussions, by contrast, were usually ignored in the United States, and there were a number of serious obstacles to overcome before Scandinavian actors, ideas, or knowledge could make a mark in the United States. And before Scandinavian knowledge could circulate to other peripheries, it had to be picked up and "consecrated" in the centre.[18]

That said, there are certainly limitations to the applicability of theories addressing the inequalities of colonial, imperial, or racial dominance on intra-European relations. The position of Scandinavia has never been that of the complete outsider, as Scandinavian actors were recognised and sometimes even allowed to take part in the "universal" discussion of the West. And American (or "Western") knowledge was hardly ever used in order to exploit and subjugate Scandinavia. Nonetheless, as shown by numerous examples in the book, it was usually a matter of one-way traffic from a cultural centre to a periphery keen on learning about the latest trends.

Scandinavia as a public sphere

What do we learn from the book about the relations between the Scandinavian countries? To treat the three Scandinavian countries together in a collective volume on the history of knowledge in the 1960s and 1970s seems natural given not only the many similarities between the societies in question, but also the many links between the countries. Most notably, perhaps, Eirinn Larsen shows how Nordic cooperation as such was of formative significance for the development of the feminist movement. Some chapters study intra-Scandinavian knowledge transfers, while others have a comparative ambition. And even if the majority of chapters are written mainly from a national perspective, the book does collectively present us with an interesting material for reflecting over the similarities and differences between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

In relation to this, it is also interesting to pay attention to intra-Scandinavian hierarchies and asymmetries. The chapters that discuss the internal Scandinavian circulation of knowledge strongly indicate that Norwegian and Danish actors looked more to Sweden in search for knowledge than Swedes looked to its Scandinavian neighbours. From Sunniva Engh's chapter, for example, we learn that the Swedish environmentalist Georg Borgström became enormously important in Norway, while the Danish debate book *Oprør fra midten* (1978), according to Bo Fritzbøger, was discussed in Norway but did not travel

to any large extent to Sweden, even if the questions and perspectives it raised could have been very topical also in that context.

To be sure, following the Second World War, Sweden was more prosperous than its neighbours, which arguably resulted in a certain pre-eminence also in the cultural and scientific spheres. Precisely as is often the case with global asymmetries, however, it seems to me that the conundrum of Swedish cultural dominance in the region as well as Swedish self-sufficiency is best understood in temporal terms.[19] In such a reading, Norway could be understood as the laggard, which either due to a conservative ideology or because of late modernisation looked at developments elsewhere – in Sweden or the Anglo-American world – as possible futures upon which one could act with anticipation.[20] Denmark appears as the country most in sync with discussions in Europe or the United States, not as an equal participant in the discussion but as an observer eagerly picking up on knowledge that was circulating elsewhere. Sweden, in turn, stands out as a country that was simultaneously a Scandinavian locomotive of modernity and a peculiar parochial milieu largely disinterested in discussions in the other Scandinavian countries, or indeed anywhere else except for the United States.

Particularly illuminating in this respect is Björn Lundberg's account of the circulation of the famous book by American economist John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (1958). In Sweden, Galbraith's concerns with the discrepancy between private and public wealth in modern growth societies were received as a description of pertinent problems in the United States, which were already largely solved in Sweden. In Denmark, by contrast, Galbraith was seen as representing an important discussion on challenges common to all Western societies, while in Norway, the book was seen as a warning for challenges that might arise in due time when Norway would "catch up" with the industrial and economic development of the United States and become an affluent society. The Scandinavian societies were moving at different speeds.[21] And, interestingly, this asynchronicity could sometimes be mobilised for particular purposes, as illustrated by Hampus Östh Gustafsson's chapter on the "the crisis of humanities" in Sweden. Sometimes the crisis was presented as a common problem for all Western welfare states, occasionally as something particular to the Scandinavian region, but ever so often also as a *specifically* Swedish problem in narratives where Denmark could sometimes play the role of the "civilised" sibling society where modernisation had not yet reached as far as in Sweden. In this way, Gustafsson's discussion on the crisis of the humanities also speaks to an interesting combination of progressivity and backward-looking conservative sentimentality, perhaps characteristic of the 1968 movement as a whole.

A Scandinavian model of knowledge?

Power is a central notion in the methodological literature on the history of knowledge. In turning the attention away from the traditional obsession with the "origins" of knowledge and the one-dimensional diffusionist models of dissemination, the history of knowledge has, most notably in the programmatic

writings of Philipp Sarasin, emphasised the importance of taking into account the various social and economic factors that constrain and determine both what is sanctioned as knowledge and how this knowledge circulates.[22]

These kinds of reflections are, with a few exceptions, conspicuously absent from this book on Scandinavia in the 1960s and 1970s. It would perhaps be compelling to explain this by reference to the comparatively homogeneous and egalitarian nature of the Scandinavian societies during the heyday of the Nordic welfare state. While there certainly might be some truth to this cliché, there could have been many obvious entry points for a history of knowledge perspective on the relationship between power and knowledge in the Scandinavian welfare state. I am naturally referring to the extensive (and largely Foucauldian) literature from the past decades, that has criticised the welfare state by highlighting its maltreatment of vulnerable minorities and individuals, as well as different oppressive policies (e.g., forced sterilisations) implemented and justified in the name of progress, science, and knowledge.[23] In my opinion, this literature has often tended to either lose itself in vague and abstract speculations on regulatory mechanisms and biopower or single out individual scientists, experts, or politicians as villains. Therefore, it would have been very interesting to see what a history of knowledge perspective could contribute to this discussion. There are many unanswered questions that could form the starting point for future research. For example: How widely did the "knowledge" that motivated these policies (e.g. on sterilisation) circulate in Scandinavia? And what kind of "knowledge" contributed to their demise?

To the extent that the individual chapters in this book address questions of power, it is not so much about the uses and misuses of knowledge, the dark sides of social engineering, or the tyranny of experts. Instead, the chapters tend to focus on the struggles of different actors to get a particular body of ideas *sanctioned* as knowledge. Take Orsi Husz's fascinating account of how a Swedish entrepreneur became fixated with the idea to consolidate a particular narrative regarding the history of credit but failed to convince the professionals within academia and publishing, or Hampus Östh Gustafsson's chapter on the struggles of Sven-Eric Liedman and his cohorts to rehabilitate the humanities after a long period of dominance by more instrumental empiricist-positivist sciences. Particularly fascinating is Kari Hernæs Nordberg's chapter on the mid-1970s sex education reforms in Norwegian public schools, which explicitly targets the complicated negotiations between various bodies of knowledge that inevitably take place whenever new knowledge is introduced on a larger scale but which are especially manifest when it comes to the delicate issue of reproduction and sex. Hernæs Nordberg describes how new psychological and statistical knowledge was compromised by traditional conservative Christian knowledge before it was sanctioned by the state (i.e., the Ministry of Education) and introduced in the curriculum of public schools.

To be sure, in the Nordic countries, the *state* has traditionally played a crucial role as both producer and circulator of knowledge as well as guardian and judge of knowledge, perhaps especially during the period targeted by this volume.

The strong connection between the leading national universities and the state has been emphasised by historians across the region, and the role of experts in forming the welfare state has also been studied extensively.[24] However, what emerges from the broader history of knowledge perspective applied in this book is not so much an image of an omnipotent state on its own capable of dictating what could count as knowledge or not. Instead, the chapters tend to point in the direction of an intricate corporatist model of knowledge, where science and experts, on the one hand, and social movements and voluntary associations, on the other, were engaged in constant negotiations with state representatives. These different sectors of society typically did not represent adverse or competing interests; on the contrary, they supported each other and became allies, with their activities intertwining to such a degree that it was sometimes difficult to discern the boundaries of the state. Indeed, as Hernæs Nordberg notes, "it is not always clear what the state represents or constitutes".

The idea that education and knowledge are crucial ingredients of the good society and that they should thus be made available for everyone has arguably been a crucial part Nordic political thinking since, if not the Reformation and its emphasis on public literacy, then at least the 19th-century folk high school (*folkehøjskoler*) tradition mainly associated with Danish pastor and educationalist N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783–1872). Education and knowledge were pivotal also for voluntary associations and social movements in the Nordic countries. Whether it was a rifle club, a temperance movement, or a labour organisation, these associations usually, as pointed out by the Finnish historian Henrik Stenius, entertained ambitious cultural objectives in the form of libraries, lecture series, and various publications.[25] Crucially, however, this knowledge was not produced and disseminated in order to overthrow the state or to present people with alternatives to state-sanctioned knowledge. On the contrary, the ambition was to influence the state and to contribute to the progress of society as a whole. The reformers and "activists" of these movements did not regard their position as outside of the state but as one intrinsic to it and thus taking shared responsibility for its development. "State" and "society" were not different spheres, but two aspects of the same thing.[26]

This historical legacy formed a crucial background for the social democratic model of society that made Scandinavia famous in the 20th century. The role of the state had been substantial in the Nordic societies ever since the Church was incorporated into the state administration with the Reformation, but the 20th century saw its role increase even further. "State-sanctioned" knowledge was produced increasingly in public reports (*Statens offentliga utredningar*) commissioned by the state but conducted by independent scholars and experts. And the interplay between civil society actors and the state grew closer as the state often trusted organisations with the task of providing expert knowledge and popular opinion in support of its decisions (*remissväsendet*). Indeed, the social democratic welfare state deemed this corporatist system so central that it took increasing responsibility for funding the operation of (at least some particularly important) voluntary organisations, sometimes through direct institutionalisation but

more frequently respecting the arm's-length principle and a general division of labour.[27]

This book is abundant with examples of this corporatist model of knowledge. The whole first part of the book serves as evidence of how the Scandinavian environmental movement engaged scholars and experts who founded and used voluntary organisations as a platform for increasing their influence. Expert knowledge was, for example, channelled to the state through the peace movement in Casper Sylvest's chapter on the debates on nuclear fallout. Similarly, Eirinn Larsen points to the crucial role of feminist scholars in the energetic and innovative popular women's movements that conquered the state, introducing what was later to be referred to as Scandinavian state feminism. Indeed, even programmatically "oppositional" movements such as the left-wing book cafes analysed by Ragni Svensson were incorporated as conductive elements of the democratic society. In this way, the "corporatist model of knowledge" must be seen as a crucial part of the explanation for how the 1968 movement was, as noted in the introduction to this book, disarmed, embraced, and integrated as part of a continuous development of the Scandinavian welfare societies.[28]

A knowledge regime under attack?

If the Scandinavian corporatist model of knowledge emerges as a key finding of this book, the next question is whether this model was particular to the period under study or whether it exhibits longevity as a description of the Nordic societies. The 1960s and 1970s are often pinpointed as the high point of the social democratic dominance in Scandinavian politics. One way of thinking about this period from a history of knowledge perspective is to use the concept of a "knowledge regime" operationalised by Norwegian sociologist, philosopher, and intellectual historian Rune Slagstad in his seminal account of Norwegian history since 1814, *De nasjonale strateger* (1998).[29] For Slagstad, a knowledge regime is a particular constellation of political power, legal normativity, and scientific knowledge, and his book describes the shifting regimes from the "civil servant's state" (1814–1884), through the "Liberal Party state" (1884–1940) to the "Labour Party state" of the postwar period.

According to Slagstad, this last knowledge regime was characterised by a mutually reinforcing circle of Keynesian economists, American empiricist and behaviourist social scientists (pejoratively labelled "positivists"), and the social democratic politicians in power. However, while there are some examples in this direction in this book, it seems to me that it portrays less the Labour Party State itself (which, according to Slagstad, lasted until the 1980s) than the emerging contestation of this regime from a variety of angles. Hampus Östh Gustafsson's chapter deals explicitly with the so-called positivism debates where the dominant role of the instrumental social sciences was questioned in a generational struggle between old professors and young radicals rallying for the restoration of the humanities. Ragni Svensson's chapter highlights the left-wing criticism of the (social democratic) establishment, while Bo Fritzbøger's chapter, in turn,

deals with the "revolt from the centre" (*Oprør fra midten*), which was a counter-reaction to the radicalism of the 1970s, but also an independent attempt to provide an alternative to the disenchantment of the modern welfare state.

Most obviously, however, the contestation of the Labour Party knowledge regime is discussed in Niklas Olsen's fascinating account of the interconnections between left-wing, libertarian-populist, and neoliberal criticisms of the welfare state: three disparate lines of thought, which were united in the view that society – the Labour Party State – was run by a self-sufficient autocratic elite in control of an ever-growing public sector with tentacles across society. In hindsight, it is probably fair to conclude that the neoliberal criticism proved to be the most perilous. As hinted already by Slagstad himself, market liberalism attacked the very idea of the state as a central node in the corporatist system; hence, it challenged not only the Labour Party knowledge regime but a whole Scandinavian tradition: the corporatist model of knowledge.[30] Neoliberalism was extremely difficult to embrace, disarm, and incorporate within the system itself in the vein that the Nordic societies usually have managed opposition like, for example, the 1968 movement.

Yet, historians seem to indicate that neoliberalism was introduced in Scandinavia not *against* the (welfare) state but *through* the (welfare) state.[31] If this is true, then one might perhaps argue that Scandinavia eventually did find a place for neoliberal market philosophy in its state-driven corporatist model of knowledge. At the same time, Scandinavian scholars of associational life have recently pointed to a transforming civil society, with declining membership rates in the traditional mass movements and the rise of more flexible and ad hoc mobilisation, amounting in "a decline in the democratic infrastructure".[32] What is challenged, they argue, is not so much the role of the state in Scandinavia but rather the role of the voluntary organisations. Indeed, knowledge in Scandinavia is perhaps no longer negotiated in a virtuous circle of experts, the state, and voluntary organisations but to an increasing extent produced and circulated by think tanks with more direct relations to political power and business interest.

The history of the Nordic "neoliberal knowledge regime" remains to be written, but this book offers a great springboard. On the one hand, it has opened up for further reflections regarding Scandinavia's position in the global circulation of knowledge, and, on the other hand, it has also pointed towards a Scandinavian corporatist model of knowledge and its subsequent contestation.

Notes

1 I follow the rest of the book in using "Scandinavia" for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden and "the Nordic countries" when I include Finland and Iceland. The Scandinavian term *Norden* (literally "the North") has been introduced to the English language in order to denote the particular political culture and historical legacies of the region. See, for instance, Øystein Sørensen and Bo Stråth, eds., *The Cultural Construction of Norden* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997).

2 Philipp Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?", *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 36, no. 1 (2011): 165; Simone Lässig, "The History of Knowledge and

the Expansion of the Historical Research Agenda", *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 59 (2016): 39; Peter Burke, *What Is the History of Knowledge?* (London: John Wiley and Sons, 2015), 7.

3 In my own research, for example, I have arrived at the position that it is better to avoid categorical statements regarding influence and instead focus on the individual intellectuals as actors, whose struggles reflect ideas and positions present in that particular context. See, for instance, Johan Strang, *History, Transfer, Politics: Five Studies on the Legacy of Uppsala Philosophy* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2010).

4 Suzanne Marchand, "How Much Knowledge Is Worth Knowing? An American Intellectual Historian's Thoughts on the *Geschichte des Wissens*", *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 42, no. 2–3 (2019): 147.

5 This shift is clearly visible in the introduction to the recent Berghahn series on European conceptual history. Willibald Steinmetz and Michael Freeden, "Introduction. Conceptual History: Challenges, Conundrums, Complexities", in *Conceptual History in the European Space*, eds. Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freeden, and Javier Fernández-Sebastian (Oxford: Berghahn, 2017).

6 Marchand, "How Much Knowledge", 144.

7 Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Manchini, *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 170–183.

8 Trine Syvertsen, Gunn Enli, and Ole J. Mjøs, *The Media Welfare State: Nordic Media in the Digital Era* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2014).

9 For a discussion on historicising sound, see Josephine Hoegarts and Kaarina Kilpiö, "Noisy Modernization? On the History and Historicization of Sound", *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity* 7 (2019).

10 Matthias Middell and Lluís Roura, eds., *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013); Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity", *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006).

11 Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2004); Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013); Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, eds., *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

12 Pauli Kettunen and Klaus Petersen, *Beyond Welfare State Models: Transnational Historical Perspectives on Social Policy* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011); Carl Marklund, "The Nordic Model on the Global Market of Ideas: The Welfare State as Scandinavia's Best Brand", *Geopolitics* 22, no. 3 (2016); Louis Clerc, Nikolas Glover, and Paul Jordan, eds., *Histories of Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding in the Nordic and Baltic Countries: Representing the Periphery* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

13 Thorsten Borring Olesen, "Scandinavian Development Policies", in *The Routledge Handbook of Scandinavian Politics*, eds. Peter Nedergaard and Anders Wivel (London: Routledge, 2018).

14 See, for instance, Klaus Petersen, John Stewart, and Michael Kuur Sørensen, eds., *American Foundations and the European Welfare States* (Odense: Syddansk universitetsforlag, 2013); Frederik Thue, *In Quest of a Democratic Social Order: The Americanization of Norwegian Social Scholarship 1918–1970* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2006).

15 Together with Stefan Nygård, I have pursued this idea with regard to intellectual history in a number of publications. See especially Marja Jalava, Stefan Nygård, and Johan Strang, *Decentering European Intellectual Space* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

16 Provocatively put, my impression is that "circulation" is a term that is used either by those in the centres who by virtue of their privileged position are blind to borders and restrictions or by postcolonialists who for political reasons want to emphasise reciprocity.

17 Kapril Raj, "Beyond Postcolonialism . . . and Postpositivism: Circulation and the Global History of Science", *Isis* 104, no. 2 (2013); Bernard Lightman, Gordon McOuat, and

Larry Stewart, eds., *The Circulation of Knowledge Between Britain, India, and China: The Early Modern World to the Twentieth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

18 Pascal Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

19 I have developed this idea together with Stefan Nygård in "Conceptual Universalization and the Role of the Peripheries", *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 12, no. 1 (2017).

20 For a discussion on Finland's similar relation to Sweden, see Pauli Kettunen, "The Power of International Comparison: A Perspective on the Making and Challenging of the Nordic Welfare State", in *The Nordic Model of Welfare: A Historical Reappraisal*, eds. Niels Finn Christiansen, Klaus Petersen, Nils Edling, and Per Haave (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanu Press, 2006).

21 Helge Jordheim, "Europe at Different Speeds: Asynchronicities and Multiple Times in European Conceptual History", in *Conceptual History in European Space*, eds. Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freeden, and Javier Fernández-Sebastian (Oxford: Berghahn, 2017).

22 Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?" 164.

23 Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005); Gunnar Broberg and Mattias Tydén, *Oönskade i folkhemmet: Rashygien och sterilisering i Sverige* (Stockholm: Gidlunds bokförlag, 1991).

24 Åsa Lundqvist and Klaus Petersen, eds., *In Experts We Trust: Knowledge, Politics and Bureaucracy in Nordic Welfare State* (Odense: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2010).

25 Henrik Stenius, "Nordic Associational Life in a European and an Inter-Nordic Perspective", in *Nordic Associations in a European Perspective*, eds. Risto Alapuro and Henrik Stenius (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010).

26 It is often observed that the words "state" and "society" tend to be used interchangeably in the Nordic languages. According to Pauli Kettunen, for example, "society" is often used to express the moral obligation of the state. Pauli Kettunen, "The Concept of Society in the Making of the Nordic Welfare State", in *Globalizing Welfare: An Evolving Asian-European Dialogue*, eds. Stein Kuhnle, Per Selle and Sven Hort (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2019).

27 Bo Rothstein, *Den korporativa staten: Intresseorganisationer och statsförvaltning i svensk politik* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1992).

28 Stenius, "Nordic Associational Life"; Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, *Transformation and Crises: The Left and the Nation in Denmark and Sweden, 1956–1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2008).

29 Rune Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 1998). For a short English version of his main arguments, see Rune Slagstad, "Shifting Knowledge Regimes: The Metamorphoses of Norwegian Reformism", *Thesis Eleven* 77 (2004).

30 Slagstad, "Shifting Knowledge Regimes", 80; Stenius, "Nordic Associational Life".

31 Jenny Andersson, *The Library and the Workshop: Social Democracy and Capitalism in the Knowledge Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Niklas Olsen, *The Sovereign Consumer: A New Intellectual History of Neoliberalism* (Cham: Palgrave, 2019), Chapters 6–7.

32 See, for instance, Tommy Tranvik and Per Selle, "More Centralization, Less Democracy: The Decline of the Democratic Infrastructure in Norway", in *State and Civil Society in Northern Europe: The Swedish Model Reconsidered*, ed. Lars Trägårdh (Oxford: Berghahn, 2007).

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